

This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`

NYPL RESEARCH LIBRARIES
3 3433 08247323 6

Keep this form inserted in book.

Books not so identified are returned to stack.

1986 JUN 10 PM 6 58

FOR STAFF USE

Verify ☐
Date? ☐
Volume? ☐
Bound? ☐
Call number change ☐
Not on shelf ☐
In use, M.R.R. ☐
In use, RM. ☐
Reserved, M.R.R. ☐
Reserved, RM. ☐
In bindery ☐
Being filmed ☐
Missing ☐
Not in shelf list ☐
Additional volumes ☐

THE

HISTORY

OF

THE CRUSADES,

FOR

THE RECOVERY AND POSSESSION

OF THE

HOLY LAND.

BY

CHARLES MILLS,

AUTHOR OF A HISTORY OF CHIVALRY, ETC., ETC.

ASTOR LIBRARY
NEW-YORK.

——— Therefore, friends,
As far as to the Sepulchre of Christ,
(Whose soldier now, under whose blessed cross
We are impressed and engag'd to fight)
Forthwith a power of English shall we levy;
Whose arms were moulded in their mother's wombs
To chase these Pagans, in those holy fields,
Over whose acres walk'd those blessed feet
Which, fourteen hundred years ago, were nail'd,
For our advantage, on the bitter cross.

SHAKSPEARE.

PHILADELPHIA:
LEA & BLANCHARD.
1844.

Repair No.

NEW YORK
PUBLIC
LIBRARY

PREFACE.

THE supposed duty of relieving the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem from the yoke of the Muselmans influenced the western world during a considerable part of the middle ages. It had its origin in the universal feeling of regarding with veneration the scenes of great events; it was nourished and matured by the common disposition of setting the seal of absolute obligation upon every thing that is connected, in however remote a degree, with piety: it was quickened into action by indignation at insults and intolerance of error: and it was supported during its reign as a principle of conduct by Papal authority, political interests, habitual hope, a deep disdain of submission to the enemies of religion, and by the love of that honourable reputation, which in days of chivalry was bestowed upon militant Christians.

To what authors can an English reader refer for a historical narrative of the romantic superstition of his ancestors? Fuller is the only writer in our language who has made the Holy Wars the subject of separate discussion and distinct inquiry. His book is valuable and amusing on account of its wit and sentences, but possesses no claim to praise for amplitude, or accuracy of detail. The popular historians of England have bestowed only a few pages upon the topic: for as the transmarine expeditions of the people of Europe stood independent of the usual political relations between countries as the Latin kingdom and principalities in Syria and Palestine were colonies of all the states of the west, and not of any one in particular, a detail of the *world's debate* does not naturally form a portion of the history of any single nation.

And yet the shores of Palestine may not be improperly regarded merely as the theatre of English chivalry. Many of our most vigorous and warlike princes sought martyrdom or glory in Asia. Richard Cœur de Lion is chiefly remarkable for his martial pilgrimage to the Holy Land. Robert Curthose (the eldest son of William the Conqueror), Richard, earl of Cornwall (the brother of king Henry III.), and the all-praised Edward (afterwards king Edward I.), were heroical votaries of the cross. Even after the Crusaders had been driven from Syria, and the cry of religious war was heard but at intervals in Europe, our brave and politic monarchs, Henry IV. and Henry V., wished to rekindle the flames of holy zeal. Some of the most noble youth of England followed "the mirror of their kings," and were celebrated in the ranks of Christian knights. They rested their best hopes of never-dying honour on their ardour in

> "That cause that should all wars begin and end."

Their love of pilgrimages and crusades appears in their sepulchral monuments. On contemplating the cross-legged figures in the aisles of our venerable cathedrals, the days of chivalry rise before us in awful and

splendid recollection. We feel and own the genius of the place; and contrast the present solemn tranquillity and mournful silence of the tomb with the horrid din of Paynim war. We trace with fancy's eye the fortunes of the soldier of Christ, from the joyful moment of his investment with the sacred badge to the hour of his triumph or death. His contempt of a perilous march, and his heroic ardour in the Syrian fields, awe and command our imagination; while his sacrifice of country and kindred throws an air of sublime devotedness round his exploits, and forbids us from censuring with severity the madness of the enterprise. As in his life, at the call of religion, he unsheathed his sword, and vowed the destruction of the faithless, so in death his marble hand grasps the hilt, and his countenance looks defiance and disdain.

The lion-hearted Plantagenet

> —— "Did perform
> Beyond thoughts' compass; that former fabulous story,
> Being now seen possible enough, got credit;
> That Bevis was believ'd."

It might, therefore, have been expected, that no labour of research would have been spared in treating of the Crusade of king Richard I.; besides, national associations give it a high degree of interest, and it was a war more brilliant in its military events and more diversified in its politics than most of the others. Mr. Sharon Turner is the only author who appears to have justly appreciated the subject.

Few circumstances in the heroic ages of Christendom were more singular than the diversion of the fifth expedition from its Asiatic objects to the conquest of Constantinople. As the fortunes of the Greek empire were involved in the common struggles between the Turks and the Latins, the Crusades occupy a space in the History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire. Of many of the holy wars Mr. Gibbon has made only hasty and imperfect sketches, principally taken from Vertot, L'Histoire des Chevaliers Hospitaliers de S. Jean de Jerusalem, and from Mailly, L'Esprit des Croisades: the former an amusing but superficial performance, the latter the result of considerable original inquiry; but where fancy often supplies the want of facts, and historical accuracy is bent and accommodated to dramatic effect. The fourth, sixth, and seventh Crusades are altogether unnoticed by Mr. Gibbon. But of the expedition, in which the Byzantine empires was principally interested, he has treated with such fidelity and splendour, the historic tissue is so closely drawn and so finely wrought, that every one who writes upon the Crusades must regret that the fifth armament is a part of his subject.

Whether the holy wars are considered, then, as belonging to the public affairs of Europe, or as a portion of the early history of England, a history of them in the English language appears to be a desideratum; and as hitherto the subject has been only partially or generally written upon, the present attempt is submitted to the public.

CONTENTS.

CHAPTER I.

A VIEW OF THE CIRCUMSTANCES WHICH LED TO THE HOLY WARS.

Political history of Jerusalem. — The causes and practice of pilgrimages. — Other reasons for people going to Palestine. — Connexion between commerce and pilgrimages. — Tendency of an opinion prevalent in the tenth century. — Account of a pilgrimage made by some Normans, Englishmen, &c. — State of the Latins in Palestine. — Effects of the Moslems' cruelty.—Pope Sylvester II. plans a crusade.—Effects in Europe of the political changes in Asia. — Wish of Pope Gregory VII. respecting the state of the East. — History of Asia Minor. — Continuation of the effects of the Moslems' cruelty. — Religious and military spirit in Europe . . . PAGE 13

CHAPTER II.

A HOLY WAR DECREED — MORAL CONVULSION OF EUROPE — FATE OF THE FIRST CRUSADERS.

Peter the Hermit. — His pilgrimage to Jerusalem. — He resolves to preach a holy war. — His wish embraced by Urban II. — Policy of that Pope. — Peter's preaching. — Councils of Placentia and of Clermont. — Urban's speech at Clermont. — The redemption of the sepulchre resolved upon. — The crusade embraced by Europe — Departure of the European rabble. — First division. — Its destruction in Bulgaria. — Second division. — Its disasters and outrages on the road to Greece. — And destruction in Bithynia. — Third division. — Its destruction in Hungary. — Fourth and last division. — Its shocking superstition. — Cruelties on the German Jews. — Destruction in Hungary 23

CHAPTER III.

CHARACTERS OF THE LEADERS OF THE FIRST CRUSADE — MARCH OF THE ARMIES TO CONSTANTINOPLE.

History and character of Godfrey of Bouillon.—March of the Frisons, Lorrainers, &c., through Hungary into Thrace.—Characters of the count of Vermandois, the count of Blois, the count of Flanders, and Robert Curthose, duke of Normandy.—March of the French, Flemish, Norman and English Crusaders through Italy. —The count of Vermandois arrives at Constantinople, and swears fealty to Alexius.—War between Godfrey and the Emperor.—Godfrey reaches Constantinople.—After many alternatives of peace and war, Godfrey, &c. do homage.—Boldness of a Crusader.—Godfrey crosses the Hellespont.—Is joined by the count of Flanders.—Characters of Bohemond. prince of Tarentum, and Tancred.—March of the Italians to Constantinople.—Means of Alexius to gain the homage of Bohemond.—Tancred passes into Asia without swearing fealty.—Character of Raymond, count of Tholouse.—Course of the Provençals into Greece.—Raymond takes a qualified oath of allegiance.—Arrival of the duke of Normandy, the count of Blois, and others, in Asia Minor PAGE 36

CHAPTER IV.

THE MARCH OF THE CRUSADERS THROUGH ASIA MINOR.

Review of the Latin troops before Nice. — Siege and capture of Nice.—Treachery of Alexius.—Manners of the Christian Camp.—Interview between Alexius and the Chiefs.—Commencement of the march through Asia Minor.—Battle of Doryleum.—Victory of the Christians.—Distressing march through Phrygia.—Expedition of Tancred and Baldwin into Cilicia.—Injustice of Baldwin.—War between Baldwin and Tancred.—Distresses of the main Army in its passage through Lycaonia.—Foundation of the Latin state of Edessa.—Arrival of the Latins before Antioch 49

CHAPTER V.

MILITARY AND CIVIL HISTORY OF THE CROISES AT ANTIOCH.

The city invested.—Unskilful operations of the Croises.—Famine in the Christian Camp.—Singular mode of getting rid of spies.—Many of the Croises desert—Manners of the camp.—Embassy of the caliph of Egypt—Policy of the Latins.—The Croises aided by Pisa and Genoa.—Prowess of the Latin chefs.—Inhumanity of the Latins. Retreat of the count of Chartres.—Antioch taken by stratagem.—The Croises massacre the inhabitants.—The Persians attack the

Franks.—The Latins are blockaded.—Second Famine.—More desertions.—Alexius abandons his allies.—Impiety of some new Croises.—Direful effects of Alexius' retreat.—The Christians saved by some superstitious frauds.—Embassy of the Hermit to the Persians.—Prudence of Godfrey.—Preparations for battle.—Battle of Antioch.—Victory of the Croises PAGE 61

CHAPTER VI.

THE REDEMPTION OF THE HOLY SEPULCHRE.

Embassy to Alexius.—Desertion of the count of Vermandois.—Delay of the Croises at Antioch.—Vices of the Croises.—A pestilence.—Death of Adhemar.—Letter to the Pope.—Politics of the chiefs.—Further delays of the chiefs.—Cannibalism of the Crusaders.—The soldiers, but not the leaders, anxious to proceed.—The Croises march.—Treachery of the count of Tholouse.—Discovery of the fraud of the lance.—Politics of the Croises with Alexius and the caliph.—The Crusaders' first view of Jerusalem.—Retrospect.—State of the Holy City.—Invested by the Croises.—Horrid drought in the Latin camp.—Manners of the Franks.—Procession round Jerusalem.—The city stormed, and taken.—First Massacre.—Cruelty of Godfrey.—His piety.—Second Massacre 77

CHAPTER VII.

THE STATE OF THE HOLY LAND AFTER THE FIRST CRUSADE.

Foundation of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem.—Succession of kings between the first and second Crusades.—Godfrey.—Baldwin I.—Baldwin II.—Fulk.—Baldwin III.—Political history of the kingdom of Jerusalem.—Limits of the kingdom.—Military history.—Mode of warfare.—Supplement to the first Crusade.—Death of the count of Tholouse.—Foundation of the county of Tripoli.—History of that state.—Affairs of Antioch.—History of Edessa.—The Courtenay family.—Fall of Edessa.—Vain attempt to recover it . . . 89

CHAPTER VIII.

CONSTITUTION AND LAWS OF JERUSALEM, AND OF THE CHIVALRIC INSTITUTIONS IN PALESTINE.

Principles of the constitution of Jerusalem.—The government monarchical.—Coronation forms.—Officers of State.—Church establishment.—Territorial division, and military strength of the kingdom.—Tenure of land.—Relation of a lord and his man.—State of women.—Debtor and creditor.—Courts of justice.—Trial by battle.—Villains and slaves.—Religious and military orders.—The knights of St. John.—The Templars.—The knights of St. Lazarus . . . PAGE 103

CHAPTER IX.

THE SECOND CRUSADE.

The aspect of France favourable for a new Crusade.—A Crusade necessary in consequence of the loss of Edessa.—Character of St. Bernard.—Crusad eembraced by Louis VII. king of France, and the emperor Conrad III. of Germany.—Their military array.—March of the Germans.—Conrad passes into Asia, disregarding the Byzantine emperor.—Louis halts at Constantinople.—Distresses of the Germans.—Bravery of the French, and their subsequent disasters.—Arrival of the French at Antioch.—Eleanora.—Firmness of Louis.—The Crusaders reach Jerusalem.—They depart from their original object.—Siege of Damascus.—Disgraceful failure.—Return to Europe of Conrad and Louis . . . 118

CHAPTER X.

STATE OF THE HOLY LAND BETWEEN THE SECOND AND THIRD CRUSADES.

Continuation and close of the Edessene history.—Siege and capture of Ascalon.—Death of Baldwin III.—His successor Almeric.—Politics of Egypt.—Saladin.—The Turks and the Franks contend for lordship over Egypt.—Final defeat of the Latins.—Termination of the Fatimite government.—Saladin becomes lord of Egypt.—Death of Almeric.—Baldwin IV. his successor.—His disposition of his kingdom.—His death.—Civil strife.—Guy de Lusignan king.—Saladin resolves upon the destruction of the Latins.—Eventful battle of Tiberias.—Cruelty of Saladin.—Consequences of the battle of Tiberias.—Jerusalem is recaptured by Saladin.—Humanity of the conqueror.—Tripoli.—Antioch.—Retrospect 127

CHAPTER XI.

THE THIRD CRUSADE.

Effects in Europe of the failure of the second Crusade.—Louis VII. of France, and Henry II. of England, encourage holy wars.—Envoys from Palestine visit France and England.—Sensation in Europe made by the battle of Tiberias.—The Troubadors.—Germany arms.—Philip Augustus and Henry II. take the cross.—Saladin tythe.—Richard Cœur de Lion resolves on a Crusade.—March of the

French and English.—Crusade of the Germans.—Death of the emperor Barbaroesa.—Formation of the Teutonic order.—Events in Palestine after the loss of Jerusalem.—Siege of Acre.—Richard's course from Marseilles to Sicily.—Occurrences in Sicily.—The French sail to Acre.—Departure of Richard.—He subjugates Cyprus.—He sets sail for Acre.—His cruelty PAGE 145

CHAPTER XII.

CONTINUATION OF THE THIRD CRUSADE.

Arrival of the English at Acre.—Dissensions between the French and English kings. Heroism of Richard.—Reconciliation between Richard and Philip Augustus.—Surrender o f Acre.—Departure of the French king.—March of the Croises from Acre to Azotus.—Richard defeats Saladin.—He marches to Jaffa.—He advances to Ramula.—Is dissuaded from marching to Jerusalem.—Falls back on Ascalon.—Fruitless negotiation for peace.—Death of the marquis of Tyre.—Richard advances towards Jerusalem.—The enterprise abandoned.—Richard's heroism at Jaffa.—It leads to an honourable peace.—Courtesy of the king and the sultan.—Miscellaneous events.—Richard leaves the Holy Land.—Lands in Dalmatia.—His adventures in Germany.—Is taken prisoner.—His trial at Worms.—His ransom.—His return to England 158

CHAPTER XIII.

THE FOURTH AND FIFTH CRUSADES.

Death and character of Saladin. His successors.—Pope Celestine III. promotes a Crusade.—It is embraced by Germany.—Adventures of the Germans in Palestine.—Fair prospect of complete success.—Ruin of the cause.—Return to Europe of some of the Germans, and massacre of the rest at Jaffa.—Death of Henry, king of Jerusalem.—Almeric and Isabella, the new king and queen.—Character of Fulk, preacher of the fifth Crusade.—Politics of the Papacy respecting the Crusades.—Pope Innocent III. promotes a new Crusade.—It is embraced by France and Flanders.—The barons wish for the maritime aid of Venice.—Embassy to Venice.—Treaty between the republic and the envoys.—Departure of the Croises.—Arrival at Venice.—Suspension of the Crusade.—Subjugation of Zara.—Papal politics.—Grecian politics.—The Croises sail to Constantinople.—Attack and siege of the city.—Captured by the Croises.—Revolution in the government.—Another revolution.—The Croises renew the war.—Their complete victory.—Sack of Constantinople.—Division of the plunder.—Vengeance of the Croises on the fine arts.—Election of a Latin emperor.—General remarks on the empire of the Latins in Greece . PAGE 169

CHAPTER XIV.

THE SIXTH CRUSADE.

State of the East during the fifth Crusade.—History of Antioch.—Effects in Palestine of the fifth Crusade.—Death of the sovereigns of Jerusalem.—Mary, the new queen.—Her marriage with John de Brienne.—Another Crusade instigated by Innocent III.—Letters of Innocent to Muselman princes.—Character of De Courcon, preacher of the sixth Crusade.—Fourth Council of Lateran.—Extent of the ardour for a holy war.—Hungary and Lower Germany send the chief Crusaders.—Criminal excesses of the Croises.—Their useless pilgrimages.—Defection of the king of Hun gary—Fresh Crusaders.—Change of Crusading operations.—Siege and capture of Damietta.—Arrival in Egypt of English Crusaders.—Events subsequent to the capture of Damietta.—The Croises take the road for Cairo.—The legate refuses favourable terms of peace.—Consequences of his violence.—Damietta surrendered to the Muselmans.—The Emperor Frederick II.—His marriage with the heiress of Jerusalem —His disputes with the Popes.—He sails to Acre.—His friendship with the Moslems.—The recovery of the Sepulchre, and other advantageous results of his Crusade 188

CHAPTER XV.

THE SEVENTH AND EIGHTH CRUSADES.

Royal controversies in Palestine.—Council o Spoletto.—March of Hospitalians from London.—French lords take the cross.—State of Palestine.—Unsuccessful result of the French Crusade.—Crusade of the earl of Cornwall.—The English redeem the Sepulchre.—The Korasmians gain it from the Latins, and devastate Palestine.—Council of Lyons.—Louis IX. takes the cross.—English Crusaders.—Jealousy and treachery of the military orders.—The French sail to Cyprus.—They arrive off Damietta.—They land and capture Damietta.—Licentiousness of the French.—Arrival of the English Crusaders.—The army takes the road to Cairo.—Inability to cross the Ashmoun Canal.—They are shown a ford—Impetuosity of the Count d'Artois.—His dispute with the Templars and William Longsword.—Dreadful events in Massoura.—Distresses of the French.—The king is made prisoner.—Is ransomed.—The French go to Acre.—New hopes by reason of the Moslem dissensions.—Those dissensions quelled.—Failure of the Crusade.—Louis returns to France . . . 204

CHAPTER XVI.

THE LAST CRUSADE, AND LOSS OF THE HOLY LAND.

State of Palestine after the eighth Crusade.—War between the Templars and Hospitallers.—Progress of the Mamelukes of Egypt in the conquest of Palestine.—History of Antioch.—Antioch taken by the Egyptians.—Louis IX. prepares for his second Crusade.—Crusading spirit in England.—Departure of Louis from France for the Holy Land.—He disembarks near Tunis.—His death.—Prince Edward leaves England.—He passes the winter in Sicily.—Arrives at Acre.—Captures Nazareth.—His cruelty.—Distresses of the English.—Edward wounded by an assassin.—He makes peacewith the Mamelukes, and returns to England.—Vain effort of Gregory IX. for a new Crusade.—Council of Lyons.—Further progress of the Mamelukes.—Last Siege of Acre, and total loss of Palestine. PAGE 218

CHAPTER XVII.

EXTINCTION OF THE CRUSADING SPIRIT. FATE OF THE MILITARY ORDERS.

State of Europe at the close of the Crusades.—Reasons of the ceasing of Crusades.—Last appearances of the crusading spirit.—King Henry IV. of England.—Harry Monmouth.—Fate of the military orders.—The Teutonic knights.—The knights of St. Lazarus.—Knights of St. John.—Imprisonment of the Templars in France.—Proceedings against the Templars at Paris.—Process against the Templars in England.—In Germany.—In Italy.—Council at Vienne.—The order suppressed.—Confiscation of its estates.—Execution of the grand master.—Innocence of the Templars.—Causes of the suppression of the order PAGE 226

CHAPTER XVIII.

REMARKS ON THE GENERAL CONSEQUENCES OF THE CRUSADES . 242

ADDITIONAL NOTES . . 257

TABLES.

No. I. Latin Kings of Jerusalem . . 273
No. II. Princes of Antioch and Tripoli . 274
No. III. Counts of Tripoli . . . 275
No. IV. Princes or Counts of Edessa . 276

INDEX 277

THE

HISTORY

OF

THE CRUSADES.

CHAPTER I.

A VIEW OF THE CIRCUMSTANCES WHICH LED TO THE HOLY WARS.

Political history of Jerusalem. — The causes and practice of pilgrimages. — Other reasons for people going to Palestine. — Connexion between commerce and pilgrimages. — Tendency of an opinion prevalent in the tenth century. — Account of a pilgrimage made by some Normans, Englishmen, &c. — State of the Latins in Palestine. — Effects of the Moslems' cruelty.—Pope Sylvester II. plans a crusade.— Effects in Europe of the political changes in Asia. — Wish of Pope Gregory VII. respecting the state of the East. — History of Asia Minor. — Continuation of the effects of the Moslems' cruelty. — Religious and military spirit in Europe.

After the accomplishment of prophecy in the destruction of the second temple, paganism became the religion of Jerusalem, and the insulting and intolerant Romans dedicated to Venus and Jove the spots which had been hallowed by the passion of the Saviour. But in the fourth century the banner of the cross triumphed over polytheism. The piety of Christian emperors raised churches on the ruins of heathen temples, and Jerusalem continued a seat of the true faith, till the "Star of Islamism" arose, and the Arabians changed the moral and political aspect of the world. For three ages the Holy City was subject in reciprocal succession to the caliphs of Bagdad, and to those of Cairo. But the commanders of the faithful in Egypt finally prevailed, and in the year 969 their dominion over Palestine was established. A century, however, had not elapsed before a storm from the north burst upon the fairest and largest portion of Muhammedan countries, and the calamity of foreign invasion was added to the miseries of political feuds. From the bleak and ungenial plains of Khozzer, at the north-east of the Caspian sea, a mass of fierce and unpolished Turkmans, called in history the Seljuk Turks, rolled to the milder regions of the south. Between the years 1038 and 1092, all Persia, Arabia, and most of Syria, owned for their lords, Togrol, Seljuk, Alp Arslan, and Malek Shah. In the divisions between the lords of the Moslem world, these Tartarian princes chose the side of the caliph of Bagdad; they rescued him from the rebellion of his Turkish guards, and from the hostility of his Egyptian rival. They then carried on offensive war with the enemies of their ally, and a general of Malek Shah, about the year 1076, tore Jerusalem from their grasp. The new conquest was intrusted to Ortok, emir of a considerable body of Turks from the plains of Kipjack, and who soon converted his government into an independent principality. The city was alternately under the authority of the Seljuks and the Ortokites, for eighteen years, but in the vicissitudes of fortune, the Egyptians once more became lords of the ascendant, and recovered their power in Palestine.*

Jerusalem, whether in a state of glory or of abasement, was always† held dear

* De Guignes, livres 11 and 12.

† Jerome in his seventeenth epistle, says that people began to pilgrimise to Jerusalem directly after the ascension of Christ.

and sacred by the Christian. In the early ages of the church, a religious curiosity prompted people to visit those places which the scriptures have sanctified,* and as perceptible objects awaken associated thoughts and feelings,† the travellers found their sympathies stronger and their devotions more fervent, in beholding the scenes of the ministry of their Divine master, than in simply reading the narrative of his life. From the impious and vain attempt of the emperor Julian to re-edify the walls of the Holy City, the moral conclusion should have been drawn, that heaven had manifested its providence in order to complete its promises for the perfect abrogation of Judaism; but superstition readily fancied that there was some peculiar sanctity in the very ground of Jerusalem, and consequently the habit of visiting Palestine became strengthened.‡ Anxious restless guilt hoped that pardon might be procured by him who underwent the pains of pilgrimage, and who made the sacrifice of prayer in a land which, above all other countries, seemed to have been favoured by the Deity. As expiation was now the purpose of the religious traveller, it was the duty of directors of consciences to determine on what occasions the penance was necessary. The Bible acquainted the pious with the manners of the East. A scrip and a staff were, in conformity with Asiatic customs, considered to be the accompaniments of every traveller: they were the only support of the poor, and were always carried by the rich. The village pastor delivered a staff* into the hands of the pilgrim, and put round him a scarf or girdle to which a leathern scrip was attached.† Friends and neighbours walked with him to the next town, and benedictions and tears sanctified and embittered the moment of separation. On his return, he placed the branch of the sacred palm-tree‡ (which he had brought from Jerusalem) over the altar of his church, in proof of the accom-

* Quis enim non rapitur in admirationem et stuporem, qui montem Oliviferum, mare Tiberiadis, Jordanem, Hierosolymam, et alia loca quæ Christum frequentasse notum est, conspicit et menti suæ præsentem sistit generis humani sospitatorem, illic ea operantem aut passum quæ originem dedere sacris Christianorum ejus nomen confitentium. Reland, Palæstina ex monumentis veteribus illustrata, vol. 1. lib. 1. c. 4. page 21. "Not that the Deity can be adored in Jerusalem only; for who does not know that he is omnipresent; but the faithful may gratify their eyes by contemplating the scenes of the passion, and not enjoy them by faith alone. If we are devoted to any object, every circumstance, every thing relating to it interests us." Theodoreti Hist. Rel. p. 820.

† "Movemur nescio quo pacto locis ipsis, in quibus eorum, quos diligimus aut admiramur, adsunt vestigia. Me quidem ipsæ illæ nostræ Athenæ non tam operibus magnificis, exquisitisque antiquorum artibus delectant, quam recordatione summorum virorum, ubi quisque habitare, ubi sedere, ubi disputare solitus sit: studioseque eorum etiam sepulchra contemplor." Cicero de Legibus, 1. 2. c. 2. If the Roman, in contemplating the ruins of Greece, (Epist. ad Fam. 4. 5.,) found that a noble sympathy for the woes of nations banished all personal sorrows, the view of Cavalry could not excite feebler motions in the breast of a Christian.

‡ Even the dust of Palestine was adored: it was carefully conveyed to Europe, and the fortunate possessor, whether by original acquisition or by purchase, was considered to be safe from the malevolence of demons. As a proof that miracles had not ceased in his time, St. Augustine relates a story of the cure of a young man, who had some of the dust of the Holy City suspended in a bag over his bed. De Civitate Dei, lib. 22. c. 8. The fashion of transporting to Europe the soil of Palestine ran through most of the middle ages. At Pisa, the cemetery called *Campo Santo* contains, they say, five fathoms of Holy Land, brought in 1218 from Jerusalem by the Pisans. Lalande, Voyage en Italie, tom. 2.

* It is necessary to inform those who are obliged to describe the customs of the middle ages, that the staff of the pilgrim very rarely resembled a long cross or a crook. It was generally a stick as tall as the bearer, with a knob in the middle, and sometimes one at the top. See Fosbrooke's Monachism, p. 422, &c.

† For remarks on the dress of a pilgrim, see note A. at the end of the volume.

‡ Dante mentions the pilgrim bringing home his staff, inwreathed with palm. Che si reca'l bordon di palma cinto. Del Purgatorio, canto, 33. 78. The word palmer denoted a holy traveller to Jerusalem. Archb. of Tyre, lib. 21. cap. 17. Du Cange, articles Palmarius and Palmifer. Menage Dict. Etymologique, article Paumiers. Chiamansi Palmieri, inquanto vanno oltra mare, laonde molte volte récano la palma. Dante, Vita Nuova, p. 80. Many writers have said that the pilgrim travelled to some certain place; the palmer to all, and not to any one in particular. The old authors, however, do not always attend to this distinction: Chaucer, for instance, as Mr. Tyrwhitt says, seems to consider all pilgrims to foreign parts as palmers. Notes on the Canterbury Tales, vol. ii. p. 393. 4to. edition. The words palmer and pilgrims are used as perfectly synonymous in the Visions of Pier's Ploughman.

plishment of his vow; religious thanksgivings were offered up; rustic festivity saluted and honoured him, and he was revered for his piety and successful labours.*

Though pilgrimages were generally considered acts of virtue, yet some of the leaders of the church accounted them useless and criminal. Gregory, bishop of Nice, in the fourth century, dissuades his flock from these journeys. They were not conscientious obligations, he said, for, in the description of persons whom Christ had promised to acknowledge in the next world, the name of pilgrim could not be found. A migratory life was dangerous to virtue, particularly to the modesty of women.† Horror at spectacles of vice would diminish with familiarity, and the moral principle would gradually be destroyed. Malice, idolatry, poisoning, and bloodshed, disgraced Jerusalem itself; and so dreadfully polluted was the city, that if any man wished to have a more than ordinary spiritual communication with Christ, he had better quit his earthly tabernacle at once, than endeavour to enjoy it in places originally sacred, but which had been since defiled.‡ Some years after the time of Gregory, a similar description of the depravity of Jerusalem was given by Saint Jerome, and the Latin father commends a monk, who, though a resident in Palestine, had but on one occasion travelled to the city.* The opinions of these two venerable spiritual guides could not stem the torrent of popular religion. The coffers of the church, were enriched by the sale of relics, and the dominion of the clergy became powerful, in proportion to the growth of religious abuses and corruptions. Pilgrims from India, Ethiopia, Britannia, and Hibernia, went to Jerusalem; and the tomb of Christ resounded with hymns in various languages. Bishops and teachers would have thought it a disgrace to their piety and learning, if they had not adored their Saviour, on the very spot where his cross had first shed the light of his gospel.†

The assertion, that "the coffers of the church were enriched by the sale of relics," requires some observations; because the sale of one relic in particular encouraged the ardour of pilgrimages, and from that ardour the crusades arose. During the fourth century, Christendom was duped into the belief, that the very cross on which Christ had suffered had been discovered in Jerusalem. The city's bishop was the keeper of the treasure, but the faithful never offered their money in vain for a fragment of the holy wood. They listened with credulity to the assurance of their priests, that a living virtue pervaded an inanimate and insensible substance, and that the cross permitted itself every day to be divided into several parts, and yet remained uninjured and entire.‡ It was publicly ex-

* "A true devoted pilgrim is not weary
To measure kingdoms with his feeble steps."
Two Gentlemen of Verona, act. 2. sc. 7.

† The necessity of making a pilgrimage to Rome and other places was often urged by ladies who did not wish to be mewed in the solitary gloom of a cloister, "chanting faint hymns to the cold fruitless moon." In the ninth century, a foreign bishop wrote to the Archbishop of Canterbury, requesting, in very earnest terms, that English women of every rank and degree might be prohibited from pilgrimising to Rome. Their gallantries were notorious over all the continent. "Perpacuæ enim sunt civitates in Longobardia, vel in Francia, aut in Gallia, in qua non sit adultera vel meretrix generis Anglorum: quod scandalum est, et turpitudo totius ecclesiæ." Muratori, Antiquitates Italiæ Med. Ævi. Dissert. 58. vol. v. p. 58. "There are few cities in Lombardy, in France, or in Gaul, in which there is not an English adultress or harlot, to the scandal and disgrace of the whole church." Morality did not improve as the world grew older. The prioress in Chaucer, demure as she is, wears a bracelet on which was inscribed the sentence, "*Amor vincit omnia.*" The gallant monk, in the same pilgrimage, ties his hood with a true-lover's knot.

‡ Gregorei, episcopi Nyssæ, de euntibus Ieros. Epist. edit. Molinæo, &c. Hanov. 1607. Roman Catholic writers have been anxious to prove that St. Gregory did not condemn pilgrimages in the abstract. Perhaps so: he contends, however, that in his time no good could result from holy journeys.

* Molinæus, note No. 19.

† Jerome, Epist. ad Marcell. Ep. 23. See, too, Bedæ, Hist. Eccl. lib. 5. c. 15–18.

‡ Thus Erasmus says, in his entertaining dialogue on pilgrimages, "that if the fragments of the cross were collected, enough would be found for the building of a ship." "Idem causanter de cruce Domini, quæ privatim ac publice tot locis ostendetur, ut si fragmenta conferantur in unum, navis onerariæ justum onus videri possint; et tamen totam crucem suam bajulavit Dominus. No doubt Swift had this passage in his mind when he observes, "an-

hibited during the religious festivities of Easter, and Jerusalem was crowded with pious strangers to witness the solemn spectacle. But after four ages of perpetual distribution, the world was filled with relics, and superstition craved for a novel object. Accordingly, the Latin clergy of Palestine pretended, that on the vigil of Easter, after the great lamps in the church of the resurrection had been extinguished, they were relighted by God himself. People flocked from the West to the East in order to behold this act of the Divinity, and to catch some portion of a flame, which had the marvellous property of healing all diseases, mental as well as bodily, if those who received it had faith.*

The love of pilgrimages was nourished by a circumstance of no apparent connexion with devotional curiosity, the desire of expiation, the collecting of relics, or any other religious principle. Even so early as the days of Chilperic, France† carried on a constant and extensive intercourse with Greece. The opposite shores‡ of the Mediterranean were also known. Religion and commerce assisted each other, and the characters of a holy traveller and a worldly merchant were often united in the same person. The hospitals which charity had founded for the faltering pilgrim on the road to Jerusalem were the resting places of the caravans. The Christians acted like the Muselmans and Hindus, whose expeditions* to Mecca and Haridwar are for mercantile as well as for religious purposes.† From the ninth century to the eleventh, no state was richer or more commercial than that of Amalfi.‡ Its maritime laws were much respected in Europe, as the Rhodian decisions had been venerated by the Romans. Its money was current throughout the East. Amalfi was nominally dependent on the Emperor of Constantinople, and his formal sanction was obtained to a popular nomination of its dukes or governors.§ The wealthy Italians had commerce with Syria, and therefore enjoyed fairer opportunities than most other people to visit the hallowed haunts of pilgrims.

other time Lord Peter was telling of an old sign-post that belonged to his father, with nails and timber enough in it to build sixteen large men of war." Tale of a Tub, sec. 4.

* De Lumine Sancti Sepulchri Commentatio. Moshemii Dissertationes, vol. 2. Lubeck, 1727; and Du Cange's note on the thirteenth book of the Alexiad. p. 99. Like Tertullian and his school, these fire-worshippers "measured the merits of their assent by the absurdity of the proposition to be believed."

† De Guignes, in 37 vol. Mem. de l'Acad. des Inscriptions, Muratori Antiq. Italiæ Med. Ævi Diss. 30.

‡ "It has been remarked very long ago, that Palestine is the natural seat of great maritime commerce; which, indeed, first arose in that quarter, although afterwards unnaturally, as it were, it removed to other less convenient shores. To perceive this, one need only cast an eye on the map of this country. It lies between two seas, from which there is a direct navigation to the farest eastern and western parts of the globe. The land carrage of commodities from India, and other oriental countries, unloaded at Aela, and to be transported to the Mediterranean sea, is very easy, and by the use of camels very cheap; and the caravan trade betwixt Asia and Africa must likewise take its way through Palestine — Michaelis on the Mosaic Law, vol. 1. p. 72. Smith's translation.

* The Muselmans also were fond of pilgrimages to Jerusalem. They venerated that city as having been honoured with the presence of Christ and other prophets, whose divine authority they acknowledged. In Muhammedan theology, it is the place of assemblage at the general resurrection. To die in Jerusalem is as beneficial as to die in heaven. The most infatuated Christian pilgrim could not have had a higher idea of the meritoriousness of his journey, than what was entertained by the Muselman itinerant. The prayer of a man in his house is equal to one prayer: but in a temple near his house, it is as efficacious as twenty-five prayers: and in a public mosque, it is five hundred: but in Jerusalem or Medina, it is worth five thousand common orisons. Mischat ul Musabih, vol. I. p. 155. 4to. Calcutta, 1809: and the French translations which De Guignes has made of two Arabic treatises, on the subject of pilgrimages to Jerusalem, in the second volume of Notices des MSS. du Roi.

† James de Vitry, speaking of the pilgrims, says, Latini devotionis gratiâ aut negotiationis advenientes, p. 1082 in Bonjarsius.

‡ William of Apulia bears out this assertion. (Muratori, Diss. 30. vol. i. p. 884.)

Urbs hæc dives opum, populoque referta videtur,
Nulla magis locuples argento, vestibus, auro.
Partibus innumeris ac plurimus urbe moratur
Nauta, maris cælique vias aperire peritus.
Huc et Alexandri diversa feruntur ab urbe.
Regis et Antiochi. Hæc (etiam!) freta plurima transit.
Hic Arabes, Indi, Siculi noscuntur, et Afri.
Hæc gens est totum prope nobilitata per orbem,
Et meranda ferens, et amans mercata referre.

§ Giannone Istoria di Napoli, lib. 7. cap. 3.

They belonged to the Romish church, and were equally incommoded by the heresy of the Greeks, and the infidelity of the Saracens. They were well known in Cairo, one great seat of the Moslem power, and by means of rich presents to the officer of the caliph, they gained a royal license for the erection of a church in Jerusalem, wherein they might celebrate religious service, agreeably to the Latin ritual. A temple was accordingly built near that of the Resurrection, and dedicated to the Virgin, under the title of St. Mary ad Latinos. Provision was also made for the pilgrims of both sexes by means of the two hospitals, the chapels of which were put under the protection of St. John the Almoner,* and of St. Mary Magdalen. Some Benedictine monks administered the ceremonies of religion, and the duties of benevolence were performed by such of those pious Europeans, of the Romish communion, as had resolved to end their days in Palestine. The weary palmers found repose, the sick were healed, and the poor were relieved in these houses of charity. Humanity was paramount over the distinctions of sects, and even no unfortunate Muselman ever supplicated at the gate in vain. The alms of the people of Southern Italy, and of their conquerors, the Normans, supported the establishment, and the merchants of Amalfi were its faithful trustee.†

But no principles of ecclesiastical discipline, no causes, whether superstitious or commercial, gave such strength to the spirit of pilgrimising, as the opinion which distinguished the tenth century, that the reign of Christ, or the Millenium, was at hand.‡ The people, judging of divine matters by human, attributed to a great and good God all the angry passions of mortality. They underwent the austerities of the cloister, and the pains and labours which the monks imposed. God's vicegerents on earth were propitiated by costly gifts, and so strong was the fanaticism, that private property was suffered to decay, and noble edifices were destroyed, from the conviction of their approaching inutility. From every quarter of the Latin world the poor affrighted Christians, deserting their homes and ordinary occupations, crowded to the Holy Land. The belief was general, that on the place of his former suffering Christ would judge the world: his zealous but ignorant votaries thought that these voluntary sacrifices and penances would be acceptable with heaven. Years rolled on years; the thunderbolts of vengeance remained in the skies; nature held her appointed course. The world discovered that its interpretations of prophecy had been rash and persumptuous; but Jerusalem became dearer than ever to the Christians, because it had been the subject of their reflections and feelings.

Most of the causes of pilgrimages arrived, in the eleventh century, at the height of their influence and effect. The history of that period abounds with narratives of devotional expeditions.* The clergy of Germany had proclaimed their intention of visiting Jerusalem; and Ingulph, a native and historian of England, was one of a Norman troop which joined them at Mayence. The total number of pilgrims was seven thousand, and among the leaders are the names, respectable for rank, of the archbishop of Mayence, and the bishops of Bamberg, Ratisbon, and Utrecht. Their march down Europe, and through the Greek empire, was peaceable and unmolested; but, when they entered the territory of the infidels, they fell into the hands of Arab robbers, and it was not without great losses of money and lives that the band reached Jerusalem. The pilgrims were met by the patriarch, and the Latins and Syrians of the city. They made a solemn procession to the sepulchre, amidst the clangor of cymbals, and a brilliant display of lights;† and the religious feelings of the strangers are well expressed by the declaration of one of them, that Jesus Christ, the inhabitant of the temple, alone knew the number of prayers which they

* St. John the Almoner, Patriarch of Alexandria, was a fit patron saint; for when, in the seventh century, Jerusalem fell into the hands of the Saracens, he sent money and provisions to the afflicted Christians, and supplied such as fled into Egypt. See Butler's Lives of the Saints, vol. i. p. 274. ed. 1812.

† Glaber, lib. 1. c. 5. in Du Chesne, vol. iv. Archb. of Tyre, p. 934, 935.

‡ Revelations, ch. 20. v. 2–4.

* Gretser, de Sacris Peregrin, lib. 1. c. 6.

† Grandi cymbalorum tonitru et luminarium immenso fulgore. — Ingulph.

offered up; the tears they shed; the sighs they breathed. They then viewed the other parts in the city venerable in the imagination, and particularly some direful effects of Saracenian zeal. Their grief at the sight of holy ruins nourished their devotion, and they wished to bathe in the river Jordan, and to kiss with divine rapture all the places where Christ had exercised his ministry; but troops of Arabs were ever on the watch to fall upon the traveller; and it consequently was dangerous to go far from Jerusalem. A party of Geonese arrived in the Holy Land for the objects of trade and religion. From them the Germans purchased a return to Europe; they embarked at Jaffa, and were landed at Brundisium. After viewing with religious veneration the monuments of the martyrs at Rome, the archbishop and his flock returned to Germany, and Ingulph took the road for France. Of more than thirty Norman horsemen who had accompanied our English pilgrim, scarcely twenty remained, and they pursued their way to their homes on foot, ill, weary, and penny-less.*

The state of the Latin pilgrims and residents in the Holy Land was that of sunshine and storms;† and the vicissitudes did not arise from any uncertainty in Muselman law, but from the different characters of those who, from time to time, moved the machine of government. The propagation of religion was the active principle of Islamism, and war the instrument. Consistently with this spirit, such of the Christian nations as had been subjugated by the Moslems, were treated by their conquerors with stronger feelings than the common fierceness and cruelty of victors. The Koran considered its foes as the enemies of God, and genuine Islamism hated and despised those who had obstinately resisted celestial calls. The fancied possession of Divine favour was productive of a feeling of contempt and uncharitableness for such as had been deserted by heaven in the day of battle. The Muselmans found it convenient, indeed, to tolerate that which they could not destroy, and to enjoy their triumph by protracted oppression. Conversion or tribute was the choice offered to Christians. Two pieces of gold was the annual price of the safety of every individual *infidel* in Jerusalem: a patriarch and an episcopal establishment of clergy were permitted, and the congregation of the tributaries lived in the quarter of the city where the church of the resurrection stood. The protection which they were seemingly entitled to did not raise their condition much above that of slaves. The smallness of their houses and the meanness of their dress marked the degradation of their state, and persecution banished generous sentiments. Yet humanity occasionally prevailed over an inhuman religion, and the Saracenic governors exclaimed, "the pilgrims cannot have left their country for bad purposes; they only seek to fulfil their law." The most peaceful days of the Christians were in the caliphate of Harun al Raschid, one of the patrons of Arabian literature. His liberal views embraced the west as well as the east. When the ministers of Charlemagne arrived at Jerusalem with their master's presents to the sepulchre, the caliph not only received them with kindness and respect, but sent the keys of the city to his great contemporary.* Soon afterwards, a tax was levied by the emperor for the repair of the churches in Palestine; and a large hospital and a library in Jerusalem commemorated the liberal-

* Ingulphi Historia, p. 903, 904, in the Scriptores post Bedam. Mariani Scoti Chronica, p. 429.

† Sic igitur civitate Deo amabili et sacrosancta, peccatis nostris exigentibus, infidelium, subjectâ hostium ditioni, jugum indebitæ servitutis continuis passa est laboribus per annos quadringentos nonaginta, conditionibus alternis. Nam frequenti rerum mutatione, dominos mutavit frequentius: secundum quorum dispositionem, *plerumque lucida*, *plerumque nubila*, recepit intervalla; et ægrotantis more, temporum, præsentium, gravabatur, aut respirabat, qualitate. Archb. of Tyre, p. 630.

* Archb. of Tyre, p. 630. Eginhart, 80, 81. This delivery of the keys to Charlemagne has given birth to controversy. Some writers have magnified it into a surrender of the Holy Land: and others, astonished at the liberality of a Saracen, have denied the story altogether. The plain fact is, Harun gave Charlemagne, as lord of the Christians, dominion over the temple to which the European population had flocked. The Christians were not relieved from the capitation tax: at least, if Harun remitted it, his successors enforced it. In Moslem countries seldom is the act of a sovereign considered binding on his successor. The common story of Charles' journey to Palestine is fabulous.

ity of Charlemagne.* The state of the Christians increased in misery under the Fatimate caliphs. Hakem, the third prince, passed all former limits of cruelty. He called himself the personal image of God, and his audacity awed several thousand people into a belief in his claims. He hated and persecuted alike both Jews and Christians, but as vanity and fanaticism had not altogether obliterated all traces of education, he tolerated the Muselmans. At his command the church of the resurrection and the rock of the sepulchre were greatly injured. But with the versatility of unprincipled passion he ordered, before his death, that the church should be restored. His successors, however, imitated his example, and despised his command. Long established custom was considered no privilege from an increase to the tribute. All religious ceremonies and processions were prohibited. Property was insecure; children were torn from their parents; the daughters were led to prostitution, the sons to apostacy. The fortitude of the Christians triumphed, and with the pecuniary aid of the Greek emperor, and *perhaps* by the influence of an eminent Muselman woman that had secretly renounced the errors of her fathers, they restored the edifice which commemorated the most wonderful passage in their Redeemer's life. This work was accomplished amidst a thousand dangers. The Moslems did not cease to torment them. The lives of the Christians were often sacrificed, and though, according to the principles of Muhammedan jurisprudence, even a true believer should be condemned to the bowstring for the murder of a tributary infidel, yet the friends of the victims to fanaticism could never obtain legal justice. Every new governor gratified his avarice and savageness at the expense of the Christians, and each murmur of grief and outcry of indignation, were answered by the threat that the church of the resurrection should be destroyed.*

In considering the state of Jerusalem under the Seljukian and Ortokite Turks, we must give the fullest import to words of wretchedness. These people were newly converted Moslems; they fought in the name and for the support of the doctrines of the Abassidan caliphs, and their enthusiasm was fresh and vigorous. The Fatimites were regarded as enemies; and when the Seljuks conquered Jerusalem, the swords of the Turks were plunged with undistinguishing cruelty into the hearts of Egyptians and Christians. The conquerors had not been long enough in the south to have shaken off any of their original and native barbarity. They lived in tents near the towns which they seized, and the hardihood of their savage simplicity mocked the elegant defencelessness of luxury and commerce.

The cruelties which the Christians experienced in the days of the Fatimite caliphs gave rise to new feelings in the nations of the west. Every pilgrim brought home tales of public sacrilege or individual misery; and though some gloomy minds might consider afflictions as the essence of pilgrimages, and were therefore slow in separating the superfluous from the necessary pains, yet upon general considerations it was evidently a disgrace that the followers of Christ should dwell only by sufferance in the country of their master, and that pagans† should

* Mabillion, Acta Ben. sec. 3. p. 2. Three centuries before the time of Charlemagne there was a monastery at Jerusalem for the reception of travellers. — Greg. Turv. de Marty, lib. i. c. 11. It seems that the first, or at least one of the first houses for the reception of indigent sick, was the one which was built at Rome by Fabiola, a Roman lady, in the course of the fifth century. Houses of reception for travellers were absolutely necessary when religious journeys were considered a moral duty; and, as the obligation included the poor as well as the rich, many of those houses were charitable establishments. Jerome built a hospital at Bethlem; and his friend Paula caused several to be erected on the road to that village, in order that the devout idlers, as she says, might fare better than the mother of God, who, on her necessary journey thither, could find no inn. See the Epistle of Jerome, cited in Beckman's History of Inventories, vol. iv. p. 471.

* Archb. of Tyre, p. 631; Grester, 63; Renaudot, Hist. Pat. Alexand. p. 390, 397, 400, 401.

† Pagan and Paynim are words in frequent use among the writers of the middle ages, for those who followed the doctrines of the Arabian prophet. Le Souldan, says Joinville, estoit le plus puissant roy de toute Payennie. See Du Cange, glossary, article Paganismus. The people of the west thought that the Saracens adored a plurality of gods, and that Muhammed himself was an object of worship. Mahoun signified the Devil, and Mawmettes idols, in old English.

be possessors of a land which he had consecrated by his presence. At the close of the tenth century, Pope Sylvester II., the ornament of his age, entreated the church universal to succour the church of Jerusalem, and to redeem a sepulchre which the prophet Isaiah had said should be a glorious one, and which the sons of the destroyer Satan were making inglorious.* Pisa was the only city which was roused to arms, and all her efforts were mere predatory incursions on the Syrian coast.†

In the next century, political events in the Grecian and Saracenian worlds occasioned a renewal of the endeavour to arm Christendom against Islamism. The conquest of Jerusalem by the generals of Malek Shah has been already mentioned. Not long before that event, Alp Arslan had added the Grecian provinces of Georgia and Armenia to the Tartarian monarchy. Constantinople trembled for her safety, and the emperor Manuel VII. about the year 1073, supplicated the aid of Pope Gregory VII., expressed deep respect for his Holiness, and attachment to the Latin church. The spiritual sovereign immediately commanded the patriarch of Venice to proceed to Constantinople, and arrange the terms of friendship and reunion. An encyclical letter was sent from Rome to the states and princes of the west, acquainting them with the melancholy fact, that the pagans were overcoming the Christians. The people of Christ had been slain like sheep, and their remorseless murderers had carried their devastations even to the walls of the Imperial city. The faithful ought to lament for the misfortunes of the empire, and the miseries of their brethren: they should not, however, lament only; but, following the example of their Divine master, they should give up their lives for their friends. Accordingly, fifty thousand men prepared themselves to rescue the Christians of the east, and to arrest the march of Islamism. So highly was Gregory elated at the ambitious prospect, which the application of Manuel and the armament of Europe opened to his mind, that he even determined to lead the sacred host, and to commit the custody of the Holy See to his great compeer, Henry IV. of Germany.* But all ideas of a crusade soon died away, and the Pope deserted the general interests of religion in his ambitious attempts to establish the supreme dominion of papal royalty over the whole of Europe.

The loss of Georgia and Armenia was quickly followed by other disasters, and the Turkish power advanced to Constantinople. After having subdued almost all the countries of Asia, which owed allegiance to the throne of Bagdad, the Sultan, Malek Shah, commanded his relation, Soliman, to subjugate the territories which were situated between Syria and the Bosphorus. The mighty conquest was achieved, and the generous Sultan elevated his victorious Emir to the dignity of prince over these fresh acquisitions. Nice, in Bithynia, was the capital of the new kingdon of the Seljuks, and the Grecian Emperor, Alexius Comnenus, after having endeavoured to recover Asia Minor, was obliged, by the formal instrument of a treaty, to acknowledge the power of his enemies. The city of Antioch had been wrested from the Saracens by the Emperor Diogenes; but the general whom the Byzantine court had appointed governor, basely deserted his allegiance, entered into the alliances with the Muselmans, and even offered to oblige his new friends by renouncing his religion. His son, however, from motives unrecorded and inscrutable, called in the aid of the Nissian monarch. Soliman quickly made himself master of Antioch: but he declined to pay the accustomed tribute to Aleppo; a war ensued, and the Moslem lords of both cities were slain. Asia Minor became the scene of great disorders: Nice was ruled by Abulcasem, a general of Soliman; but the Greeks began to raise their heads, when they saw the Turks no longer sup-

* Bouquet, Recueil des Historiens, &c. vol. x. p. 426.

† The lives of the Popes in Muratori, Rer. Scrip. Ital. vol. iii. pars 1, p. 400.

* Ep. Greg. lib. I. 49, II. 31, 37, in Labbe, Concilia, vol. 10. It is evident from the letters of Gregory, that the extinction of heresy, the union of the two churches, and the general triumph of the Christian over the Moslem cause, were the great objects of the Pope. Palestine does not seem to have been much thought of. There is only one allusion to it. He says, that 50,000 people had agreed to march to the sepulchre of Christ if he would lead them.

ported by the great Seljukian Sultan. The lord of Nice entertained the daring hope of subjugating the Greek empire, but Alexius Comnenus baffled all his designs, and even regained much of Nicomedia. Malek Shah claimed the sovereignty over all the countries which had been torn from the Greeks and Saracens. Abulcasem refused submission; took up arms against his liege lord, and solicited and obtained the promise of aid from the Greek emperor. Alexius resolved to send only a small army, which should not co-operate with his ally; but should, in the general disorganization of affairs, possess itself of Nice. His troops marched into Asia Minor; the soldiers of the Seljukian Sultan took flight; and the Greeks gained a partial sovereignty over the capital of Bithynia. Malek Shah continued his endeavours to fix his imperial dominion on all the Turkish states. His religion gave way to his politics; he even offered to marry the daughter of the Greek emperor, and to restore him all the Grecians territories at that time in Turkish power, if the court of Constantinople would join him in chastising the rebellion of his Emir, Abulcasem, and of several other generals, who, on the death of Soliman, had divided his kingdom. Alexius took no vigorous measures to strengthen his southern frontier, but endeavoured to preserve the friendship both of the Sultan and Abulcasem. The final issue of this crooked policy was prevented, however, by the death of both his Turkish rivals. The family of Soliman gained their liberty when their jealous master, Malek, died; the people of Nice rejoiced to see the children of their former lord, and Kilidge Arsland became sole and undisputed Sultan of Bithynia.*

Though the soldiers of Gregory did not march into Palestine, and the state of Asia was not affected by his preparations, yet the public mind of Europe received additional conviction that a war with the Muselmans in the east was both virtuous and necessary. The unparalleled barbarities of the Ortokites were heard of with indignation in the west. The bloodthirstiness of the lords of the Holy City was only checked by their avarice. To prohibit the Christians from pilgrimages and commerce would have proved a serious loss to the revenues of the state; but the Turks considerably increased the capitation tax, and as their cruelties made holy journeys more meritorious, the number of pilgrims suffered no diminution. The wealthy stranger was immediately and violently robbed. Though the simple palmer was the emblem of religious poverty, yet as the Turks could not appreciate the force and self-denial of his pious fervour, they thought it was impossible that any one could have undertaken so long a journey without possessing a large pecuniary viaticum. Unrestrained by humanity in the rigor of their search, they ripped over the bodies of their victims, or waited the slower consequences of an emetic of scammony water.*

Every year the passion of indignation and the desire of revenge gained force in the breasts of the Latins, and the chivalric character of the times could not brook the insults of the Muselmans. That flame was still alive which had consumed the Roman empire; arms were more powerful than the laws; barbarian fierceness than Christian mildness. Possession of land was the consequence of valour, and to the minds of nations of warriors the mode of tenure should be the same as the mode of acquisition. Continental Europe was divided among an armed aristocracy: the names and titles of king and emperor were held by the successors of Charlemagne; but the barons were the peers rather than the subjects of their feudal lords. The sword encouraged and decided disputes; no one would acquire by labour what he could gain by blood: martial excellence was the point of ambition; for it was the sole road to distinction, the only test of merit. Like the Muselmans, the Christians thought that conquest was the surest proof of divine approbation, and that heaven would never sanction the actions of the wicked. The feudal law in the eleventh century was a mere military code, a system of provisions for attack and defence; the voice of religion was seldom heard amidst the din of arms;

* De Guignes, tome ii. livre xi. p. 1—11, tome i. p. 245.

* Guibert, a good witness for the events of the first crusade, mentions the singular circumstance in the text, p. 480.

and fierceness, violence, and rapine, prevailed in the absence of social order and morals. Private war desolated Europe, the nobles were robbers, and most castles were but dens of thieves, and receptacles of plunder. Churchmen as well as laymen held their estates by the return of military service. They often accompanied their armed vassals with the lord in his warlike expeditions; and it would have been remarkable, if at all times the only office which they performed was that of encouraging the soldiers to battle.* As the clergy were taken from the people at large, it was natural that they should on many points possess popular feelings and manners. They partook, therefore, of the violent character of the age. Some made robbery a profession; and the voice even of the wisest among them would not have been listened to in national assemblies if they had not been clad in armour.† The ecclesiastical writers of the time call their superiors tyrants rather than pastors, and reprehend them for resorting to arms rather than to civil laws and church authority. Yet the clergy did much towards accustoming mankind to prefer the authority of law to the power of the sword. At their instigation private wars ceased for certain periods, and on particular days, and the observance of the *Truce of God*‡ was guarded by the terrors of excommunication and anathema. Christianity could not immediately and directly change the face of the world; but she mitigated the horrors of the times by infusing herself into warlike institutions. As the investiture of the toga was the first honour conferred on the Roman youth, so the Germans were incited to ideas of personal consequence, by receiving from their lord, their father, or some near relation, in a general assembly, a lance and a shield. Each petty prince was surrounded by many valiant young men, who formed his ornament in peace, his defence in war.* Military education was common with the German and other conquering nations, both in their original settlements, and in their new acquisitions: and when the tribes of the north had renounced idolatry, and adopted the religion of the south, the ceremony of creating a soldier became changed from the delivery of a lance and shield to the girding of a sword on the candidate, the church called upon him to swear always to protect her, and Christian morality added the obligations of rescuing the oppressed, and preserving peace.† A barrier was thus raised against cruelty and injustice; and objects of desire, distinct from rapine and plunder, were before the eyes of martial youth. The true knight was courteous and humane; stern and ferocious. His various duties determined his character. As protector of the weak, his mind was elevated and softened, generous and dis-

* The words of Guido, an abbot of Clairville, are remarkable: — Olim not habebant castella et arces ecclesiæ cathedrales, nec incedebant pontifices loricati. Sed nunc propter abundantiam temporalium rerum, flamma, ferro, cæde possessiones ecclesiarum prælati defendunt, quas deberent pauperibus erogare. Du Cange, Gloss. Lat. art. Advocatus. Bishops often appear in old romances in a military as well as a sacerdotal capacity.

† The laws, at variance with opinion, prohibited the clergy from bearing arms. They were repeatedly threatened with the loss of ecclesiastical situations if they went to war. Baluzius, Capitularia Regum Francorum, p. 164 and p. 932.

‡ This benevolent practice was of high origin. Tacitus mentions, as the only remarkable circumstance among the Angles and many other nations, that at particular seasons the symbol of the earth was carried in sacred procession through the countries where the supposed mother of all things was worshipped, and that during this religious journey the voice of foreign wars and domestic broils was hushed. Germania, c. 40.

* Tacitus calls them comites: and subsequent Latin writers, milites. These words do not convey the idea of obligation to service which are contained in the German word knecht, or the Saxon cniht.

† Du Cange, article Militare. Du Cange shows that religious ceremonies were used in the investiture of knights, before the Crusades. See, too, Muratori, Antiquitates Italiæ Med. Ævi. Dissert. 53. The minute ceremonies of initiation differed in various countries. The order of knighthood, like the priesthood, was called a holy order. The candidate had his sponsers: he confessed his sins, was regenerated in the bath, received the communion, and, in short, every thing was done that could impress a stamp of sanctity upon the society. Religion gave the character and objects of the institution; and war became, in some measure, virtue. Every freeman was qualified to be a cavalier, and as knights, as well as princes, barons and bishops, might create knights, there was no difficulty in acquiring the name of a soldier.

interested. But the enemies of the church, as well as the foes of morals, were the objects of his hatred; he became the judge of opinions as well as of actions, and military spirit prompted him to destroy rather than to convert infidels and heretics. The engrafting of the virtues of humanity and the practical duties of religion on the sanguinary qualities of the warrior, was a circumstance beneficial to the world. But the mixture of the apostle and the soldier was a union which reason abhors. It gave rise to a feeling of violent animosity against the Saracens, and was a strong and active cause of the Crusades.

CHAPTER II.

A HOLY WAR DECREED — MORAL CONVULSION OF EUROPE — FATE OF THE FIRST CRUSADERS.

Peter the Hermit. — His pilgrimage to Jerusalem. — He resolves to preach a holy war. — His wish embraced by Urban II. — Policy of that Pope. — Peter's preaching. — Councils of Placentia and of Clermont. — Urban's speech at Clermont. — The redemption of the sepulchre resolved upon. — The crusade embraced by Europe — Departure of the European rabble. — First division. — Its destruction in Bulgaria. — Second division. — Its disasters and outrages on the road to Greece. — And destruction in Bithynia. — Third division. — Its destruction in Hungary. — Fourth and last division. — Its shocking superstition. — Cruelties on the German Jews. — Destruction in Hungary.

In times when a pilgrimage to Jerusalem was regarded as the duty of every Christian, and when war was the occupation and delight of Europe, Peter, a native of Amiens, in France, kindled that false and fatal zeal which for two centuries spread its devastating and consuming fires. In his youth he performed feudal military service under the banners of Eustace de Bouillon, father of Godfrey VI., duke of Lorraine: but he did not long aspire after the honours of a hero. He became the husband of a lady of the noble family of Roussy, but as she was old, poor, and ugly, his vanity and his ambition were not gratified by the marriage. His next characters were those of a priest and an anchorite;* and since in his subsequent life he was usually clad in the weeds of a solitary, his contemporaries surnamed him the Hermit. As the last means of expiating some errors of his early days, he resolved to undergo the pains and perils of a journey to the Holy Land. When he started from the shade of obscurity, his small and mean person was macerated by austerities; his face was thin and care-worn; but his eye spoke thought and feeling, and atoned for the general insignificance of his appearance. His imagination was sanguine, but his judgment was weak: and therefore his long continued speculations upon religion in the cloister and cell, ended in dreams of rapture. He fancied himself invested with Divine authority, and what in truth was but the vision of a heated mind, he believed to be a communication from heaven.†

He accomplished his journey to Palestine; and, on his arrival at Jerusalem, went through the usual course of prayers and processions. The sacrilegious and inhuman barbarities of the Turks had excited the indignation of every pilgrim, and affected in the strongest manner the ardent fancy of Peter. With his host, a Latin Christian, he conversed on the subjects of the existing distresses of the faithful, the triumph of infidelity, and the ancient grandeur and modern degradation of the Holy City. In the patriarch Symeon, too, the hermit found a kindred spirit; and, by means of an interpreter, they communicated their opinions and feelings. The churchman's account of the afflictions of the people of God were met not only with tears, but the reiterated question, whether no way could be discovered

* Petrarch, in his treatise, De Vita Solit. lib. ii. sec. iv. c. 1. celebrates Peter as a great example of solitary livers.

† On the person and character of Peter, thus writes the archbishop of Tyre: Sacerdos quidam, Petrus nomine, de regno Francorum, de episcopatu Ambianensi, qui et re et nomine cognominabatur Heremita, eodem fervore tractus Hierosolymam pervenit. Erat autem hic idem statura pusillus, et quantum ad exteriorem hominem, personæ contemptibilis. Sed *major in exiguo regnabat corpore virtus.* Vivacis enim ingenii erat, *et oculum habens perspicacem*, gratumque, et sponte fluens ei non deerat eloquium. P. 637. See, too, the collection of passages from the original writers in Du Cange's note on the Alexiad. p. 79, Venice edition.

to soften and to terminate them. Symeon declared that these misfortunes were the consequences of sin; that the remedy and redress could not be found among the Greeks, who had already lost half their empire, but among the great nations of the west, whose strength was unimpaired. The hermit replied, that if the people of Europe had certain evidence of these facts, they would provide a remedy. "Write, therefore," he continued, "both to the Pope and the Romish church, and to all the Latin Christians: and affix to your letter the seal of your office. As a penance for my sins, I will travel over Europe; I will describe to princes and people the degraded state of the church, and will urge them to repair it."*

Possessed of his credentials, but principally trusting in the virtue of his cause, Peter returned to Europe, and repaired to Pope Urban II., who was disputing with Guibert, the friend of the emperor, for the pontificate. The tale was eagerly listened to by the Pope. Urban was religious in the sense in which his age understood religion, and he therefore lamented the direful state of Jerusalem: he was humane, and his tears flowed for the insulted and distressed pilgrims. He had been patronized by Gregory VII. through all the course of ecclesiastical dignities, and had succeeded to the ambition, as well as to the power of his master.† But his religious sympathy and lofty desires were not unmingled with selfish feelings, for it appears from the authority of an excellent witness,‡ that the Pope conferred upon the subject of Peter's message with Bohemond, prince of Tarentum;§ and that it was by the advice of this Norman freebooter, that he resolved to direct the martial energies of Europe to foreign ends. It was thought that if his holiness could kindle the flame of war, auxiliaries might be easily engaged, by whose means he would be able to fix himself in the Vatican, and Bohemond could recover those Grecian territories which for a while had been in the possession of the Normans.*

It might have been supposed, that when the head of Christendom had adopted the cause of the pilgrims, individual exertion would have been useless. But, devoted to his object, and swelled in self-importance by his influence with the Pope, Peter resolved to preach the deliverance of the sepulchre. He accordingly traversed Italy and France. His dress expressed self-abasement and mortification: it was only a coarse woollen shirt, and a hermit's mantle.† His mode of living was abstemious; but his qualities did not consist of those selfish penances which are the usual virtues of the recluse. He distributed among the poor those gifts which gratitude showered upon himself; he reclaimed the sinner; terminated disputes, and sowed the germs of virtue.‡ He was every where hailed and considered as the man of God, and even the hairs which fell from his mule were treasured by the people as relics.§ His exhortations to vengeance on the Turks were heard with rapture, because they reflected the religious sentiments of the day. The love also of romantic adventure, and the desire of chivalric danger sympathized with the advice of the preacher. Religion and heroism were in unison. In some minds, moreover, political considerations had weight, and Europe was regarded as the ally of Constantinople. About the year 1085, Count Robert I. of Flanders, following the religious fashion of the times, endeavoured to expiate his offences against heaven by the pains of pilgrimage. In the course of his return from Jerusalem to Europe, he visited the Grecian court. He promised Alexius five hundred horsemen; and he lost

* Archb. of Tyre, 637.

† Fulcher, 381. Archb. of Tyre, 638. Martenne, Vet Script. Amp. Coll. V. 516, and the Life of Urban, by P. Pisanus, in the fourth vol. of Muratori, Script. Rer. Ital. p. 352.

‡ William of Malmsbury, p. 407.

§ For the family history of this prince, and its connexion with Constantinople, see note B.

* William of Malmsbury, p. 407.

† Lanea tunica ad purum, cucullo super, utrisque talaribus, byrrho desuper induebatur; brachis minime, nudipes autem. Guibert, lib. ii. cap. 8.

‡ Guibert, 482. Archb. of Tyre, 638. Museum Italicum, vol. 1. p. 131.

§ Quidquid agebat namque, seu loquebatur, quasi quiddam, subdivinum videbatur, præsertim cum etiam de ejus mulo pilo pro reliquiis reperentur. Guibert, p. 482. The original historians, seldom backward in ascribing speeches to the great characters of the crusades, have not reported any of the sermons of Peter.

no time in succouring his imperial friend. But the Turkish power continued formidable; and while the fortunes of Constantinople stood on a perilous edge, the emperor implored all Europe to arm itself against Asia.*

In order to rouse and concentrate the mighty powers of holy zeal, Urban assembled two councils of clergy and laymen; one in Italy, the seat of his influence, and the other in France, whither he had been invited by Raymond, count of Tholouse, and the bishop of Chorges.† France, too, was the most military country of the west, and had often acquired fame in sacred wars. The march of Saracenian victory had been closed at Tours. Pepin le Bref, son of Charles Martel, dispossessed the Arabs of Languedoc and Provence, and Charlemagne himself gained laurels and possessions in the north of Spain. Instigated as much by national valour as by religious principle, the French, in the middle of the eleventh century, fought under William duke of Aquitain against the Saracens. The Christians in Spain had also been succoured by Hugh, duke of Burgundy, and afterwards by his son Eudes.*

In March, 1095, the Tuscan and Lombard bishops met Urban at Placentia. The legates of Alexius were admitted to the council, in order to show the necessity of driving the Turks from the confines of Europe; and the resolution of Urban and the prelates, that it was just and politic to assist the emperor of Greece in punishing the Pagans, was approved by inferior clergy and laity, whose numbers have been estimated at four thousand of the former class, and thirty thousand of the latter.† The clerical and secular people of the west were summoned to council in the city of Clermont, the capital of the Lower Auvergne, in the month of November, subsequently to the holding of the Placentian assembly. The dukes of Aquitain and lords of Auvergne had long established their independence over the Francic successors of Charlemagne; but as they were the personal friends of king Philip I., the enemy of Urban,‡ the circumstance is remarkable, that their territories should be chosen for the seat of the meeting.§ Individuals of every class of laymen, and every rank of the ecclesiastical order, flocked to Clermont, from all parts of France and Germany; and the deliberations were carried on in an open square, for no hall could contain the unprecedented multitude.‖ The neighbouring villages and towns were full of men, and the poorest people were happy in the shelter of tents. Seven days were occupied in making decrees on matters of local and temporary

* It is certain that Alexius implored the succour of the West. No correct transcripts of his letters have been preserved. All the versions are in Latin. One of them has a clause, that Alexius would rather than his empire should be possessed by the Latin Christians than by the Turks. "Constantinople," he adds, "is rich in gold and in relics, and you will find an ample reward for your labours." This clause bears strong marks of forgery. Could the emperor so coolly have devoted his capital to pillage? The Greeks too hated the Latins with more bitterness than they hated the Turks. It may be remarked, by the way, that in Guibert's abstract of the letter, the assistance of the Europeans is courted by the promise of the possession of the Greek ladies. The Frenchmen is indignant that the emperor should think that the Grecian women were more handsome than those of France, or that people should travel into Greece merely for the sake of beholding feminine beauty. — Quasi Græcarum mulierum species tanta esset, ut Gallicis modo quolibet præferrentur; solaque earum causa Francorum exercitus in Thraciam ageretur. Guibert, p. 476, in Bongarsius. It seems from Du Cange (note on p. 160, of the Alexiad) that Alexius intreated succour not later than the year 1092, and certainly before the death of the great Seljukian princes. Although the versions of his letter differ materially, yet there is a strong tone of misery and humiliation running through them all, which would not have been the case, if the application for assistance had been made after the days of Malek Shah and Soliman. Those distinguished men were the main supporters of Turkish greatness.

† Malmsbury, 470, 474.

* See the preface of the fourteenth vol. of the great collection of French historians, begun by Dom. Bouquet.

† Muratori, Rer. Scrip. Ital. III. 353. Labbe, concilia, vol. x. p. 500, &c.

‡ Philip the first was a monster of sensuality and listlessness. The Pope's legate, thirty bishops, and other clergy, excommunicated him at a council held at Autun, in 1094.

§ L'Art de vérifier les Dates, vol. ii. p. 356.

‖ Guibert (p. 478) estimates the bishops and abbots at more than four hundred; Fulcher (p. 382) at three hundred. General expressions, and not numerical statements, are made of the other ranks of the assembly.

interest, and in issuing canons for the edification of manners. The greatest subject was reserved for the eighth day of the sitting of the council. The Pope ascended the pulpit, and exhorted his anxious auditors to make war on the enemies of God. "You recollect,"* said he, "my dearest brethren, many things which have been decreed for you, at this time; some matters in our council, commanded; others inhibited. A rude and confused chaos of crimes required the deliberation of many days; an inveterate malady demanded a sharp remedy. For awhile we gave unbounded scope to our clemency: our papal office finds numberless matters to proscribe, none to spare. But it has hitherto arisen from human frailty, that you have erred; and that, deceived by the speciousness of vice, you have exasperated the long suffering of God, by too lightly regarding his forbearance. It has arisen, too, from human wantonness, that, disregarding lawful wedlock, you have not duly considered the heinousness of adultery. From too great covetousness also, it has arisen, that, as opportunity offered, making captive your brethren, bought by the same great price, you have outrageously extorted from them their wealth. To you, however, now suffering this perilous shipwreck of sin, a secure haven of rest is offered, unless you neglect it. A station of perpetual safety will be awarded you, for the exertion of a trifling labour against the Turks. Compare, now, the labours which you undertook in the practice of wickedness, and those which you will encounter in the undertaking I advise. The intention of committing adultery, or murder, begets many fears; for, as Solomon says, 'There is nothing more timid than guilt;' many labours, for what is more toilsome than wickedness? But, 'he who walks uprightly, walks securely.' Of these labours, of these fears, the end was sin; the wages of sin is death, and the death of sinners is most dreadful. Now the same labours and apprehensions are required from you, for a better consideration. The cause of these labours will be charity; if, thus warned by the command of God, you lay down your lives for the brethren: the wages of charity will be the grace of God; the grace of God is followed by eternal life. Go, then, prosperously: go, then, with confidence to attack the enemies of God. For they long since, oh, sad reproach to Christians! have seized Syria, Armenia, and lastly, all Asia Minor, the provinces of which are Bithynia, Phrygia, Galatia, Lydia, Caira, Pamphylia, Isauria, Licia, Cilicia; and now they insolently domineer over Illyricum, and all the higher countries, even to the sea, which is called the Straits of St. George. Nay, they usurp even the sepulchre of our Lord, that singular assurance of faith; and sell to our pilgrims admissions to that city, which ought, had they a trace of their ancient courage left, to be open to Christians only. This alone might be enough to cloud our brows: but now, who, except the most abandoned, or the most envious of Christian reputation, can endure that we do not divide the world equally with them. They inhabit Asia, the third portion of the world, as their native soil; which was not improperly esteemed by our ancestors equal, by the extent of its tracts and greatness of its provinces, to the two remaining parts. There, formerly, sprung up the branches of our devotion; there, all the apostles, except two, consecrated their deaths; there, at the present day, the Christians, if any survive, sustaining life by a wretched kind of agriculture, pay these miscreants tribute, and even with stifled sighs long for the anticipation of your liberty,

* The speech of Urban is variously given by different authors. "They all differ in the mould, but agree in the metal," as Fuller says, Holy War, b. i. c. 8. Robert, p. 31. Baldric, p. 79. Fulcher, p. 382. Archb. of Tyre, p. 639. Labbe, Concilia, tom. x. Robert was present, and his relation of the speech may be one of those which can be depended on. William of Malmsbury (p. 410, 415) had an account of the proceedings from eye-witnesses, and as he had more genius than any writer of his age, his version of this celebrated oration is more interesting than that of any other author. He says, that he was anxious to preserve the general sense unimpaired, though he has omitted many particulars: and he modestly adds, that he could not retain the force of the Pope's eloquence. I have adopted his *attempt*; and inserted it in the text as translated by Mr. Shepherd. Some writers have thought that the early historians did not sufficiently study the science of effect; a speech has therefore been invented, and attributed to Peter; but history has nothing to do with speeches which *ought* to have been spoken.

since they have lost their own. They hold Africa, also, another quarter of the world, already possessed by their arms for more than two hundred years; which, on this account, I pronounce derogatory to Christian honour, because that country was anciently the nurse of celebrated geniuses, who, by their divine writings, will mock the rust of antiquity, as long as there shall be a person who can relish Roman literature:* the learned know the truth of what I say. Europe, the third portion of the world, remains; of which, how small a part do we Christians inhabit? for who can call all those barbarians who dwell in remote islands of the Frozen Ocean, Christians, since they live after a savage manner? Even this small portion of the world, belonging to us, the Turks and Saracens oppress. Thus, for three hundred years, Spain and the Balearic Isles being subjected to them, the possession of the remainder is eagerly anticipated by feeble men, who, not having courage to engage in close encounter, love a flying mode of warfare; for the Turk never ventures upon close fight, but when driven from his station, bends his bow at a distance, and trusts the winds with his meditated wound; and as he has poisoned arrows, venom, and not valour, inflicts death on the man he strikes. Whatever he effects, then, I attribute to fortune, not to courage, because he wars by flight, and by poison. It is apparent, too, that every race, born in that region, being scorched with the intense heat of the sun, abounds more in reflexion, than in blood; and, therefore, they avoid coming to close quarters, because they are aware how little blood they possess. Whereas the people who are born amid the polar frosts, and distant from the sun's heat, are less cautious indeed; but, elate from their copious and luxuriant flow of blood, they fight with the greatest alacrity. You are a nation born in the more temperate regions of the world; who may be both prodigal of blood, in defiance of death and wounds; and are not deficient in prudence. For, you equally preserve good conduct in camp, and are considerate in battle. Thus, endued with skill and with valour, you undertake a memorable expedition. You will be extolled throughout all ages, if you rescue your brethren from danger. To those present, in God's name, I command this; to the absent I enjoin it. Let such as are going to fight for Christianity put the form of the cross upon their garments, that they may, outwardly, demonstrate the love arising from their inward faith; enjoying by the gift of God, and the privilege of St. Peter, absolution from all their crimes: let this in the mean time soothe the labours of their journey; satisfied that they shall obtain, after death, the advantages of a blessed martyrdom. Putting an end to your crimes, then, that Christians may at least live peaceably in these countries, go, and employ in nobler warfare that valour, and that sagacity, which you used to waste in civil broils: go, soldiers, every where renowned in fame, go, and subdue these dastardly nations. Let the noted valour of the French advance; which, accompanied by its adjoining nations, shall affright the whole world by the single terror of its name. But why do I delay you longer, by detracting from the courage of the gentiles? Rather bring to your recollection the saying of God, 'Narrow is the way which leadeth to life.' Be it then that the track to be followed is narrow; replete with death, and terrible with dangers: still this path must lead to your lost country. No doubt you must, 'by much tribulation, enter into the kingdom of God.' Place then before your imagination, if you shall be made captive, torments and chains; nay, every possible suffering that can be inflicted. Expect, for the firmness of your faith, even horrible punishments, that so, if it be necessary, you may redeem your souls at the expense of your bodies. Do you fear death, you men of exemplary courage and intrepidity? Surely human wickedness can devise nothing against you, worthy to be put in competition with heavenly glory: for 'the sufferings of the present time are not worthy to be compared to the glory which shall be revealed in us.' Know you not, 'that for men to live is wretchedness, and happiness to die?' This doctrine, if you remember, you imbibed with your mothers' milk, through the preaching of the clergy;

* He alludes to St. Augustine and the fathers of the African church.

and this doctrine your ancestors, the martyrs, held out by their example. Death sets free from its filthy prison the human soul, which then takes flight for the mansions fitted for its virtues. Death accelerates their country to the good: death cuts short the wickedness of the ungodly. By means of death, then, the soul, made free, is either soothed with joyful hope, or is punished without further apprehension of worse. So long as it is fettered to the body, it derives from it earthly contagion; or, to say more truly, is dead. For, earthly with heavenly, and Divine with mortal, ill agree. The soul, indeed, even now, in its state of union with the body, is capable of great efforts; it gives life to its instrument, secretly moving and animating it to exertions almost beyond mortal nature. But when, freed from the clog which drags it to the earth, it regains its proper station, it partakes of a blessed and perfect energy, communicating after some measure with the invisibility of the Divine nature. Discharging a double office, therefore, it ministers life to the body when it is present, and the cause of its change, when it departs. You must observe how pleasantly the soul wakes in the sleeping body, and, apart from the senses, sees many future events, from the principle of its relationship to the Deity. Why then do ye fear death, who love the repose of sleep, which resembles death? Surely it must be madness, through lust of a transitory life, to deny yourself that which is eternal. Rather, my dearest brethren, should it so happen, lay down your lives for the brotherhood. Rid God's sanctuary of the wicked; expel the robbers; bring in the pious. Let no love of relations detain you; for man's chiefest love is towards God. Let no attachment to your native soil be an impediment; because, in different points of view, all the world is exile to the Christian, and all the world his country. Thus exile is his country, and his country exile. Let none be restrained from going by the largeness of his patrimony, for a still larger is promised him; not of such things as soothe the miserable with vain expectation, or flatter the indolent disposition with the mean advantages of wealth, but of such as are shown by perpetual example, and approved by daily experience. Yet these too are pleasant, but vain, and which, to such as despise them, produce reward a hundred-fold. These things I publish, these I command: and for their execution I fix the end of the ensuing spring. God will be gracious to those who undertake this expedition, that they may have a favourable year, both in abundance of produce, and in serenity of season. Those who may die will enter the mansions of heaven, while the living shall behold the sepulchre of the Lord. And what can be greater happiness, than for a man in his life-time to see those places where the Lord of Heaven was conversant as a man? Blessed are they, who, called to these occupations, shall inherit such a recompense; fortunate are those who are led to such a conflict, that they may partake of such rewards."

Cries of Deus vult! Deus lo vult! Dieux el volt! interrupted the Pontiff. He then raised his eyes to heaven in thankfulness, and, by the motion of his hand, commanding silence, he thus proceeded: "Dearest brethren, to-day is verified the scriptural promise, that where two or three are gathered together in the name of Christ, he will be with them. The power of God can alone have caused this unanimity of sentiment. Let the very words then which his spirit dictated, be your cry of war. When you attack the enemy, let the words resound from every side, Deus vult! Deus vult!*

* This expression continued for some time the war cry of the first crusaders. All nations in all ages have used particular words for the excitement of martial ardour. The war cries of the French and Germans were excerpts from the Bardic songs in praise of heroes, which were recited before the battle; from, for instance, the actions of the fabulous Roland and the peers of France. Unlike most of the cries of arms, the expression Deus vult, or Deus id vult, is affirmative. During the siege of Jerusalem, the war cry received the addition of the words, "adjuva Deus." This clause was added on the motion of St. Andrew: "Et sit signum clamoris vestri, Deus ajuva." Princes, barons, and knights banneret, in short, every person in command had their war cries. In an army, therefore, there were as many proceleusmatic words as there were banners. There was a general cry, also, which was usually the name of the commander, or the cry of the king. Raimond, 140, 153, Gesta Francorum, 602. Du Cange in Joinville, Dissert. 12.

The old, the infirm, the weaker sex altogether must remain in Europe. They would be an impediment rather than an assistance. In this holy undertaking the rich should succour their poorer brethren, and equip them for war. The clergy must not depart without the license of their bishops; for if they should, their journey will be fruitless. The people must not go without a sacerdotal benediction. Let every one mark on his breast or back the sign of our Lord's cross,* in order that the saying may be fulfilled, 'he who takes up the cross and follows me is worthy of me."†

Tears, and groans, and acclamations of assent and applause, were the answers of the Christian multitude to the exhortation of their spiritual lord. The whole assembly knelt, and the Cardinal Gregory poured forth in their name a general confession of sins. Every one smote his breast in sorrow, and the Pope, stretching forth his hands, absolved and blessed them. Adhemar, bishop of Puy, was the first person who solicited a cross from the Pope. One of red cloth was affixed to his right shoulder; and immediately several ecclesiastics and laymen were invested with the sign of their new character. On the next day Urban was pressed to lead the soldiers of Christ on the road to the holy sepulchre; but he had not the personal daring of his illustrious friend and predecessor, Gregory VII., and he therefore shrunk from the honourable distinction. In accordance with the general wish, he deputed his spiritual authority to Adhemar, whose manliness had already excited the admiration of the people. At this moment the ambassador of Raymond, count of Tholouse, arrived. This powerful prince, and a numerous band of cavaliers, had taken the cross; and he promised council and money to all those who should wish to enter on the sacred way. The multitude were no longer in need of a commander, and were not backward in comparing the bishop and the count to Moses and Aaron.* The council of Clermont made the Truce of God perpetual from the evening of every Wednesday to the morning of every succeeding Monday; it was declared that the person and property of a clergy, women, strangers, and merchants, should always be considered sacred from insult and rapine; and as the last great aid to religious inclination, the council decreed that the journey to Jerusalem should stand in the place of all ecclesiastical censures, to those who undertook it from motives of religion, and not from the suggestions of avarice or ambition.†

The preaching of Peter, — the entreaties of Alexius, — the councils of Placentia and‡ Clermont, and the exertions of the Pope,§ — all these concur-

* In imitation of Christ, who carried a cross on his shoulders to the place of execution, the cross was generally worn on the right shoulder, or on the upper part of the back; it was also frequently placed on the top of the arm. Red was for a long while, even till the time of Richard I. king of England, the general colour of this cross. The materials of the cross were silk, or gold, or cloth: and the most frenzied of the crusaders cut the holy sign on the flesh itself. Du Cange, note on the Alexiad, p. 80, and on Villehardouin, No. 21, in which are collected all the passages of the old authors respecting the cross. Demster's Notes to Accolti de bello sacro, p. 51. The pilgrims on their return to Europe generally placed the cross on the back.

† These additions to Malmsbury's report of the speech are important, and have been taken from Robert Monachus, p. 31, in Bongarsius. An account of the writers in Bongarsius, and other original sources of the history of the first crusade, is contained in the Appendix, note C.

* Robert, 32. Baldric, 88. The expressions of the people's wish to be led by the Pope, is mentioned only in Mabillon, Mus. Ital. 1. 135.

† Labbe, Concilia. X. 507. See Note D.

‡ Malmsbury's observations are highly curious. "The report of the council of Clermont wafted a cheering gale over the minds of Christians. There was no nation so remote, no people so retired, as did not respond to the papal wishes. This ardent love not only inspired the continental provinces, but the most distant island and savage countries. The Welshman left his hunting; the Scotch his fellowship with vermin; the Dane his drinking party; the Norwegian his raw fish." Malmsbury, p. 416. Robert of Gloucester, after mentioning in general terms the contributions of men which France and England made to the Holy War, thus curiously mixes other nations:

"Of Normandy, of Denmark, of Norway, of Bretagne,
Of Wales and of Ireland, of Gascony and of Spain,
Of Provence and of Saxony, and of Allemagne,
Of Scotland and of Greece, of Rome and Aquitain." — *Chron.* p. 393, edit. Hearne.

The Chronicles of Robert of Gloucester, and of Peter Langtoft, are of very little value towards the history of the Crusades.

§ The Pope wrote to the bishops of England

rent causes enkindled the elements of combustion, turned the people of the west from intestine discord to foreign war, from dull superstition to furious zeal. The military enthusiast heard the voice of Charlemagne calling the French to glory. The religious fanatic eagerly and credulously listened to tales of visions and dreams. Every wonderful event in the natural world was regarded as an indication of the Divine will. Meteors and stars pointed at and fell on the road to Jerusalem. The skies were involved in perpetual storms; and the blaze and terror of anxious and disordered nature, showed the terrific harmony of heaven with the sanguinary fury of earth.* Prodigies were not confined to the west. In the states of Greece a marvellous number of locusts destroyed the vineyards, but spared the corn. The discovery that the locusts were the forerunners of the Europeans was an ingenious interpretation of the sign; but the diviners, with more nationality than truth, compared the corn with the sobriety of the eastern Christians, and the vines with the licentiousness of the Saracens.† Man fully responded to the supposed calls of God. The moral fabric of Europe was convulsed; the relations and charities of life were broken; society appeared to be dissolved. Persons of every age, rank, and degree, assumed the cross. The storm of public feeling was raised, and neither reason nor authority could guide its course. The prohibition of women from undertaking the journey was passed over in contemptuous silence. They separated themselves from their husbands, where men wanted faith, or resolved to follow them with their helpless infants. Monks, not waiting for the permission of their superiors, threw aside their black mourning gowns, and issued from their cloisters full of the spirit of holy warriors. They who had devoted themselves to a solitary life, mistook the impulses of passion for Divine revelations, and thought that Heaven had annulled their oaths of retirement. A stamp of virtue was fixed upon every one who embraced the cause; and many were urged to the semblance of religion by shame, reproach, and fashion.* The numerous cases of hypocrisy attested the commanding influence of the general religious principle. They who had been visited by criminal justice were permitted to expiate, in the service of God, their sins against the world. The pretence of debtors was admitted, that the calls of heaven were of greater obligation than any claims of man. Murderers, adulterers, robbers and pirates, quitted their iniquitous pursuits, and declared that they would wash away their sins in the blood of the Infidels.† In short, thousands and millions of armed saints and sinners ranged themselves to fight the battles of the Lord.‡ All nations were en-

and of other countries, commanding them to press the sacred theme upon their congregations. M. Paris, p. 19, edit. Watts. He went from town to town, from monastery to monastery in France, in order to encourage religious ardour. The affairs at Clermont answered his selfish purposes. On his return to Italy in the year succeeding the council, he was received with increased veneration; and, by the aid of the crusaders, who arrived daily at Rome to visit the holy places preparatory to their departure for the East, he made himself master of such parts of the city as had revolted from him. Hist. Lit. de la France, vol. viii.

* Archb. of Tyre, 641. Mus. Ital. I. 135. The lives of the Pope's in Muratori, Rerum. Script. Italicarum, vol. iii. p. 352, vol. iv. p. 496.

† Alexiad, p. 225.

* Remarquèz bien, je vous prie, que je ne prétens pas nier, qu'encore que les croisades fussent une entreprise de dévotion, il n'ait pû y avoir des athées qui en voulurent être, soit pour se faire louer, soit pour éviter le reproche de poltronnerie; ou même celui d'irreligion, soit pour satisfaire leur inclination belliqueuse, ou leur ambition, ou leur curiosité, soit enfin pour commettre mille désordres. Je suis persuadé qu'on peut faire par des motifs d'armour-propre tous les exercices extérieurs de la piété, quelques pénibles qu'ils puissent être. Voici donc ce que je dis; c'est que la prédication et les indulgences avoient animez à cette entreprise, et qui assurément n'abjureroient pas leur religion dans l'ame; lors qu'ils s'abandonnoient à commettre tous les ravages qu'ils commettoient. — Bayle, Penseés Diverses, Œuvres Diverses, vol. iii. p. 90.

† Archb. of Tyre, p. 641. Ordericus Vitalis, p. 720. "A lamentable case," as Fuller says, "that the devil's blackguards should be God's soldiers." Hujus (Petri) admonitione assidus et vocatione, episcopi, abbates, clerici et monachi; deinde laici nobilissimi, diversorum regnorum principes; totumque vulgus, tam casti quam incesti, adulteri, homicidæ, fures, perjuri, prædones; universumque genus Christianæ professionis; quin et sexus fœmineus, pœnitentia ducti, ad hanc lætantur concurrunt viam. Albertus, Aq. p. 185.

‡ Fulcher says that six millions of persons

veloped in the whirlwind of superstition. It was people, and not merely armies, countries and not only their military representatives, that thought they received the Divine command to unsheath the sword of the Almighty, and to redeem the sepulchre of Christ.

For some months after the session of the council of Clermont, nothing was heard through Europe but the note of preparation for war. Men of all ranks and degrees purchased horses, and arms, and coin. Such as had not taken the vow, paid for their timidity or prudence by supplying the wants of their enthusiastic brethren. The wretched fanatics alienated their land, or sold their instruments of handicraft and husbandry. The caution of the purchasers prevailed over the eagerness of the sellers; and the inequality of the transactions was ridiculed by the cold-hearted and skeptical. Yet, as the contagion of crusading spread, they who had been scoffers became converts; and, like their former objects of satire, sacrificed their property to the necessity of preparation.*

In the spring of the year 1096, the masses of European population began to roll.† But the roads were too narrow for the passengers; the paths were obstructed by the number of travellers. When families divided, nature and fanaticism contended for the mastery. A wife consented to the departure of her husband on his vowing to return at the end of three years. Another, in whom fear was stronger than hope, was lost in violence of grief. The husband wore the semblance of indifference, unmoved by the tears of his wife and the kisses of his children; though his heart reproached him for the sternness of his countenance.* On the other hand, fathers led their sons to the place of meeting; women blessed the moment of separation from their husbands; or, if they lamented, it was from the cause that they were not permitted to share the honours and perils of the expedition.† In some instances the poor rustic shod his oxen like horses, and placed his whole family in a cart, where it was amusing to hear the children, on the approach to any large town or castle, inquiring if the object before them were Jerusalem.‡

The first body of the champions of the cross consisted of twenty thousand foot, and only eight horsemen; and were led by Walter, a gentleman of Burgundy, whose poverty, that evil being more remarkable than his military pretensions, gave him the cognomen of the Pennyless. The people swept along from France to Hungary. Ardent and impetuous, they calculated not the difficulties of the way. Hungary was spread over with marshes, and intersected by rivers; and without the friendship of the natives, a passage could scarcely be effected. But, happily for the Crusaders, Christianity had for

assumed the cross. William of Malmsbury, as usual, follows his calculation. Guibert affirms, that all the kingdoms of Europe could not furnish so great a number; but even his language warrants the inference that Fulcher's statement is some approximation to the truth. Prudence and reason often cooled enthusiasm; and various events incident to human life prevented the performance of the vow. Fulcher, p. 386. William of Malmsbury, p. 416. Guibert, p. 556.

* Guibert in Bongarsius, p. 481. Ordericus Vitalis in Duchesne, 720.

† The spring was the period which the Pope fixed for the departure of the crusaders. See his speech, p. 38, ante. The canons of the council of Clermont, as reported by Labbe, are silent on the matter.

* I am almost afraid of the imputation of classical heresy for thinking of applying to the crusaders the language of Horace, respecting the departure of Regulus from Rome.

Fertur pudicæ conjugis osculum,
Parvosque natos, ut capitis minor,
Ab se removisse, et virilem
Torvus humi posuisse vultum.

† Baldric, p. 88. Guibert, p. 482. Fulcherius Carnotensis, p. 385.

‡ Videres mirum quiddam, et plane joco aptissimum, pauperes videlicet quosdam bobus biroto applicitis, eisdemque in modum equorum ferratis, substantiolas cum parvulis in carruca convehere: et ipsos infantulos, dum obviam habent quælibet castella vel urbes, si hæc esset Hierusalem, ad quem tenderent rogitare. Guibert, 482. The simplicity of the children is not extraordinary; for so profound was the ignorance of the French, even of the fourteenth century, on the subject of geography, that in a MS. of that time of the Chronicle of St. Denys, the city of Jerusalem is placed in the middle of the map; and Alexandria appears as near to it as Nazareth. Hist. de l'Académie des Inscriptions, vol. xvi. p. 185. The idea of a central position of Jerusalem arose perhaps from a false interpretation of Ezekiel, v. 5. It was common with the ancient heathens, also, that any place particularly beloved by them stood in the middle of the world. Ovid. Met. x. 167. Euripides, Orest. v. 330.

nearly two centuries* been the national religion, and the king, Carloman, approved of the wishes of Walter. Some cruel Hungarians at Malleville, the modern Zemlin, despoiled sixteen of their guests, but the Christian leader prudently abstained from revenge, and crossed the Maroe, or Save. The flame of piety had not spread into Bulgaria; the people regarded the pilgrims only as so many savage invaders; and the representative of Alexius forbade all commerce. The cravings of hunger were importunate and irresistible, and the mob of Walter turned their arms against the unfriendly Bulgarians. The din of battle sounded through the whole country; but the natives possessed so many local advantages in the contest, that they gained complete success. The miseries of wars are diversified by the different nature of their objects and their supporters; and, in this contest, there was an event which characterized the age. Some hundreds of Crusaders fled into a church, in certainty that the Bulgarians would never spill blood in the house of God. But although the people would not draw a sword there, yet conscience allowed them to set the edifice on fire. Many of the miserable refugees were burned to death, and others were killed in leaping from the roof. Walter with a few of his associates escaped through the woods of Bulgaria, found his way to Constantinople, and Alexius promised him protection till the arrival of Peter.†

Forty thousand men, women and children, of all nations and languages, were accompanied, we cannot say guided, by the Hermit himself.‡ They followed the route of Walter. The promise of Peter to Carloman for the orderly conduct of his companions was accepted, and a free interchange of money and provisions was permitted between the Crusaders and the Hungarians. Except a few acts of individual outrage, the march to the southern frontier of Hungary was peaceably conducted. But when the mob arrived at Malleville, the sight of the arms and crosses of their precursors on the battlements in triumph, awoke their zeal, and kindled it into revenge. A furious assault on the walls was successful, and, with a very small loss on the side of the invaders, seven thousand of the Hungarians were slain or taken prisoners. The Croises dwelt a few days in the town, and abandoned themselves to every species of grossness and libertinism. Neither public treasures nor private possessions were spared. Virgin modesty was no protection, conjugal virtue no safeguard: and in the midst of their savage excesses they vowed, that in such a way as that they would requite Turkish atrocities. Carloman heard of the perfidiousness of the destroyers, and marched a large army towards the southern frontier. On the news of their approach, Peter left Malleville, and endeavoured to cross the Save. The French division placed themselves and their plunder on rafts, but the impetuosity of the stream separated them from their companions, and they were cut to pieces, or forced into the water, by a large body of Turcomans, who attacked them from the Bulgarian side. The Germans and Lorrainers revenged the death of the French, and Peter slew on the altar of justice the few Turcomans who had survived the battle.* The Maroe was now passed with facility, but the Crusaders found a desert in Bulgaria. The duke had quitted Belgrade for the better fortified town of Nissa, and the people had retreated into their forests with their moveables. Seven days' march brought Peter before the ducal residence; but the formidable appearance of the town prevented a repetition of the attacks which he had made at Malleville: a prudent caution, however, against exasperating the enemy, prompted the duke to

* The conversion of the Hungarians to Christianity (in the tenth century), is mentioned by Glaber Rodolphus as a most convenient event for the spirit of pilgrimising. Glaber Rod. Hist. lib. iii. c. 1 p. 23. edit. Frank. 1596.

† Albert of Aix, p. 186. The instance of casuistry mentioned in the text is not a solitary one. It was an axiom in those days that the church abhorred the shedding of blood. Therefore bishops and archbishops used to go to battle armed with clubs, and made no scruple to knock down an enemy, and to beat and bruise him to death, though they held it unlawful to run him through with a sword. Jortin, Remarks on Ecclesiastical History, vol. iii. p. 324.

‡ Archb. of Tyre, p. 643. This statement of the number of Peter's mob is the general one. See Du Cange's note on the Alexiad, p. 80.

* Albert of Aix, 188.

allow his people to sell them provisions. The next morning Peter recommenced his way. About a hundred Germans, whom the archbishop of Tyre calls the sons of Belial, disputed with a Bulgarian trader, and set fire to some houses. The people in the city were incensed, and rushed upon the rear guard of the Crusaders. Massacre, plunder, and flight were the penalties which the Germans paid for the outrage committed by their countrymen. Peter, on hearing this news, wished to conciliate the Bulgarians: his propositions were mild and courteous; but his companions prevented the benefits of negotiation, by attempting to scale the walls of Nissa. All their efforts were fruitless. The engagement now became general, and ended in the route or destruction of ten thousand of Peter's rabble. Their property by rightful possession or plunder was seized, with their women and monks, and every other incumbrance of the camp. The Hermit abandoned himself to tears and despair, until some of his more enterprizing friends recalled his scattered followers. The next day seven thousand of them were assembled, and he continued his march. By degrees other Crusaders left their hiding places in the woods and mountains, and Peter found himself at the head of nearly thirty thousand people. But they were destitute of arms and money, and therefore could neither demand nor purchase supplies. Intelligence of their disorders flew to Constantinople, and the emperor, satisfied with the chastisement they had received from the duke of Bulgaria, commanded them to hasten to the south.* Their distress continued till they reached Philippopoli; and in that city the pathetic eloquence of Peter excited the compassion of the inhabitants. The journey to Constantinople was marked by no event of moment, and the associates of the Hermit united themselves to Walter, who had been already joined by an undisciplined herd of Italians.† The Emperor, seeing their unfitness for war, commanded them to remain in Greece till the arrival of the armies. He supplied them with quarters, money, and provisions; but as soon as they recovered their strength, they repaid his generosity by deeds of flagitiousness on his people. Palaces and churches were plundered to afford them means of intoxication and excess.* Peter and all those in whom enthusiasm had not been quite absorbed in the love of pillage, requested permission to pass into Bithynia. Alexis seized this desire, and assisted them to cross the Bosphorus. For two months they continued tranquil, but at the end of that time they recommenced their excesses with all the virulence and malevolence of concealed but burning hatred. Edifices sacred to religion were pillaged, and no consideration could make the wretches observe the imperial recommendation of peace and good order, until the arrival of the military squadrons of Europe. Peter lost all authority over them, and embracing the occasion of some acts of apparent injustice by the imperial commissioners, he returned to Constantinople for the declared purpose of remonstrating with the emperor. Among the Crusaders particularly distinguished for ferocity were ten thousand Normans or French.† That they destroyed children at the breast, and scattered their quivering limbs in the air, is the charge of the Grecian historian :‡ that their crimes were enormous, is the general confession of the Latin writers. They quitted their companions in arms, and carried their ravages even to the walls of Nice, the capital of Bithynia. They took the castle of Xerigord, and slaughtered the Turkish garrison. The Sultan marched fifteen thousand men against them. Reginald divided his soldiers between an ambuscade and the defence of the castle: but his force was inadequate to the accomplishment of both objects; and his troops in the ambuscade were put to the sword. He escaped with difficulty to the castle. The Turks destroyed the water conduits, and then blockaded the fortress, in full knowledge that it would yield to a short bloodless siege. In vain the ecclesiastics remonstrated with their people, that as they had often provoked God by their excesses, they should now gain his favour by their patience. If their repent-

* Archb. of Tyre, 644—646.
† Baldric, 89.

* Baldric, p. 89. Tudebodus, p. 777 and 778. Ord. Vit. p. 724.
† Baldric, p. 89. Tudebodus, p. 778.
‡ Alexiad, p. 226.

ance was sincere, the same Deity who had formerly opened the rocks of Arabia, would now deliver his chosen people by a miraculous interposition. But animal nature could not be sustained by cold expostulations or presumptuous hopes. After a private agreement with the besiegers, Reginald and some of the soldiers left the castle in the dress and with the manner of men resolute for battle. They were received with open arms by the Turks; they embraced Islamism: and their companions in the castle were immediately attacked and slaughtered.

The main body of Peter's mob was yet fresh and vigorous. The Sultan commanded his flying Tartars to skirmish with the Crusaders, himself disdaining to meet his wretched foes in a general action. After much blood had been shed, he quickened the destruction by stratagem. He circulated a story through the Christian camp that Nice had fallen. The greedy rabble entreated Walter to lead them forward. But he prudently* replied, that he was only the lieutenant of Peter, and could not march without his master's orders. But the clamours of the people could not be disregarded; no discipline nor order were preserved; the military ensigns had no followers; but, like rivers which had overflown their banks, the mob rushed towards the object of plunder. When they arrived on the plain which surrounds the city of Nice, the Turks poured on the disorderly multitude. The number of wounds with which Walter fell attested the vigour of his resistance; most of his associates were slain; the cruel and sensual Turks pressed on to the camp, sacrificed the priests on Christian altars, and reserved for the seraglio such of the women as were beautiful. The fierce soldiers of Asia gratified their savageness with collecting the bones of the fallen. A lofty hill was made of them, and it remained for many years a dreadful warning to succeeding bands of Crusaders. Three thousand persons were all that survived the Turkish scimitar. They retreated to the gulph of Nicomedia, and secured themselves in the fortress of Civitot. One of the wretched fugitives went to Constantinople, and made Peter acquainted with the dreadful issue of the impatience and rapacity of his men. The Hermit solicited the emperor to spare the miserable remains of the soldiers of Jesus Christ, and as they were no objects of terror, Alexius sent a body of troops, who covered their march to Constantinople.*

Godeschal, a German priest, emulated the fame of Peter, and collected a band of fifteen thousand fiery enthusiasts from Lorraine, the east of France and Bavaria. They pursued the usual route, and the prudent Hungarian monarch endeavoured to quicken and facilitate their passage through his dominions. Their savage manners corresponded with that ferocious enthusiasm which had driven them to assume the cross. At Mersburgh, the modern Ouar or Moson, they committed horrible outrages, and their annalists have recorded, whether as an instance of the general disposition, or as the height of crime, that, on the occasion of a trifling quarrel, they impaled a young Hungarian in the Market place.† All Hungary rose in arms against the violators of hospitality; but the king, dreading the fury of desperation to which hostility might drive the Croises, resolved to accomplish their ruin by stratagem. He therefore with firmness and courtesy told the strangers, that peace and war were at his command. He was disposed to spare the guilty, but in order to purchase his clemency they must surrender their arms: and he assured them that this action of peace and obedience would terminate his anger, and renew his kind inclinations. Simplicity is the companion of vice as well as of virtue, and the people therefore resigned their means of personal defence, and accepted a promise of clemency. They expressed their reliance upon the good faith of the king, and the Christian character of his subjects, not

* Walter generally conducted himself with discretion. Fuller is wrong in saying that "he had more of the sail of valour than the ballast of judgment."

* Mus. Ital. I. 140—143. Albert of Aix (who is more full than other writers on Peter and his mob), 186–193. Archb. of Tyre, 643–647. Alexiad, 226 and 227.

† Albert, 194.

choosing to think that their own atrocities deserved the severest punishment, and had cast shame and disgrace upon all professions of virtue. Where they expected pardon they found retaliation. The Hungarians rushed upon the naked and unarmed multitude, the plains of Belgrade were covered with their bodies, and a few only of Godeschal's people escaped to spread over the north the tale of wo.*

Before Europe glittered with the pomp and splendour of chivalry, another herd of wild and desperate savages scourged and devastated the world. They issued from England, France, Flanders and Lorraine. Their avowed principle of union was the redemption of the holy sepulchre. History is silent on the subordinate modes and bands of connexion, except the horrible superstition of adoring and following a goat and a goose, which they believed to be filled with Divine spirit: and if such were their religion, we cannot wonder at the brutality of their manners. Besides their fanaticism was the height of fury, for these ministers of the devouring flame nearly trebled their precursors. Their zeal was guided by envy and malignity, and they pretended that it was unjust that any foes of God should enjoy temporal prosperity. The Jews enriched the towns on the banks of the Moselle and of the Rhine, and communicated to France and Germany the products of each respective country. The city of Cologne was the first city which was stained with their blood. The sanctity of the archiepiscopal palace at Mayence, the sacred presence of the venerable metropolitan, could not shield seven hundred of the children of Israel from the swords of men, who professed a religion of mercy and love. The bishop of Spires bravely and successively defended the Jews in his city, but the generosity of the bishops of Treves and Worms was not equally pure and meritorious, if it be true that they compelled the objects of their protection to change their religion. Many firm and noble spirits disdained apostacy. Some of them retired to a chamber of the bishop at Worms, on pretence of deliberating on the renunciation of their faith. Deliberation produced virtue, and by self-slaughter they disappointed the cruelty of their enemies. More appalling spectacles were witnessed at Treves. Mothers plunged the dagger into the breasts of their own children; fathers and sons destroyed each other, and women threw themselves into the Moselle.*

When the measure of murmur and robbery was full, the infernal multitude proceeded on their journey. Two hundred thousand people, of whom only three thousand were horsemen, entered Hungary. They hurried on to the south in their usual career of carnage and rapine; but when they came to Mersbourg, their passage was opposed by a Hungarian army. Their requests to the king's general for provisions and a free passage were denied; but they forced a bridge over the Danube; and, gathering strength from the desperateness of their situation, they succeeded in making some breaches in the wall of the town. The ruin of the Hungarian nation appeared inevitable, and the king with his nobles was prepared to fly to the south. By some strange panic, which the best historians can neither explain nor describe, the besiegers deserted the assault and fled. Their cowardice was as abject as their boldness had been ferocious: and the Hungarians pursued them with such slaughter, that the waters of the Danube were for days red with their blood. But few of the rabble survived. Count Emicho, who had gained damnatory distinction by his cruelties on the Jews, succeeded in flying into Germany. Some others escaped to the south; and in time joined the regular forces of the feudal princes of Europe.†

* Albert, p. 194. Archb. of Tyre, p. 648.

* Albert, 195. Archb. of Tyre, 649. Alberic Chron. p. 149. The Chronicles in Bouquet, xii. 218, 222, 411. Both Albert and the Archbishop are indignant at the treatment which the Jews received. After this calamitous event the emperor took the Jews into his protection as subjects of the imperial domain. Pleffel, Hist. d'Allemagne, vol. i. p. 246.

† Albert, 195, 196. According to Albert there could have been very few survivors of the two hundred thousand. The Archb. of Tyre,

CHAPTER III.

CHARACTERS OF THE LEADERS OF THE FIRST CRUSADE — MARCH OF THE ARMIES TO CONSTANTINOPLE.

History and character of Godfrey of Bouillon.—March of the Frisons, Lorrainers, &c., through Hungary into Thrace.—Characters of the count of Vermandois, the count of Blois, the count of Flanders, and Robert Curthose, duke of Normandy.—March of the French, Flemish, Norman and English Crusaders through Italy.—The count of Vermandois arrives at Constantinople, and swears fealty to Alexius.—War between Godfrey and the Emperor.—Godfrey reaches Constantinople.—After many alternatives of peace and war, Godfrey, &c. do homage.—Boldness of a Crusader.—Godfrey crosses the Hellespont.—Is joined by the count of Flanders.—Characters of Bohemond, prince of Tarentum, and Tancred.—March of the Italians to Constantinople.—Means of Alexius to gain the homage of Bohemond.—Tancred passes into Asia without swearing fealty.—Character of Raymond, count of Tholouse.—Course of the Provençals into Greece.—Raymond takes a qualified oath of allegiance.—Arrival of the duke of Normandy, the count of Blois, and others, in Asia Minor.

So horrible were the barbarities of the European mob, that we can feel no regret for the disastrous issues of popular fervour. We cannot turn from the folly and crimes of the people to any grandeur of heroism, or any splendour of success. More than a quarter of a million* of wretched fanatics perished in the first great convulsion of enthusiasm, and the Muselman banner still floated over the walls of Jerusalem. While the bones of the Croises were whitening on the plains of Nice, or putrifying in the marshes of Hungary, the feudal princes of Europe were collecting their tenants and retainers, and arraying them for war.* Different scenes are now before us; scenes disfigured, indeed, but not totally characterized by horror and flagitiousness. Courage in various forms, wisdom, prudence, and skill in endless combinations, appear in the characters and conduct of the renowned leaders of the crusade. Their fanaticism was more methodized than that of their savage precursors, and is therefore a more interesting subject of contemplation.

The chief, who was greatest in respect of personal merit, and inferior to few in political importance, was Godfrey VI. lord of Bouillon, marquis of Anvers, and duke of Brabant, or the Lower Lorraine. The states of Lorraine arose into independence on the ruins of Charlemagne's empire. They were the frequent cause of war between the German rulers and the Carlovingian princes of France; and were finally annexed to the imperial house of Saxony. In the middle of the tenth century, the emperor Otho I. gave them to his brother Bruno, archbishop of Cologne, who divided them into the Upper and the Lower Lorraine,† and made a valiant peer, named Godfrey, lord of the last division, reserving some feudal

(p. 649, 650) says that the greatest part returned with Emicho to Germany. Albert's account of the mob is very full, and the picture is very dark. He makes the destruction of this goat and goose mob the judgment of heaven on their crimes and impiety. Albert had his account of their cruelties from eye-witnesses; the Archbishop was a much later writer. Fulcher, and his copyist, Malmsbury, are the only early writers who describe the conduct of the European mob as virtuous and orderly. But their account of the march of these poor wretches is comprised in a few lines, and does not embrace those details which are contained in the narratives of the other authors whom I have quoted.

* Walter's mob - - - 20,000
Peter's - - - - 40,000
Godeschal's - - - 15,000
Last division - - 200,000
275,000

Almost all these people perished. The Italian mob that joined Walter has not been numbered by any of the original historians of the first crusade.

* Concourse in arms, fierce faces threatening war,
Giants of mighty bone and bold emprise,
Part wield their arms, part curd the foaming steed,
Single or in array of battle rang'd,
Both horse and foot, now idly mustering stood.
Paradise Lost, 11. 641.

† The two duchies of Upper and Lower Lorraine comprise what is generally called the kingdom of Lorraine. The archbishop gave the dukedom of the first division to Gerard, count of Alsace, A.D. 1048. The counts of Alsace and counts of Habsburgh were branches of the same family. After a division which lasted eight centuries, the two branches were re-united in the year 1745, by the marriage of Francis Stephen, duke of Lorraine, and Maria Theresa, daughter of the emperor Charles VI.

honours to himself, under the title of archduke. The Lower Lorraine comprised Brabant, Hainault, Namur, Luxembourg, Liege, and Limberg; and the name of Brabant was often applied to the whole of the archduchy. The father of Godfrey VI. was Eustace II. count of Boulogne, celebrated for his bravery and power among the puissant and courageous lords of Belgium. His mother was Ida, daughter of Godfrey le Barbu, duke of the Lower Lorraine. He was apparently destined to act a great part on the theatre of the world, for nature had bounteously bestowed upon him her choicest gifts. His understanding was enriched with such knowledge and learning as his times possessed: and his ready use of the Latin, Teutonic, and (one of their results) the Roman languages, qualified him for the office of mediator among confederated but disputing nations. The gentlest manners were united to the firmest spirit;* the amiableness of virtue to its commanding gravity. He was alike distinguished for political courage and for personal bravery. His lofty mind was capable of the grandest enterprises. His deportment was moral; his piety was fervent; and he appeared, perhaps, to be better fitted for a cloister of reformed monks, than for the command of a furious and licentious soldiery. He regretted the stern necessity which drew him from the immediate service of God: but when in arms he was a hero: and his martial zeal in the cause of heaven was always directed by prudence, and tempered by philanthropy.† In the wars between the emperor and the Popes, he took the part of Henry IV.; he received the distinction of bearing the imperial standard; and his own heroical valour changed the tide of victory, and gave the throne to his friend. On the death of his maternal grandfather, and the termination of the rebellion of Conrad, son of the emperor, he was invested with the titles of duke of Lorraine, marquis of Anvers, and lord of Bouillon. Gratitude preserved the mind of Godfrey firm and energetic in his allegiance. In the siege of Rome he broke through the walls, and opened the gates to the assailants. These services were ill requited. Henry dishonoured, in an outrageous manner, his empress Praxeda, who was sister of the duke of Lorraine. Alive to every call of honour and knowing that marriage does not supercede the claims of consanguinity, he armed himself against the emperor; his valour triumphed, and Henry was put to flight. From the siege of Rome till the report reached him of the intended expedition to Jerusalem, a lingering fever burnt in Godfrey's veins. But the blast of the holy trumpet roused his marshal and religious spirit; and he resolved to go to the Holy Land, if God would restore his health. "Immediately," says Malmsbury, "he shook disease from his limbs, and rising with expanded breast, as it were, from years of decrepitude, he shone with renovated youth." He appeased the wrath of the clergy of Verdun by yielding to them his temporal rights over their episcopal city;* and in order to furnish his viaticum, he sold to the church of Liege his beautiful lordship and castle of Bouillon.† His brother

* How well an old writer has described a true soldier:

Un chevalier, n'en doutez pas
Doit ferir hault, et parler bas.

† E pien di fè, di zelo, ogni mortale
Gloria, impero, tesor mette in non cale.
Tasso, La Gerus, Liber. I. 8.

In another place Tasso gives us a very high idea of Godfrey, by equalling him to Raymond in the council, and Tancred in the field.

Veramente è costui nato all' impero,
Sì del regnar, del commandar sa l'arti:
E non minor che duce è caviliero;
Ma del doppio valor tutte ha le parti.
Nè fra turba sì grande uom più guerriero,
O più saggio di lui potrei mostrati.
Sol Raimondo in consiglio, et in battaglia
Sol Rinaldo e Tancredi a lui s'agguaglia.
La Gerus, Liber. III. 59.

* Throughout the crusades, most persons considering the difficulty of the journey, and the perils of war, performed those acts which men on the point of death observed; such as settling their family affairs, and making restitutions to the church or private persons. Old title deeds abound with these conveyances. The great increase of monasteries in the eleventh and succeeding centuries very much proceeded from this cause. The bishop of Chartres prevailed on his lord, previously to his departure from France for the Holy Land, to renounce for himself and his successors the right which the counts of Chartres enjoyed, of pillaging the houses of the bishop, after his decease, of its goods, chattles, &c. L'Art de vérifier les Dates, vol. ii. p. 616.

† Whether he received seven thousand marks of silver or fifteen hundred, is a point of little moment to us; but some writers have maintained

Baldwin, his relation Baldwin du Bourg,* and many other knights high in fame, marched under his standard. The army comprised the Frisons, the Lorrainers, and indeed all the votaries of the sepulchre who dwelt between the Rhine and the Elbe.

They commenced their march from the Moselle in the month of August 1096, and proceeded with perfect discipline till they reached the northern frontier of Hungary. Godfrey knew the difficulty of passing through the country which laid before him without permission of the Hungarians; and heaps of unburied corpses around warned him to be cautious of provoking a powerful foe. His ambassadors to Carloman demanded the cause of the fate of their precursors. If they had been slain in the name of justice, the champions of the cross would lament their iniquity: but if they had been put to death as innocent strangers claiming hospitality, then Godfrey of Bouillon was prepared to punish their murderers. The king replied, that those who had followed Peter, Godeschal, and other preceding leaders, had not been disciples of Christ. The rabble of the Hermit, instead of evincing their gratitude, had, on quitting the kingdom, committed direful desolation. The soldiers of Godeschal had been kindly received, but were guilty of murder and rapine. Another repetition of these enormities could not be endured; and the Hungarians had therefore destroyed the next detestable crowd. These just representations were acceptable to the envoys of the pious Godfrey, who were honourably dismissed to their camp, with letters of friendship from the king to the duke, and an invitation to an interview at the fortress of Cyperon, or Poson. Godfrey went towards the place with a train of three hundred cavaliers; but accompanied only by three private friends he met Carloman, and conversed on the peace and reconciliation of the Christians. Among nations, even the most savage, the rights of hospitality are inviolable; and Godfrey and twelve of his associates repaired to the capital, and commanded his escort to return to the main body of the army. After a few days of festivity, it was agreed between the duke and the king, that the Crusaders should march from the north to the south of Hungary; that the Hungarians should sell them provisions on equitable terms; and that Baldwin should be the hostage on the part of the Franks.* But the Latin prince was ill disposed to the office, until the duke of Lorraine shamed his selfishness, by declaring that he himself would undertake it. Baldwin and his family were delivered to Carloman; and by the good conduct of the people, under the private admonition and public exhortation of Godfrey, a situation of peril was converted into a post of honourable distinction. A free commerce of money and goods was carried on between the strangers and the natives: and the soldiers of the cross marched through Hungary with military discipline and religious decorum. On the banks of the Save, near Malleville, the hostages were released; and the Crusaders entered the states of Greece.† They halted for a day at Belgrade, then pursued their course through the woods of Bulgaria into Thrace, and reposed themselves at Philippopoli. Godfrey's attention to order was seconded by Alexius, who opened the imperial granaries to his

that no such sale was made, and that the church of Liege unjustly possessed themselves of the estate after the death of Godfrey. On the subject of Godfrey's genealogy and character, see an article in the eighth volume of the Literary History of France. L'Art de vérifier les Dates, iii. 96, &c. ii. 760. Malmsbury, p. 448. Archb. of Tyre, 651. Godfrey of Bouillon died childless; a count of Limberg seems to have been the general possessor of his estates till the year 1106, when the emperor Henry V. conferred the duchy of the Lower Lorraine upon Godfrey, count of Louvain, whose male descendants reigned there until the year 1355, under the title of dukes of Brabant. The duchy passed then to the dukes of Burgundy. Koch, Tableau des Révolutiones de l'Europe, tom. i. p. 96.

* This Baldwin du Bourg was a son of Hugh I. count of Réthel, a town on the Aisne, seven leagues from Rheims, and twelve from Chalons. The grandfather of Baldwin was lord of the town of Setunia, or Stenai, in addition to the usual territory of the counts of Réthel; and hence the distinction of du Bourg to the crusading Baldwin. See L'Art de vérifier les Dates, i. 439, ii. 631. The writers in the Gesta Dei per Francos call Baldwin du Bourg the cognatus and the consanguineous of Godfrey; but I have searched in vain for the exact mode of the relationship.

* Albert, 198. Archb. of Tyre, 652.

† Albert, 199. Archb. of Tyre, 652.

allies. The emperor's liberality preserved the Latins; for the necessities for so large an army could not be provided for from countries which had been devastated by the wars between the Bulgarians and other savage hordes with the Greeks.

While Godfrey was leading the armies of Lorraine and northern Germany through the Hungarian marshes, Hugh, the great earl, count of Vermandois, and brother of the French king, was calling to his side the armed pilgrims from Flanders and England, and the middle and north of France. His virtues and personal graces were worthy of a royal race. He was a brave and accomplished cavalier; but as he was not deeply imbued with a devotional spirit like that of Godfrey, his consciousness of merit was unrestrained by religious humility, and appeared in a proud and lofty deportment.* The knights of honourable name who marched with the Capetian prince were as numerous as the Grecian warriors at the siege of Troy.† Few chieftains brought so many soldiers to the standard as Stephen count of Blois and Chartres. He was one of the most potent barons of France; and in the exaggeration of flattery, the number of his castles was said to have been equal to the amount of the days of the year. He had experienced the clemency of Philip, his nominal liege lord; in return he aided him in quelling a rebellion, and in marching with his brother to the crusade.‡ His military skill consisted in the management of cavalry; but he better understood than practised the duties of a general; for he was one of the few champions of the cross whose character was blighted by the suspicion of cowardice. He was, however, celebrated for his sagacity, and his eloquent manner of communicating to others the stores of his cultivated mind, made him fit for the office which he sustained in the holy war, of president of the council of chiefs. Robert, count of Flanders, was not inferior in rank and power to any of his coadjutors: but he was not qualified for lofty enterprises. He was famed for irregular exploits, not systematic operations; and his courage in the field was the mere activity of brutal strength. Robert Curthose,* duke of Normandy, son of William the Conqueror, embraced the martial and religious cause with a furious and precipitate passion. He mortgaged his duchy to his brother Rufus for ten thousand marks, and attached himself to the army of Hugh. When called upon to speak and act, the duke was eloquent and skilful; but his accomplishments were not sustained by the silent and solid virtues of prudence and good sense; and so viciously easy was his disposition, that he was unfit to rule over a turbulent and half civilized people. He had not the general Norman character of ostentation, but his selfishness wore the more disgraceful garb of voluptuousness. The Norman and English† Crusaders assembled under his standard, and among the independent lords who accompanied him, were Eustace, earl of Boulogne,‡ (a brother of Godfrey, duke of Lorraine,) Stephen, earl of Albemarle, and the celebrated Odo, bishop of Bayeux, earl of Kent.§

* Robert, 34. Guibert, 485. Alexiad, 227.

† Unius enim, duum, trium, seu quatuor oppidorum dominos quis numerat? quorum tanta fuit copia, ut vix totidem coegisse putetur obsidio Trojana. Guibert, 486.

‡ L'art de vérifier les Dates, ii. 615.

* Robert the First, grandfather of Robert Curthose, went on a foot pilgrimage to Jerusalem in the year 1035, as an atonement for a long life of personal excesses and political crimes. At Constantinople he joined the count of Anjou. The duke was taken ill in Asia Minor, and put on a litter, which was carried by four Moors. A Norman, returning from Jerusalem, met the party, and on asking who was in the litter, the duke, recognizing the man, raised himself and exclaimed, "tell your countrymen that you saw me carried into paradise by four devils." Robert made his pilgrimage, but died at Nice on his way home, July, 1036. Brompton, 911, 913. W. Gemiticensis, v. 13.

† England (the Pope's pack-horse in that age, which seldom rested in the stable when there was any work to be done) sent many brave men under Robert duke of Normandy; as Beauchamp and others, whose names are lost. Neither surely did the Irishmen's feet stick in their bogs, though we find no particular mention of their achievements. — Fuller, Hist. of the Holy War, book i. ch. 13.

‡ Eustace marched with Duke Robert, and not with Godfrey. Henry of Huntingdon, p. 374, and Annals of Waverly, in Gale, p. 142. Both Eustace and his father were always attached to the duke of Normandy, and frequently aided him in his altercations with William Rufus and Henry the First.

§ Malmsbury, 349, 477. Ordericus. Vit. 664, 724. Mus. Ital. i. 133. The earl of Albemarle

The soldiers of Hugh pursued a shorter road than the oftenbeaten track through Hungary. They crossed the Alps into Italy, with the intention of embarking from some of its harbours, and proceeding by sea to the Holy Land. They found Pope Urban at Lucca, and their leader received from him the standard of St. Peter.* The whole expedition seemed by the magnificence of its equipments, to be destined for pleasure rather than war, and it wasted the autumn in the gaiety and dissipation of Italy. Robert of Normandy, and Stephen of Chartres, spread their troops for winter quarters among the towns of Bari and Otranto; but no regard for seasons could restrain the impatience of Hugh. Before his departure, he wrote a letter to the Emperor Alexius, in which he desires to be received in a manner becoming his dignity.† He also despatched to the governor of Durazzo twenty-four knights arrayed in golden armour, requesting, in no very humble terms, that magnificent preparations might be made for the arrival of the standard-bearer of the Pope.*

The politics of Constantinople, ever dependent on circumstances, not on principle, had changed since the days when the proud Grecian empire had first appeared as the suppliant of barbarian Europe. The Seljukian dynasty of Rhoum was falling into decay; the Greeks no longer dreaded the loss of the sacred city, and were accustomed to the disgrace of Tartarian savages ruling over Asia Minor. Alexius had been liberal to Godfrey, for even vice paid a homage of respect to the virtue of the duke of Lorraine.† But when he heard of the greatness of the European armament, and that his old enemy, Bohemond prince of Tarentum, had assumed the cross, his cowardly temper made him suspicious of the fair professions of others, and his mind vacillated between the wish of destroying and the dread of offending his allies. The west had listened to his solicitations; Godfrey's troops had taken no hostile course, and no other forces were yet in the Greek empire. He had not stipulated for any limited number of soldiers, or declared that his dispositions to enmity or friendship would be regulated by the portion of assistance that might be afforded.‡ It would have been consonant with the grandeur of imperial rank, for Alexius to have answered the arrogance of Hugh by a dignified remonstrance to the princes of Europe. Of itself it was no ground for hostilities. But the emperor commanded his naval power in the Adriatic to prevent the Latin fleet from quitting the Italian shores; to capture those ships which should escape from the blockade, and to detain as prisoners such of the Croises as under any circumstances should arrive on the Grecian coast. The count of Vermandois was the subject of

distinguished himself at various times during the crusade; but the earl bishop died at Rome before the army left Italy. Dugdale, Baronage, i. 24, 61. According to the authors of L'Art de vérifier les Dates, i. p. 842, one of the sons of Malcolm the Third, conqueror of Macbeth, left Scotland in 1096 for the Holy Land. If such had been the fact, it is most probable that he would have marched with Eustace earl of Boulogne, who married his sister Mary. But I cannot find in the Abridgment of the Scots Chronicle (Edinburgh, 1633), that Malcolm had a son who went to Palestine. Dr. Anderson, in his Royal Genealogies, is likewise silent; but he, I observe, has no other authority for the part of his book that relates to this subject, than the already mentioned Abridgment. Most of the article on Scotland, in the work of the Benedictines, it is stated, was taken from the diplomata of James Anderson and Ruddiman: but the circumstance we are inquiring about is not spoken of in that book.

* Robert, 35. Fulcher, 384. In the wars which princes waged with schismatics and heretics, the papal standard was carried, and indeed in other wars, where the interference of the Pope was submitted to. By this means his name was respected, and his power extended.

† The exact terms of this letter cannot be known. Anna Commena reports it as if Hugh had called himself king of kings. The letter was doubtless sufficiently arrogant without this expression, which it is not likely Hugh would use, as he was only the brother of the king of kings. Du Cange, in a note on the Alexiad, has collected several authorities, English and French, proving (what no Frenchman of the old school ever doubted) that in the thirteenth century the king of France was accounted the greatest king in Christendom; and that the word *rex* was applied to him per excellentiam.

* Alexiad, p. 228.

† Godfrey received the praises of the Princess Anna; but she thought that secular and religious motives influenced the other princes.

‡ It was not the fact that Alexius asked for the aid of only 10,000 men. Voltaire and his followers might have found enough of crime in the conduct of the Crusaders with the Muselmans, without falsely charging upon the Latins the offence of breaking treaty with the Greeks.

the last of these contingencies. His appearance was ill calculated to excite either respect or fear. A wintery storm had scattered his vessels; his own bark had been stranded near Durazzo, and instead of entering the town in the stately manner which was conformable with the splendour of his gorgeous precursors, he was led into the presence of the lieutenant of Alexius, as a suppliant for hospitality. He was received with the most honourable salutations, and entertained with magnificence. The governor affected lamentation for the loss of his ships, and courteously bade him hope for a reverse of fortune, and the arrival of prosperous times. During his stay, Hugh felt not his captivity, for as few of his old companions had reached him, he expressed no desire to depart. But he was soon removed to Constantinople, and Alexius, by flattery and presents, so completely won his affections that he obtained from him an acknowledgment of fidelity.*

Godfrey heard with indignation that the emperor considered and treated as a captive the brother of the king of France. He despatched an embassy, requiring the liberation of the count of Vermandois, and the reasons of his captivity. But Alexius persisted in the violation of the laws of nations, and the duke of Lorraine took a just though severe mode of retaliation. He acted as if war had been declared, and permitted his soldiers to ravage the beautiful plains of Thrace. The distress of the provincials were soon reported at the imperial metropolis, and Alexius repented of his perfidy. He liberated two of the companions of Hugh, and sent them to Godfrey, with the news that on his arrival at the Grecian court he should find the count himself, and no longer a prisoner. Military rapine had continued for eight days in the Thracian fields, but Godfrey, on this intelligence, restored the army to its discipline, took the road for Constantinople, and arrived in the neighbourhood of the city two days before Christmas.* Hugh advanced to meet his friend, and scarcely had they exchanged congratulations, when a state messenger requested the duke to visit the palace with his chief officers, and leave his army without the walls. But at that moment, some Frenchmen came secretly to the camp, and warned their comrades of the insidiousness of the emperor. Godfrey and his council returned therefore a refusal to the royal solicitation; and the violent and imprudent Alexius prohibited his subject from traffic with the Crusaders. This act of hostility was repelled in the same manner as the imprisonment of Hugh had been resented. On the recommendation of Baldwin and other chiefs, the soldiers were permitted to lay waste the vicinity of the city; and they soon collected provisions for the festival of the Nativity.† While the religious ceremonies were in a course of celebration, the soldiers abstained from rapine, and on their conclusion the emperor recalled his impolitic edict. But he only recalled it for the purpose of pursuing his object by other means. The season of the year was at variance with living in tents, and Alexius recommended to Godfrey that the army should cross the Bosphorus, and occupy as winter quarters the palaces and country summer-houses of the Byzantine nobility.‡ By this act of seeming friendship he conciliated the Croises, and relieved his people from the inconvenience of an immediate intercourse with them. He again entreated the duke of Lorraine to enter Constantinople; but the blandishments were without effect; and Godfrey simply replied, that he would willingly show his respect for the emperor by appearing at his palace, but that he was alarmed by tales which he had heard regarding his majesty; — and he did not know whether they sprung from envy and hatred." General expressions of regard were returned to these remarks; but Godfrey was warned by his friends against Grecian artifice. Alexius resorted to a repetition of his former measures for procuring the unconditional submission of the army. The consequences of the prohibition of traffic were, as usual, disastrous to the

* Alexiad, 228, 229. The imperial and royal families of Germany and France might, according to principles of feudal law, have claimed the fealty of most of the leaders of the crusade; and the facility with which the count of Vermandois and others took the oath of allegiance to Alexius, shows how easily the chain of feudal society in Europe was broken in its most important links.

* Archb. of Tyre. 654. Baldric, 91.
† Albert, 200, 1.
‡ Archb. of Tyre, 654.

Greeks. Insidiousness and the attempt at starvation having failed, Alexius resorted to arms. One morning in the middle of January the Turcoples entered the camp of the Latins; and their arrows fell with direful effect. On this occasion, the first where the talents of a great general were necessary, the mind of the duke of Lorraine was present and active. He knew that if the Greeks could possess themselves of the bridge of the Blachernæ, his soldiers would be shut in between the Black Sea, the Bosphorus, and the Barbyses, and totally at their mercy. By his command, therefore, Baldwin with the cavalry advanced to the bridge. Both on his road and on his arrival at his post, he made the squadrons of Alexius tremble and retreat. When his purpose was apparent, all the imperial troops pressed from every quarter to the bridge; and the loss of lives was prodigious before the passage of the Latin infantry was secured.* Godfrey attacked in his turn. Though he had no machines wherewith he could batter the walls of Constantinople, yet the impetuous valour of his soldiers was dreadfully destructive. The Greeks from the tower shot arrows and hurled darts; the coats of mail protected the Latin cavaliers; yet many of the unbarbed horses were killed. But a shaft from the bow of Nicephorus, the Grecian general, entered a vulnerable place of a European knight, who had been riding round the walls, insulting the Greeks for cowardice.† At this moment some batallions of heavily armed soldiers poured from the city. Their force and weight would have been irresistible; but the Franks avoided their attacks; and, therefore, the Greeks consumed their strength in vain endeavours to bring their enemies to action. Night and darkness parted the Croises and their inhospitable entertainers. The soldiers of Godfrey, before their passage of the bridge, had set fire to their quarters; and after their engagement, so fierce and destructive was their retaliation on their insidious foes, that Alexius was compelled, by the distresses of his people, to lay aside all thoughts of war. Still, however, clinging to the hope of gaining the feudal dependence, rather than the liberal friendship of the Latins, he desired the mediation of one of those who already acknowledged his authority. The brother of the French king did not disdain to become the advocate of the faithless Greek. But Godfrey severely reproached the man who could leave France with a numerous army, richly equipped, and cast himself at the feet of a foreign prince. "And do you," he continued, "not only boast of your disgrace, but, forgetting my dignity, do you ask me to imitate your baseness?" But Hugh replied, that the oath of fidelity was an unavoidable consequence of their expedition: that the friendship of Alexius was essential to the well-being of the enterprise; for that, without his aid, the army would perish from hunger.* The representations of the count of Vermandois not only calmed the anger, but changed the opinion of the duke of Lorraine. He saw that a state of hostility with the emperor would eventually be more destructive to him than to the Greeks; that the people round Constantinople would be ruined; their ruin would be followed by that of the army; and the imperial treasures would be more easily gained by friendship than by war. Godfrey therefore resolved to make a sacred promise of fealty; and it was agreed that, on his entrance into the city, John, a son of the emperor, should be given as a hostage to the French. Before these resolves were acted upon, messengers from the prince of Tarentum reached the camp of the Latins. The Italian developed the perfidy of the emperor; and solicited his insulted companions to wait his arrival, when he would co-operate with them in taking vengeance on imperial duplicity. But nothing could break Godfrey's singleness of purpose. With consent of the other chiefs he answered the messengers of Bohemond, that he knew well the hatred which the Greeks bore against the Latins; but piety forbad him to turn his arms against a Christian people.†

The interviews between the messengers of Bohemond and Godfrey were reported to Alexius; and the emperor anxiously hastened the negotiation. His

* Albert, 201, 202.

† Nicephorus was the husband of the princess Anna; and she praises him in truly classical terms. Alexiad, 233, 234.

* Alexiad, 235.

† Archb. of Tyre, 656, 657.

son was sent into the Latin camp as a hostage, and Godfrey with his friends entered Constantinople. They were dressed with all the magnificence of warriors of the age.* The whole splendour of the Byzantine court was arrayed, in order to overawe the strangers. They were received in the imperial palace with dignity, not with respect; as slaves, not as equals. Their salutations were met by Alexius with silence and unrelaxed features. Godfrey bent the knee before the throne, and kissed the knees or the feet of the emperor. Alexius then adopted him as his son; clothed him with imperial robes, and declared that he put the empire under the protection of his arms, with the hope that he would finally deliver it from the multitude of barbarians who infested it. The duke of Lorraine with joined hands not only recognised the adoption, but, like the count of Vermandois, swore fidelity to the emperor. He promised to deliver to him such Grecian places as he should recapture from the Turks, and to do homage for any other acquisitions. The oath was repeated by the other suppliant Franks, and Alexius promised in return to aid the cause with the imperial troops, and his stores of arms and provisions. He would join his force to that of the Latins, and even conduct them in person.

Robert of Paris, one of the companions of Godfrey, disgusted at the hauteur of Alexius, quitted his place, and fiercely seated himself on the throne. Alexius, says his daughter, knew well the pride of the Latins, and dissembled his rage. Baldwin relieved the king from his embarrassment, and endeavoured to remove the bold intruder. "After you have professed yourself," said he, "a servant of the emperor, do you dare to place yourself on the same seat? It is contrary to decorum and good manners; and if nothing else could bind you, you should at least respect the customs of the country in which you are living." The Frenchman felt not the reproof, but observed with composure, "A simple rustic is the only one who dares to sit in the presence of him, before whom all are suppliant or standing." The royal interpreter explained to the emperor the meaning of the barbarian. The honest dignity of the stranger palsied imperial pride; and Alexius, unable to reply to this presumption, could only ask him who he was, and whence he came. "I am a Frenchman and nobly born," he replied; "and this too I know, there is a spot near my church, where people assemble who wish to signalize their skill in arms: and where, until an enemy appears, they pray to God. I have repeatedly waited there, and no person has yet dared to accept my challenge." The remark of the emperor was bitterly ironical. "The times are past," said he, "for your search of an enemy in vain. When you meet the Turks, place not yourself in the van of the army, but go into the centre; you will there be safe from the darts of the foe."*

In consequence of the acknowledgment of this feudal relation, peace was restored between the Latins and the Greeks. On one side strictness of discipline was commanded; and on the other an imperial rescript permitted commercial and social intercourse between the different nations. The lord of Greece, too, gained the affections of the chief officers among the Franks by profuse and ostentatious presents; and once in every week he sent to Godfrey as much gold as two men could carry on their shoulders, and ten measures of copper coin.† All the vigilance of the duke of Lorraine could not preserve the inhabitants of Constantinople from military lawlessness. The spring of holy action was relaxed, and idleness fostered vice. The opinion of Alexius that the army could be better supported on the Asiatic side of the Bosphorus than in the city, could neither be assented to or denied by Godfrey; and he had no reasons to oppose to the imperial wish. Indeed, his judgment might second it; for he knew that the remainder of the military force of Europe

* The coat of arms, or mantle over the armour, was the splendid part of a warrior's dress. It was made of cloths of gold or silver, of rich skins, furs of ermine, sables, &c. Albert mentions Godfrey and his party as being clothed with vests made of ermine, vair, and other skins, adorned with gold, p. 203, and see the first dissertation of Du Cange on Joinville.

* Alexiad, 237, 238. This brave man was truly French; *i. e.* of the Isle of France; he lost the benefit of the lesson, for he was slain at the battle of Doryleum. Du Cange, note, p. 85.

† Alexiad, 235, 236. Albert, 203. Archb. of Tyre, 657.

would soon arrive; and that the union of so many myriads of Latins in Constantinople would produce disorder. He therefore passed the Hellespont, and his troops encamped round Chalcedon.*

Before the departure of Godfrey from Constantinople, he had been joined by Robert of Flanders, and many of the Belgic Crusaders. Neither the affectionate solicitations of his sister the duchess of Apulia, nor the repulsive turbulence of the season, had restrained his impatience. But the count of Vermandois had occupied most of the Apulian vessels; and the Flemish lord had not been able to sail before he heard of his catastrophe at Durazzo. The caution of Robert to avoid the Grecian fleet was not successful; and in the engagement which ensued, he was compelled to yield to the force of superior numbers. The Latins were honourably guarded to Constantinople, where they followed the example of the lords of Lorraine and France, by becoming the *men* of Alexius.†

The Crusaders next in point of time were commanded by Bohemond and his relation Tancred.‡ The enemy of the Greeks had become, both by his brother's negligence and permission, a powerful lord in Italy. From his father's creation he was prince of Tarentum.* His qualities were those which belong to a piratical people. He was rapacious rather than ambitious: with him craft was wisdom; and, incapable of a grand and dignified course of action, he pursued, and generally with success, the intricate wiles of policy, and the labyrinths of ambuscade and finesse. He knew not the dignity of virtue, and could at pleasure assume every character. He had neither religion nor probity; yet he was, in the eyes of the credulous, one of the most devoted and disinterested soldiers of Christ. The character of Tancred shines with a pure and brilliant lustre. His ambition was rendered virtue by a generous spirit; by a love of martial achievements, and detestation of stratagem. Like his mother's countrymen, he was bold and enterprising; but he had not the Norman vices of treachery and dissimulation. Modesty softened his high-mindedness; and he would have been courteous and humane to all mankind, if the superstition of his age had not taught him that the Saracens were the enemies of God, and that the Christians were the ministers of heavenly wrath.†

* William of Tyre, and the rest, *ubi supra*. The early historians of the Crusades attribute this movement to the fear which Alexius entertained of the union of troops in the neighbourhood of Constantinople. But it should be remembered, that the distance between that city and Chalcedon was so short, that the Latins could form a junction whenever they pleased.

† The authors of L'Art de vérifier les Dates, vol. iii. p. 7, are wrong in stating that Robert of Flanders did not take the oath of fealty. See Albert, p. 204, and the Archbishop of Tyre, p. 660. The princess Anna mistook the count of Flanders for the count of Tholouse. She has also got a story of a count Rodolph and fifteen thousand soldiers, that were checked by the Greeks in their march into Asia Minor. The general of Alexius proposed to transport them by sea to the Holy Land. She adds, "such is the story of count Rodolph." It cannot be identified with any account of the Latin writers, and is most probably altogether fabulous. The only part of the tale worth noting, is the fear which she expresses of the danger to Alexius arising from a junction of Rodolph with the troops of Godfrey.

‡ The Italian reader will allow me to enter into the family history of one of the heroes of Tasso. I once thought that the relationship between Bohemond and Tancred was correctly stated by Ordericus Vitalis. Bohemond was the son of Robert Guiscard, duke of Apulia. Tancred was the son of marquis Odo the Good. tilda, a sister of Bohemond, married William de Grantmenil, a Norman lord, whose sister married the Father of Tancred. Ord. Vit. p. 271, 677, 692, 717, 724, 757. Albert of Aix (p. 204) says, that Tancred was the son of a sister of Bohemond; and Guibert (p. 496) calls him the nephew of Bohemond. But the authority of Ralph of Caen, Tancred's biographer, is paramount. He says (c. i.) that the father of Tancred was marquis Odo, and that his mother was Emma, sister of Robert Guiscard. Hoveden (p. 710) erroneously makes Tancred the son of Robert Guiscard himself; and with equal ignorance, Knolles (Hist. of the Turks, p. 19) calls him the son of Roger, the brother of Bohemond. I may observe in this place, that Knolles' book, which Johnson has so strangely overrated, is at frequent and important variance with the original historians. Such parts of it as relate to the Crusades appear to be a compilation from some well meaning, though injudicious writers, who, observing that the crimes of Christians impeded the progress of Christianity, have softened and extenuated the conduct of the Crusaders.

* L'Art de vérifier les Dates, vol. iii. p. 808.

† Even the princess Anna, generally sparing of commendation of the Latins, praised the martial and intellectual qualities of Tancred. Alexiad, 277. Tasso, who so well knew the way

In the sojourn which the count of Vermandois made in southern Italy, the spirit of crusading spread among the Italians. Bohemond was occupied in quelling a rebellion at Amalfi. The fanaticism of the French was soon communicated to his soldiery, and the friend of Urban smiled at the success of his counsels. The holy theme was adopted by the marauder, his specious eloquence produced the same effects as those which the sincerity of other preachers had occasioned, and the war-shout of the council of Clermont resounded through the lines. The soldiers bent their bows, couched their lances, and uttered a loud but vain cry of defiance of the Turks. While their enthusiasm was at its height, and their entreaties were urgent for a march to the Holy Land, Bohemond declared his willingness to accompany them in so august an undertaking, and tearing his magnificient robe into pieces in the form of crosses, he distributed the fragments among his followers. Amalfi was forgotten in Jerusalem; fanaticism swept away all considerations of politics, and in the grand effort for the redemption of the sepulchre, Italy might hope to benefit from the absence of her Norman scourges.*

The prince of Tarentum increased by every means the religious fervour, and he soon found himself at the head of ten thousand horsemen, and an infinite number of foot soldiers and foot attendants. Many distinguished Normans and Italians joined his standard, and while the command was participated by his cousin Tancred,† his relations the princes of Salernum had an important place in the council. They sailed from the shores of Apulia about the end of November, soon after Hugh and Robert, and landed near Durazzo. They marched through Epirus, and the soldiers of the Greek emperor stationed in the provinces made Bohemond solicitous to preserve discipline. He exhorted his people to just dealings, moderation, and good will towards the people, to whom in truth they came to render assistance. But as they advanced, their money became exhausted, and they plundered when they could not purchase. The Greeks were schismatics, but they were the allies of the Italians, and the miserable superstition of the day was at variance with moral principle, whether plunder was lawful. In Pelagonia, however, there was a castle full of heretics, to whom the Crusaders were not attached by any ties of political union. The soldiers of Bohemond pillaged and set fire to it, and then continued their religious journey with consciences void of offence.* Their march was watched by the imperial troops, and their passage of the Vardar would have been fatal to many of the army, if Tancred had not gallantly repulsed the enemy. Bohemond severally reproached the prisoners, for having dared to attack the soldiers of the cross. They replied, that, "the orders of the emperor were of the highest obligation upon, them, and they would commit an offence against God in violating his commands. The armies of the Crusaders were dreaded by their master like the thunders of heaven, for he knew that ambition, and not religion, was their motive; that they preferred Constantinople to Jerusalem. If Bohemond and his followers were really servants of God, they would imitate his attribute of pity."† The crafty Italian gave them freedom; and when his less prudent friends expressed their surprise, he reminded them

to dress truth with the ornaments of fiction, beautifully describes the young Italian:—

Vien poi Tancredi; e non è alcun fra tanti
(Tranne Rinaldo) o feritor maggiore,
O più bel die maniere e di sembianti,
O più eccelso ed entrepido di core.
S' alcun' ombra di colpa i suoi gran vanti
Rende men chiari, è sol follia d' amore:
Nato fra l' arme amor di breve vista,
Che si nutre d' affanni, e forza acquista.

La Gerusalemme Liberata, canto i. 45.

* Tudebodus, 779. Guibert, 485, 486. Gainnone, Istoria di Napoli, lib. x. c. 7.

† Tancred was in Bohemond's army, quasi dux sub rege, et secundus ab eo militavit.

* Robert, 36. Tudebodus, 779. Mus. Ital. i. 145. Baldric, 92. Guibert, 488. Archb. of Tyre, 658, &c. This last writer had pity on the poor Jews in Cologne, but he drops not a tear of sorrow for the Pelagonian heretics. In regione uberrima cui nomen est Pelagonia, castra metati sunt. Ubi audientes quod in vicino erat municipium solis hæreticis habitatoribus refertum, illuc sub omni celeritate contendunt, et castrum violenter occupantes, succensis ædificiis, oppidanus quoque partim gladio, partim consumptis incendia, prædum universam, et opima inde retulerunt spolia. Willermi, Tyrensis, Archiep. lib. ii., c. 13.

† Robert, 37.

of the impolicy of provoking the emperor while they were in his territories. "The passions ought to be curbed till they can be exerted with effect If possible, the favour of Alexius must be obtained, or at all events, our wrongs should be dissimulated till a proper season."* Bohemond sent messengers to Constantinople, with remonstrances against the injustice of the Greeks. Alexius disavowed the actions of his soldiers, and though he inwardly feared and detested Bohemond, he expressed the most lively joy at his approach, and promised him more honours and treasures than those which he had conferred on the other Latin princes. Without some appearance of confidence hostilities would have been renewed, and therefore Bohemond left the army under Tancred at Rossa, and went with a band of cavaliers to the imperial city. He was met by the duke of Lorraine, whom Alexius had solicited to entreat the prince of Tarentum to take the oath of fealty. The two heroes embraced, conversed upon the holy undertaking, and religion appeared to be the sole motive of Bohemond.

The meeting between the emperor and the prince was a finished piece of hypocrisy. The reciprocation of courtesy was not apparently embittered by painful recollections; but as no mention of past events might have given rise to suspicion, Alexius recalled the battles of Durazzo and Larissa, and, commending the valour of the prince of Tarentum, expressed his joy that amicable dispositions had succeeded those scenes of war. Bohemond, in his turn, confessed the injustice of his former hostility, and avowed that he was, and ever would continue, friendly to so august an emperor. Alexius entertained him in the royal residence, and then removed him to one of still greater magnificence. Judging from his own breast of the impossibility of healing the wounds of hatred, Bohemond continued watchful of the court; and when a splendid banquet was placed before him, he passed the viands untouched to his companions at the table. The next morning he concealed not his astonishment that their health was uninjured, for he thought that the emperor could not lose so favourable an occasion of attempting to poison an ancient enemy. Just considerations of policy, or the necessity of circumstances, had induced Godfrey and Hugh to take the oath of fealty. Neither national honour nor religion swayed the mind of Bohemond, but he could coolly view every transaction with reference to its effect upon his own selfish interest. His ambition and avarice were well known to Alexius, and these passions were to be satisfied as the purchase for the obligation of allegiance. The emperor promised him, therefore, the lordship over districts between Constantinople and Antioch, fifteen days' march in length, and eight in breadth. The imperial officers displayed to him the most magnificent chambers of the palace; his cupidity was roused at the sight of the never-ending piles of money and jewels, and he could not avoid exclaiming, that, if he were master of those riches, they would lead him to the conquest of cities and kingdoms. "They are thine," cried the servant of the emperor, "his majesty gives to you all that you have seen to-day." Soothed by flattery, and blinded by avarice, Bohemond allowed the treasures to be conveyed to his chambers; and though he dropped some expressions indicative of his penetration into the purpose of Alexius, yet his favourite passion overcame his sense of dignity.* Revelling in imperial pomp, he aspired to the empire itself, in the office of great domestic of the east, or commander of the Grecian soldiers in Asia. Alexius dissembled his pride, which was wounded deeply at the audacious pride of a foreigner, and resorted to the common political artifice of the opposition of circumstances to the gratification of a desire. "As soon, however," he continued, "as your military abilities shall receive the applause of the Greeks, the highest dignity of the empire shall be yours. I shall then appear to be acting in harmony with the general confession of your merit, and not indulging my own private partiality and friendship."† He wore the semblance of esteem for Bohemond, though the conduct of his martial compeer Tancred justly excited surprise. The army

† Baldric, 92.

* Guibert, 491. Archb. of Tyre, 659. Baldric, 92. Alexiad. 238, 240.

† Alexiad, 241.

of Italians had been led by that gallant general from Rossa to Constantinople, and when the alternative was plunder or starvation, he permitted his wretched followers to live upon the miserable and heretical provincials. Arrived at the Bosphorus, he and one of the princes of Salernum disguised themselves in the garb of common soldiers, and crossed the strait almost unnoticed. By this measure Tancred escaped the disgrace of acknowledging a foreign prince to be his liege lord. The noble qualities of the young cavalier were unknown to Alexius, who attributed this preservation of independence, not to a generous loftiness of spirit, but to hostile intentions.*

The next array of mighty men at arms that joined the assembled troops of Godfrey, Hugh, Tancred, Bohemond, and Robert of Flanders, was commanded by Raymond, duke of Narbonne, and count of Provence, Tholouse, and Rovergue.† His coldness of temper, and dignity of manner, gave vulgar minds ideas of wisdom and greatness: but he was selfish and avaricious; his pride made him susceptible and retentive of injuries, though it generally restrained him from immoral ways of revenge. Lord of most of the south of France, he yet sighed for kingdoms in the east, and was inexorable in his hatred of the Muselmans, for his proud soul was deeply stained with the intolerant spirit of the day, and he had often felt the power of his neighbours, the Spanish Saracens. The holy cause was embraced by William, the fifth lord of Montpellier, Raynouard, viscount of Turenne, and a numerous troop of knights and barons of southern France and northern Spain.

* Baldric, 94. Albert, 204. Rad. Cad. 289, 290. The biographer of Tancred says, that Alexius made Bohemond swear for his relative.

† The count of St. Ægidius, corrupted by the French into St. Giles, and by Anna Commena into Sangeles, was his earliest title. St. Ægidius was a part of Nismes. He was also called count of Tholouse and Rovergue, and duke of Narbonne. The title of count of Provence or Arles has likewise been given to Raymond. The history of the means by which he became so great a prince is very dark and confused. Du Change on the Alexiad, p. 82. L'Art de vérifier les Dates, ii., 202, 289, 294, 435.

The count of Orange descended from his beautiful seat near Avignon, and joined his banner to that of the count of Tholouse. The list of ecclesiastics presented the important names of the archbishop of Toledo, and the bishops of Puy and Orange.* Though more than three centuries had elapsed since the rise of Gascony from the Saracenian yoke, yet the Moslem cruelties were fresh in the minds of the French, and as much from motives of revenge as of religion, the people from the mouth of the Garonne to that of the Var, the eastern boundary of Provence, assumed the Cross. Their route was different from that of the other Crusaders, for they passed through Lombardy into Dalmatia. Forty days were occupied in the march from the Forum Julii to the confines of Epirus; and those were days of fatigue and privation. Ignorant of the regular passes over the mountains, the pilgrims followed their own erring conjectures, and were almost lost in the marshes through their foggy atmosphere and continual darkness.† In those parts of the country, where man had but little improved the bounties of nature, scanty provision only could be expected for one hundred thousand soldiers. Such swarms alarmed the peasantry, who retired into the mountains, and then having placed their flocks and herds in safety, made irregular but dreadful attacks upon their invaders. The skill of the count of Tholouse was severely tried in saving the women and priests, and other attendants of the camp. As objects of terror to the enemy, he maimed and disfigured his prisoners; and this exercise of cruelty was seasonable and effective.

* Archb. of Tyre, 660. L'Art de vérifier les Dates, ii., 259, 322, 400.

Poi duo pastor di popoli spiegaro
Le squadre lor, Guglielmo ed Ademaro.
* * * * *
L' uno e l' altro di lor, che ne' divini
Ufici già trattò pio ministero,
Sotto l' elmo primendo i lunghi crini,
Esercita dell' arme or l' uso fero:
Della città d' Orange, e dai confini
Quattrocento guerrier scelse il primiero.
Ma guida quei di Poggio in guerra l' altro,
Numero egual, nè men nell arme scaltro.
La Gerussalemme Liberata, canto i., 38, 39.

†——Tenebræ continuæ, pene palpabiles. Archb. of Tyre, 660.

When they arrived at Scodra, the residence of the king of Dalmatia, the royal name and attentions procured for them provisions and tranquillity till their entrance into the Grecian states.* They pursued their course to Constantinople with the protection of the imperial officers. On every station the governors of the provinces received them with respect, and the letters of Alexius breathed nothing but the language of peace and affection. Yet in every day's march many of the army were slain. Parties of Grecian troops harassed them on all sides, and on one occasion the bishop of Puy would have fallen a sacrifice to their rapacity, had it not been for the sudden interposition of some of Raymond's soldiers. At Rossa they inflicted signal vengeance on the Greeks;† they satiated themselves with plunder, and then advanced to Rhodosto, where a deputation from Alexius pressed the count to hasten to Constantinople. Godfrey and the other chiefs joined in this solicitation, and therefore Raymond left the command to Adhemar, and returned with the legates.‡

The count of Tholouse boldly and frankly declined to become a feudal dependant on the Grecian empire. He avowed that he had not quitted his native country in order to acknowledge any new master, or to fight for any one but his Lord and Saviour. If, however, his majesty would march to Jerusalem, he would willingly place himself and his forces under his command.§ Alexius had good reason to dread so proud and formidable a chieftain, and therefore gave secret orders to his lieutenants to destroy the army. In the silence and darkness of the night, when the Crusaders were reposing in confidence of promised friendship, the Greeks rushed into their camp. The carnage was dreadful, till rage succeeded panic, and the ranks of the Provençals were formed. The tide of conquest was changed; the imperial soldiers were completely repulsed, and their stores were plundered. But as the Croises continued their march, disaffection appeared. Victories had reduced their numbers; they were attenuated by fatigue; and, in their distress, they began to question the prudence of the enterprise. The contagion of cowardice spread to the highest lords; and, but for the animating counsels of the bishops and clergy, the army would have been dissolved, and the dark and malignant politics of Alexius would have succeeded.* In the fury of his indignation at the conduct of the imperial officers, the Revenge of Raymond could alone be satisfied by making war upon the Greeks.† But the duke of Lorraine and other chiefs showed the imprudence of attacking the Christians while the Turkish power was unbroken. Bohemond too professed himself to be the friend of Alexius, and threatened Raymond with destruction, if he longer persisted in his enmity.‡ But neither threats nor advice could make the haughty Provençal kneel and perform homage; and he only swore that he would do nothing against the honour and life of the emperor.§ Alexius, wishing some counterpoise to Bohemond, and admiring the pride and power of the count of Tholouse, received Raymond to his confidence, and avowed his fears of the prince of Tarentum. The censure of the Italian was grateful to the ears of his ambitious compeer; and Raymond did not relieve the fears of his imperial friend, by assurring him that perjury and craft were the hereditary vices of Bohemond; and that therefore no trust was to be placed in his vows.‖

The soldiers of Provence reached

* Archb. of Tyre, 661.

† It is remarkable, that when the Crusaders assaulted Rossa, their war-cry was "Tholouse," and not Dieux el volt.

‡ Raimond, 140. § Raimond, 141.

* Archb. of Tyre, 661, 662.

† The bishop of Puy had nothing to do with the matter: and yet Voltaire coolly says, "L'évêque de Puy voulait absolument qu'on commençât les entreprises contre les infidèles par la siège de la ville où residoit le premier prince des chrétiens." Essai sur les Mœurs des Nations, ch. 54.

‡ Raimond, 141. Tudebodus, 781.

§ Raimond and Tudebodus, ubi sup. Rob. 38. Ord. Vit. 728. Guibert, 490. Some historians incorrectly say that the count of Tholouse took the oath of allegiance in its fullest extent. The princess Anna is loud in her praises of the moral and intellectual graces of the count; and, in her hyperbolical language, he shone among the Latins as the sun shines amongst the stars.

‖ Alexiad, 241.

Constantinople, and crossed the straits into Asia; and with Godfrey, Bohemond, and Robert of Flanders, took the road to Nice.* Peter the Hermit, and the remnants of his miserable swarms of savages, joined them, and received a share of the camp provisions. The hosts of Christendom were soon afterwards strengthened by the more important junction of the duke of Normandy, the count of Chartres, the earl of Boulogne, and their squadrons, who in their journey from Italy to Asia Minor, had suffered equal distresses with their precursors; and who, on their arrival at Constantinople, had made the usual sacrifice to imperial pride and suspicion.†

CHAPTER IV.

THE MARCH OF THE CRUSADERS THROUGH ASIA MINOR.

Review of the Latin troops before Nice.—Siege and capture of Nice.—Treachery of Alexius.—Manners of the Christian Camp.—Interview between Alexius and the Chiefs.—Commencement of the march through Asia Minor.—Battle at Doryleum.—Victory of the Christians.—Distressing march through Phrygia.—Expedition of Tancred and Baldwin into Cilicia.—Injustice of Baldwin.—War between Baldwin and Tancred.—Distresses of the main Army in its passage through Lycaonia.—Foundation of the Latin state of Edessa.—Arrival of the Latins before Antioch.

THE holy legions overspread the plains of Nice,* and if early writers can be credited, seven hundred thousand was the number of soldiers and of pilgrims.† It is impossible to describe with perfect precision the nature of the military array; but we can discern that there were one hundred thousand horsemen clad in mail.‡ Agreeably to the customs of chivalry, such of these warriors as were knights were attended by their squires,§ who carried their lances, their golden and ornamented shields,‖ and led the fiery steeds¶ on which the cavaliers rode during the battle. Nor was the equipment complete, unless each equestrian soldier was accompanied and supported by** some men at arms and infantry,

* The Provençals, however, soon allowed the other crusaders to pass them, for Raymond remained for some time at Constantinople with Alexius.

† Robert, 39. Albert, 204. Gesta, 562. Archb. of Tyre, 664. I shall transcribe the remarks of the chaplain of the count of Chartres on the magnificence of Constantinople, as expressive of the admiration and astonishment which all the western barbarians felt. "O quanta civitas nobilis et decora! quot monasteria, quotque palatia sunt in ea, opere miro fabrefacta! quot etiam in plateis vel in vicis opera, ad spectandum mirabilia. Tædium est quidem magnum recitare quanta sit ibi opulentia bonorum omnium, auri et argenti, palliorum multiformium, sanctorumque reliquiarum." Fulcher, 386. The count of Chartres was imposed upon by Grecian artifice, and believed that Alexius preferred him to all the other Crusaders. The emperor had skill enough to make every man with whom he conversed think himself the greatest favourite. His majesty expressed a wish that one of the sons of Stephen might be educated at the Byzantine court, and said a thousand other fine things, which Stephen reported to his wife as holy truths. See his epistle in Mabillon, Mus. Ital. vol. i., p. 237.

* There the wild Crusaders form,
There assembled Europe stands,
Heav'n they deem awakes the storm,
Hell the paynims' blood demands.
Carlyle's Poems, p. 84.

† This is the number as fixed by the Archbishop of Tyre, p. 664. Fulcher (p. 387) says, there were 600,000 people fit for war, and a great number of priests, women and children. Guibert, p. 491, mentions 100,000 equites loricati. These words must mean, in the instance before us, the general force of the crusading cavalry: and we are prevented from adding to it the men at arms, because the archbishop of Tyre in another place (p. 693) says, that the horses with which the Crusaders commenced the siege of Antioch numbered only 70,000. The reader observes that the numerical statements of Fulcher and the archbishop far exceed the result of the various forces described in the last chapter.

‡ For remarks on the armour of the knights, see note E, Appendix.

§ The duties of the squires are described in note F, Appendix.

‖ Albert, p. 212, 241. Thus the soldiers of the lower empire were distinguished by the digmata or devices of their companies, and by their own names expressed on their shields. Vegetius de re militari, lib. ii., c. 18.

¶ See Appendix, note G.

** The number of men at arms and archers, which constituted the complete equipment of a lance, varied in different times and countries. It was seldom less than three, or perhaps more than six.

who bore the standard,* and were accoutred lighter than their chief.† The offensive weapons of the cavalry were iron maces, lances, and swords. The bow‡ was the principal weapon of the foot soldiers, who, agreeably to the tactics of the day, formed the first line of the army, and discharged flights of shafts and quarrels until the heavily armed troops engaged.

The formidable force of the crusaders was not broken by petty conflicts; but its first efforts were urged against the very capital of the Seljukian kingdom of Rhoum. Nice was situated on a fertile plain; and owed its strength more to art than to nature. It was defended by double walls of an immense thickness; and the attacking enemy were to be repulsed from more than three hundred and fifty towers, which stood at frequent intervals. The city commanded the lake Ascanius, and consequently it enjoyed communication with the Turks on the north-western shores of Bithynia.§

The Latin princes were struck with astonishment at the height and solidity of the walls, and some of the soldiers approached them with the intention of an assault. But the poisoned arrows which were shot from the battlements made them repent of their temerity, and it was resolved that a formal siege should be commenced.‖ The different generals followed their own principles of hostility, and perhaps attacked those parts of the fortifications which were opposite to their respective posts. Hugh, the two Roberts, and Stephen of Chartres, applied their engines of war against the east. On that side also Raymond and Adhemar encamped their battalions when they reached the scene of hostility. Godfrey was on the north, and Bohemond was on the south.* The crusaders were sufficiently numerous to assault the whole of the walls; they erected wooden towers,† and having impelled them against the stone towers of the city, the engagements between the Christians and Muselmans were hand to hand. Kilidge Arslan, the Seljukian Sultan of Rhoum, with fifty thousand experienced troops, had stationed himself in the mountains which overhung the plains of his capital. On intelligence of the fruitless assault which the enemy had lately made, he resolved upon an immediate irruption into their camp, assisted by a sortie from the city. But his messengers were intercepted, and the threat of the punishment of death drew from them the secret. Raymond and Adhemar were apprised of the meditated irruption, and by forced marches arrived at their quarters on the east. On these places Soliman poured his squadrons; he knew not that his plans had been revealed, or of the consequent re-enforcement of the Christian army. If he had made repeated attacks upon the exhausted Provençals, he must have defeated them: but he quickly extended his hostility to the positions of Godfrey and the French princes. The Moslems were on every spot received with firmness, and not being seconded by the garrison, they retreated with precipitation into the mountains. The courage of the Turks is impetuous, though not firm: and their retreats (as Urban had assured the people at Clermont) are not always the sign of discomfiture. The next morning they renewed their attacks, and the Nissians, understanding their intentions, made the expected sortie. But the Latins were numerous, their

* On the subject of the standards, banners, &c., of the Crusaders, see Appendix, note H.

† There were also many soldiers in the first Crusade who were not knights, or their attendants, and yet who fought on horseback. Fulcher, lib. ii. chap. 31.

‡ The cross bow, as well as the long bow, was in use. The former was of immemorial antiquity among the Latins, and was introduced by them into Greece. It was not much used during the Crusades, for the spirit of chivalry opposed a weapon which in the exercise required no skill: it was held in the same contempt as poisoned arrows were; and both were condemned by the 29th canon of the second Lateran council, A.D. 1139. See Du Cange's note on the Alexiad, p. 85.

§ Robert, 40. Archb. of Tyre, 666.

‖ Albert, 204, 205.

* Robert, 39.

† These were the belfrois or beffreys so often used in the middle ages. Their summit, and other parts or stories of them, were occupied by armed men. They were usually moved on four wheels, and, to prevent injury from the Greek fire, they were covered with boiled horse or bullocks' skins.

courage was fresh, and after an engagement, which was continued at intervals through the whole day, Kilidge Arslan was compelled to retire, and to leave Nice to its fate.* He expected to have found the Latins as feeble as the Greeks, or as disorderly as the rabble of Peter. But he confessed that their courage was like that of lions, and that a thousand of their cavalry would fearlessly charge twenty thousand Turks. He was surprised at the splendid military appearance of his enemies, their coats of mail, their ornamented and painted shields, helmets shining in the sun, and their long ashen lances in their hands.† The Christians were merciful to the messengers, finding that their statements had tallied with events, but they cut off the heads of the dead and wounded Turks; some they cast over the walls into the city, and others they sent as a present to the emperor. The gratitude of Alexius for the barbarous trophies was shown by the return of plentiful supplies of provisions and necessaries for the camp, and the generals, in the fulness of their rejoicing, renewed their promises of fidelity.‡ The siege was recommenced with renewed courage. A sepulchre of the dead was converted into a resting place of the living. The hill of bones was fortified by the Christians, and made a tower of hostility.§ The count Herman, and Henry of Ascha, endeavoured to batter down a tower by the machine called a Fox, but its imperfect construction rendered the attempt abortive, and twenty men were buried in the ruins. The commanders alone escaped.* Adhemar and Raymond assaulted a tower, apparently of ruined foundations. It had been severely injured in a former war, and from the projection of its lower part it was called "Gonatos," or the inclination of a bent knee.† For two days Raymond was constant in his attacks with two mangonels, which hurled stones of an enormous size against the walls; neither did he neglect to mine them under the cover of the Chats-chateils. But the tower did not fall, and if a breach were ever made, it was immediately repaired. The machines were at last destroyed by the stones and combustible materials of the Turks‡ The carnage was great on both sides, and the Nissians dragged up with iron hooks numberless dead bodies of their foes, to mangle them in savage mockery, or to cast them down again when stripped of their raiment.§ So long as the lake Ascanius was in Turkish subjection, the losses of the garrison could be repaired. At the solicitation, therefore, of the Latins,‖ Alexius sent a large number of vessels in frame from Civitot to the Christian

* Gesta, 5. Albert, 205–6. Archb. of Tyre, 667. Alexiad, 245.

† Albert, 241. These expressions relate to the Latins in general, and not, as Du Cange states, to the French alone. The Greek writers, Nicetas, Cinnamus, and Anna, praise the Latins for the dexterous use of the lance. It is certain, however, that at the time of the crusades no nation was more military than the French. They cultivated the art of war, for they thought it was imprudent to engage in battle before they had learned at least the rudiments of the dreadful subject. Tournaments were first used in France long antecedent to the crusades. Matthew Paris calls these representations of war, conflictus Gallici. Ralph of Goggeshall tells of a man who died in a mock fight, near Gallicorum. Tournaments were introduced into England in the reign of Stephen; they fell into disuse, but were revived with great splendour in the time of Richard the First. M. Paris ad ann. 1179 et 1194. William of Newbridge, l. v. c. iv. Bromton, 1261.

‡ Albert, 207. Alexiad, 246,

§ Alexiad, 227.

* Albert, 208. The cunning of the invention, and not the shape of the machine, gave it the name of Fox. The Foxes were probably of the same class of engines as the Cats. The Cats were in the form of a covered gallery, fastened to the walls to afford shelter to the sappers. They were also made use of to fill up the ditches, in order that the beffrois (of which we have already spoken) might be brought near the walls. When these galleries were defended by towers, they were called Chats-chateils, *i. e.* cati castellati. Du Cange on Joinville.

† Alexiad, 246.

‡ Albert, 208. Archb. of Tyre, 668, 670. Alexiad, 246.

§ Malmsbury, 429.

‖ Though Alexius aided his allies on this occasion, yet he showed a perpetual jealousy of their increasing numbers. About this time, Daimbert, archbishop of Pisa, and a large body of Italians, arrived at Nice, and put themselves under the command of Godfrey. In their passage they had halted at Constantinople; and Alexius had done every thing in his power to detain them, or to send them back. Tronchi, Memorie della citta di Pisa, p. 34. Livorno, 1682. Vitæ Rom. Pont. in Muratori, Rerum Script. Ital. vol. iii. pars I. p. 400.

camp. They soon were launched, and were filled by Butumite and the Turcoples who were in imperial pay. For a moment the Nissians thought that it was a succour from their Sultan, but the Grecian standards, the shouts of the men, and the noise of the lofty instruments of war, soon changed their curiosity and joy into despair.* The Crusaders, now elate with hope, urged their assaults with increased courage. But a skilful Lombard did more towards the taking of the dreaded Gonatos than the rest of the army. Under the cover of a Chat-chateil, he and his associates loosened without pulling down the foundations of the tower, and supported the tottering fabric with logs of wood. The cavities were then filled with combustible matter, and the soldiers retired. In an hour of darkness the mass was ignited, the wooden supporters were scattered in the air, and the pile of stones fell with an alarming noise.† If the Latins had at that moment crossed the breach, Nice must have surrendered at discretion: but they delayed their assault, and when the morning appeared, they found that the active garrison had raised a new series of fortifications behind the ruins of the fallen bulwark. In the moment of terror the wife and sister of the Sultan had left the city, and attempted to escape by the lake. But they repented their want of brave endurance of dangers, for they were taken by the Greeks and Turcoples, who were sailing on every part.‡

While the Franks were preparing to storm anew the repaired breaches in the walls, victory was snatched from their grasp by their friend and ally. At the commencement of the siege, the emperor joined to their forces two thousand men, under the command of Taticius, a man who, from the disgrace of slavery, had been advanced to the honour of governing the Turks on the Vardar.§ The reasons which Alexius urged for not joining the Crusaders in person were trivial and absurd. He said that his army was at its fullest extent, much inferior to that of his allies; that it would injure his dignity to appear in their camp; and that he dreaded the levity and inconstancy of the Latins.* He therefore crossed the Bosphorus, and stationed himself near Pelicanum. Suspicious of the tenacity of the Croises to their engagements, he had secretly commissioned Butumite, one of his most skilful envoys, to offer the Turks more favourable conditions of peace than could be expected from an enemy who would enter the city sword in hand.† The bustle of defence, and the hope of success, sometimes suspended the negotiation; but when the Sultana fell into the hands of the Greeks, and Butumite offered not only immunity and security to the besieged, but freedom and honour to the wife of Kilidge Arslan,‡ the Turks admitted him into the city, accepted his terms, and the crafty negotiator wrote to Taticius that their policy had succeeded. On the next morning the signal for attack was given, and the Franks rushed to the breaches. But the imperial trumpets were sounded, the banners of Alexius were hung over the walls, and Butumite proclaimed that the city was his master's.§ The pride of the noble-minded men among the Crusaders was wounded at this artifice of their ally, but the common soldiers, disappointed in not sacking their town, were loud in their clamours against Alexius. The emperor had promised the leaders and people all the gold and silver and property in every captured city; and that in Nice he would build a Latin monastery, and also a hospital for the poor pilgrims. Alexius was bountiful in his presents to all classes of the Crusaders; and the generals, thinking of greater objects, dissembled their disgust, and endeavoured by fair persuasions to stifle the anger of their troops.‖ Humanity rejoices that his selfishness preserved the city from be-

* Gesta, 6.
† Archb. of Tyre, 671. ‡ Ibid.
§ Alexiad, 88. Albert, 205.

* Alexiad, 247. The versatility of opinion, and suppleness of manners of the Latins, are mentioned by Anna Comnena as parts of the character of the western nations, and so strongly fixed in them, as to be inseparable appendages of their nature. Alexiad, p. 224.
† Alexiad, 241, 242, 245.
‡ Alexiad, 248. William of Tyre, 671.
§ Ibid. 248.
‖ Raimond, 142. Archb. of Tyre, 672. Baldric, 97. Guibert, 493.

coming a scene of blood and rapine, but the policy was timid and ridiculous which would not permit any of the Crusaders to reside in Nice. Some people wished to dwell among the numerous religious antiquities of the place, but he would only suffer the Latins to enter the city by decades, and take a brief and hasty glance of the objects of veneration.*

Seven weeks were consumed in the siege of the capital of Bithynia, and the number of the Christians that died, or, in the language of the times, received martyrdom,† was considerable. The morals of the Croises were of less questionable merit than the cause for which they were in arms. The camp presented the rare and edifying spectacle of a chaste and sober soldiery;‡ and although not free from the common disposition of exalting past ages at the expense of the present, the confession was drawn from the severest censors, that there was far more virtue among the crusading warriors than among the hosts of Israel in old time. The simplicity and purity of the early church were revived. So affectionate was the union between the brotherhood, that all things were held in common. The generals not only commanded and fought, but watched, and did the most humble duties of the camp: so that the officer and the soldier were scarcely to be distinguished. Artificial discipline was needless, when virtue pervaded every part of manners.

There were some chiefs among the Crusaders who had not sworn fealty to Alexius; and the presence of all the great men was solicited at Peliacum, in order to take a farewell of the emperor, and to receive from him new marks of his bounty. At the mention of riches, says the Grecian historian, the cupidity of Bohemond was fired, and he persuaded the rest to visit their new liege lord. Alexius treated them with magnificence and courtesy, and when he observed that they were pleased with his condescension, he gently alleged, that as he had given them a promise of protection, and sanctioned it by an invocation to heaven, they should not refuse to take the oath of fidelity. No one declined, except Tancred, who declared that he had bound himself to the service of Bohemond, and that he would adhere to his obligation until death. The reproofs of the surrounding nobles served only to quicken his pride, and turning to Alexius, he exclaimed, "If you were to give me as much money as this vast place could hold, and would add as much as you have given to the other chiefs, I would not take the oath you request." A relation of the emperor replied with violence to language which was so foreign to a Byzantine court, and Tancred would have punished him on the spot, had not Alexius and Bohemond intervened. The pride and anger of the noble cavalier did not continue long: but history is in doubt whether he became the liegeman of the emperor.*

On the ninth day, subsequently to the capture of Nice, the Crusaders departed from the vicinity of the city, and took the road to Antioch. After a few days' march, in a southerly direction, where the army suffered much from heat and thirst, they separated by mutual consent into two bodies, and in that order pursued their route. In one division were

* Alexiad, 250. In the fourth century Nice was the arena of theological polemics. In the eleventh century Christians and infidels fought in the same theatre. What is the state of this city in the present day? "It is not possible to form an idea of a more complete scene of desolation than Nice now exhibits; streets without a passenger, houses without an inhabitant, and ruins of every age, fill the precincts of this once celebrated city. The walls are still pretty entire; they embrace a circuit of nearly three miles; but the spot enclosed by them is mostly taken up with gardens and mulberry grounds: there are not more than four hundred houses standing within the whole circumference, and out of these only one hundred and fifty are tenanted." Carlyle's Poems, &c. p. 14. London, 1805.

† Martyrdom was the undoubted enjoyment of the fallen crusaders. Processions, called the Black Crosses, were usual in France, in commemoration of the great multitude who died, as it were crucified in the expeditions of these holy pilgrimages. Du Cange, Glossary, article Cruces nigræ.

‡ Ibi cum hominibus mulieres habitabant, sed vel in conjugio vel in legali ministerio — are the words of the good archbishop Baldric, p. 95.

* Alexiad, 250. The princess Anna relates the taking of the oath by Tancred. Rad. Cad. p. 292, mentions the conversation between Tancred and the emperor, but gives us no reason to think that the oath was taken. The other Latin writers are silent.

Bohemond, Tancred, Robert of Normandy, and Stephen of Chartres: in the other were Raymond, Godfrey, Adhemar, and Hugh.*

The loss of his capital had not dispirited Kilidge Arslan; but he flew to every part of his dominions; and by the time that the Crusaders left the emperor, his shrilling trumpet had summoned an army, which has been variously estimated from two hundred thousand to three hundred and sixty thousand men.† He watched the march of the Latins; and when their force was broken, he prepared to attack the division of Bohemond, for that was the least numerous one. The Christians were reposing on the banks of a river in the valley of Gorgon, when the alarming rumour reached them of the rapid approach of the foe. Bohemond gave his camp to the charge of the infantry, and, with his cavalry, prepared himself for the impetuous shock of the Moslem savages. The sultan left about one half of his army in the mountains; with the other he descended into the plain; and his soldiers made the air ring with such shouts and yells, that the enemy, unused to the clamour, were filled with astonishment and alarm.‡ The heroes of Asia discharged their feathered artillery before the Christians could fight with their swords and lances. Few of the Turkish arrows fell without effect; for though the coat of mail defended the men, the horses were completely exposed. A brother of Tancred, and Robert of Paris, severally attempted to charge the Turks, and to press them to close combat; but they constantly evaded the onset, and their pointed weapons checked their furious foe. Both the gallant Italian and the haughty Frenchman were slain; and the remains of their forces were compelled to retreat. Tancred himself fought as a soldier rather than as a general; but the prudent Bohemond drew him from increasing dangers. The Turks pursued their success, and pressed forwards to the camp of the Crusaders, where, laying aside their bows, they used their swords with equal execution. Mothers and their children were killed; and neither priests nor old men were spared.* The cries of the dying reached the ears of Bohemond, who, leaving the command to Robert of Normandy, rushed towards the tents, and scattered the enemy. The Christians weary, thirsty and oppressed with labour and heat, would have sunk into despair, if the women of the camp had not revived their courage, and brought them water from the stream. The combat was renewed with tenfold vigour. The Norman chieftain fought with all the valour which ennobled his family. He rallied the alarmed troops by his vociferations of those words of courage, *Deus id vult*, and, with his standard in his hand, he darted into the midst of the Moslems. When he was joined by Bohemond, all the Christians returned to their duty; despair gave birth to fierceness, and death was preferred to flight. But their fate was averted by the consequences of the early prudence of Bohemond. Immediately on the appearance of the Turks, he had sent messengers to Godfrey and the other leaders, who, at the head of forty thousand soldiers, hastened to assist their brethren. The duke of Lorraine and the count of Vermandois were the first that reached the field of battle; and Adhemar and Raymond soon increased the force. The Turks were panic-struck at this unexpected event. In the breasts of the holy warriors revenge and emulation inflamed the ardour of conquest; and the holy flame burnt with double violence when, by the exhortations of the clergy, their minds were recalled to the nature of the cause for which they were in arms. Amidst the animating shouts of prayers and benedictions the standard of the cross was unfurled, and every soldier swore to tell his devotion with revengeful deeds on the helmets of his foes. The heavy charge of the Latins was irresistible. The

* Archb. of Tyre, 672. Albert, 215. Alexiad, 251.

† Besides innumerable parties of Arabs, the vultures of an Asiatic camp.

‡ Agreeably to the fashion of the times, the devil was supposed to be the author of this clamour. The words diabolicus sonus, and demoniaca vox, occur within two lines of each other in the Gesta Francorum, p. 6.

* Some of the matrons and damsels of quality preferred Turkish slavery and its accompaniments to a glorious death. They dressed themselves in their most sumptuous robes, exhibited all their charms, and threw themselves at the feet of the conqueror. Albert, p. 212.

quivers of the Turks were exhausted: and in close combat the long and pointed swords of the Franks were more deadly than the Turkish sabres. The Moslems fled on every side, and abandoned their camp in the mountains to the enemy. The Christians pursued them for three miles, and then, as devout as joyful, returned to their old positions, singing hymns to God. Four thousand of the lower orders of the Franks, and three thousand commanders of the Turks, fell in this first great action between holy and infidel warriors.* The Turkish spoils amply repaid the fatigues of the day.† The next morning the Christians performed the melancholy task of separating their fallen companions from the corpses of the enemy; and the holy cross on the shoulder was a well known distinction. But feelings of joy soon succeeded to those of wo. They hastened to despoil the carcasses of the Turks: "and who can tell the quantity of gold, and silver, and clothes which they found! The horses, mules, camels, and asses, could not be numbered. The poor instantly became rich, and the naked were clothed."‡

Three days after the battle of Doryleum, the army recommenced its march, and entered the mountainous country of Phrygia. Unforeseen distresses encompassed them. The co-operation of Alexius was cold and confined, when his great object, the reduction of Nice, was achieved; and his fears of the virtue of his allies had made him conceal from them the horrors of a passage through Asia Minor to Syria. From the ruins of the Nissian Seljuks, Saisan, the son of Kilidge Arslan, raised a force of ten thousand horsemen, and going into those countries which they knew would be traversed by the Croises, they represented themselves as victors. The people were unable to oppose assertions which could be supported by the sword; and they admitted the Turks into their towns. The churches were despoiled, the public treasures were robbed, and the stores in the granaries were eaten or destroyed.* The miserable Christians followed their enemies through this wasted land. The soil too was dry and sterile; and Europeans could ill endure the heat of a Phrygian summer. In one day five hundred people died. Women, no longer able to afford sustenance to their infants, exposed their breasts to the swords of the soldiers. Many of the horses perished: the baggage (it was a lamentable yet a laughable sight, says an eye-witness) was placed on the back of goats, hogs, and dogs. These animals too died of thirst; and neither the dogs of the chase nor the falcons could hunt the prey which the woods afforded. The Crusaders passed the Phrygian mountains and deserts, and reached a country where the very means of life were fatal to many. They threw themselves without caution into the first river that presented itself; and nature could not support the transition from want to satiety. Their march to Antiochetta was effected without addition to their loss; and they found that that city had been spared from Turkish ravages.†

When the soldiers had refreshed themselves at Antiochetta, Godfrey and Bohemond sent their seconds in command, Baldwin and Tancred, to explore the surrounding country, and to try the fortune of war with the Moslems. — These lieutenants directed their march to Iconium; but the people had deserted that city, and fled with their property into the mountains. Whenever skill or circumstances could favour them, the Turks anticipated the course of the Christians,

* The Archbishop's expression is, "Cecidisse dicuntur illâ die de hostium numero viri potentes et incliti, et apud suos locum maximum obtinentes, ad tria millia; de nostris vero popularibus, et plebe infirma promiscui sexus, quatuor millia; nam de majoribus duos tantum ibi corruisse, veterum tradit memoria," p. 674. In their public letter to Europe on the subject of the events of the war, the princes of the crusaders wrote, that thirty thousand Turks were killed in the battle of Doryleum, and only three thousand Christians. Martenne, Vet. Scrip. Amp. Coll. I. 568. It is evident from all the Latin accounts of the battle of Doryleum, that the Crusaders were surprised at the valour and military conduct of the Turks. They praise them as the first of all Asiatic nations, and vaunt their own superiority over the Greeks.

† Gesta, 7. Robert, 41. Guibert, 493, 494. Gesta, 564. Archb. of Tyre, 674. Rad. Cad. 293, 294. Mus. Ital. I. 155. De Guignes, vol. ii. book 11, p. 21.

‡ Robert, 42.

* Tudebodus, 783.

† Baldwin, 99. Archb. of Tyre, 675. Guibert, 495. Fulcher, 389. Albert, 215.

and desolation marked their way. The Latins wandered and became separated among the rugged steeps of Cilicia; and Tancred at length found himself before Tarsus, which was then in Turkish possession, yet containing a considerable Armenian and Grecian population. The Turks wisely abandoned all thoughts of resistance. The standard of the Italian prince was placed on one of the city's towers, in token of victory; but the fate of the inhabitants was reserved for the decision of Bohemond and the grand army. A few days afterwards the appearance of some troops at a distance changed the sullen submission of the citizens into clamorous hostility. Tancred too thought that they were one of the numerous flying squadrons of the enemy; but he told the people that the righteousness of his cause would give him conquest; and even that if he should fail, Bohemond would punish their attempt to violate the treaty. He descended into the plain to meet the troops; but he found that it was Baldwin's soldiers who had caused the alarm. Their wanderings in the Cilician mountains ended in the plains round Tarsus. The Turks, who had lately been so loud in their rejoicings, sunk into lamentation; and the Italians willingly gave to their famished brethren some of those provisions which they had levied from the people.

Jealousy immediately seized the ambitious heart of Baldwin, on beholding the standard of Tancred. The brother of Godfrey treated with contempt the claims of his noble compeer and Bohemond; he declared that as his troops composed the most numerous division, he was entitled to command. To this disgusting arrogance Tancred mildly replied, that as he had taken Tarsus without any co-operation, he was justified in retaining it. Unable to resist altogether the power of the conquerors, and yet greedy of plunder, the Frenchman proposed that the city should be delivered to general spoliation. But the high-minded Italian declared that his religion forbade him from injuring his brethren in the faith. The people of Tarsus had chosen him as their lord, and he would never remove from them his protecting shield. It was finally agreed that the citizens should determine whose dominion they would submit to; and they declared that they preferred the dominion of Tancred to that of any other general.

The ambition of Baldwin was incompatible with justice: and while Tancred suspected no wrong, he intrigued with the Christians and with the Turkish garrison. He told them that Bohemond and Tancred were men of small consideration; and were not to be compared with Godfrey, who had been chosen leader of the army of Crusaders.* If the people would elect Baldwin for their chief, they should be honoured and rewarded by the duke of Lorraine. Otherwise their city should be condemned to destruction; a doom which no power of the Italian lords could reverse. These threats and promises prevailed; the banner of the conqueror was trodden under foot, while that of Baldwin floated from the citadel. Tancred concealed his mortification, and retired to the neighbouring town of Azara, then in the possession of the Crusaders. When his troops were recruited, he carried them to conquest. The town of Mamistra fell before him; and the most valuable part of the spoil were horses, more than sufficient to repair the losses which his own soldiers had sustained. The departure of Tancred from Tarsus determined the Turks and Armenians; and

* This assertion of Baldwin that his brother Godfrey was generalissimo, was an artifice in order to gain consequence with the people of Tarsus. The whole tenor of the crusade shows, that whatever respect was paid to Godfrey, was not a tribute to power, but to superior virtues and talents. The Duke of Lorraine never attempted to convert that superiority which was yielded to his merits, into a real dominion. The operations of the army were directed by a council of chiefs, of which the count of Blois and Chartres was the president. Archb. of Tyre, p. 703. It was the celebrated Benedetto Accolti who furnished Tasso with the idea that Godfrey was supreme commander. Accolti wrote in the fifteenth century an account of the first crusade. It is short, but expressive and entertaining; and the notes to Dempster's edition of it are full of learning and criticism. The work of the secretary of the republic of Arezzo was very popular for a time; and it is a reasonable conjecture of Dr. Joseph Wharton, that Tasso took from it the hint of his fine subject. The Rev. J. H. Hunt has, I observe, in his late excellent translation of the Jerusalem Delivered, adopted the opinion that it was the Lusiad of Camoens that first stimulated the ambition and roused the jealousy of Tasso to write an heroic poem.

they opened their city to his successful rival. The Turkish garrison, however, retained all the fortifications, except two towers, which were given to some of the soldiers of Baldwin, while the rest of his people were dispersed through the place. At the commencement of night three hundred soldiers of the army of Bohemond presented themselves at the gates, claiming admittance and hospitality. Their fatigue and hunger touched not the selfishness of Baldwin, for they were the friends of Tancred; and the hypocrite attempted to justify his inhumanity by declaring that it would be a violation of the oath which he had taken to the Turks and Armenians, were he to admit into the city any soldiers but those of Godfrey. His troops, however, more humane than their leader, because less ambitious, lowered viands over the walls to their half-famished brethren of the cross, who prepared to repose themselves in the fields. The Turks doubted the fidelity of Baldwin to his oath; and, in the secrecy and darkness of the night, they left the city with their families and property, through the gates of the towers whereof they had retained the possession. They unavoidably reached the place where the soldiers of Bohemond were reposing, in consciousness that their comrades were masters of Tarsus. This opportunity of shedding blood was not lost; and the Moslems left but few of the Italians alive to tell the dismal consequences of fearless confidence. In the morning, when the soldiers of Baldwin went to the ramparts in order to mark the state of their comrades, they saw their headless trunks, and the fields running with their gore. Baldwin and his generals were violently accused with being the authors of this calamity, and the walls of the towers alone preserved them from the first fury of popular indignation. It cannot be supposed that the sophistical argument which Baldwin urged, of his inability to admit any Christians to enter the town, could appease the tumult, but he turned the tide of anger from himself to about two hundred Turks, who had not fled with their companions. These poor wretches were sacrificed to revenge and fury, passions which were aggravated by the sight of many illustrious women of Tarsus, whose noses and ears had been cut off because they resisted the brutal licentiousness of their Turkish lords. All inclinations to rebellion were stifled by new circumstances. For eight years a large band of pirates from Holland and France had been sailing in the Mediterranean, and, touched by that superstition which influenced both the vicious and the virtuous, they resolved to atone for their robberies on Christians by plundering the infidel Moslems. They landed near Tarsus, while Baldwin was in the city. The different people recognized each other as countrymen; and as Weimar, one of the principal pirates, had once lived upon the estate of the dukes of Lorraine, a union was easily effected. Some days were past in merriment and feasting, and then leaving in the city a garrison of five hundred men, formed from both bodies of soldiers, the lord of Tarsus and his troops followed the steps of Tancred, and arrived near Mamistra. Richard, prince of Salernum, urged his kinsman to seize this occasion of revenging his wrongs on Baldwin.. The advice was congenial with the indignant feelings of the young Italian, and his soldiers readily imbibed the same spirit. He sent his archers into the plain against such of Baldwin's troops as were in their tents, and to destroy the horses which were in pasturage, and himself led five hundred of his heavily armed warriors against the treacherous Frenchman. But the force of Tancred could not successfully cope with that of his antagonist. After some ineffectual exhibitions of bravery, the baffled Italians retreated into the city, and among the captives they had the misfortune to reckon the prince of Salernum, and a renowned chief, named Robert of Ansa. Feelings of charity and peace succeeded this sanguinary encounter. The next morning, both parties sent deputies to each other, prisoners were interchanged, and the Christians were ashamed or weary of their unbrotherly feuds. Baldwin hastened to return to the grand army, and visit his brother Godfrey, who was ill of a wound which he had received in a contest with a boar in the forest round Antiochetta.* The pirates

* About this time the count of Tholouse was

were left with Tancred, who overrun all Cilicia with fire and sword. He carried his conquests as far as Alexandretta. The Turks fled to the mountains, and wisely appeased the fury of the Christians by sending to their camp large presents of gold, silver, horses, and provisions.* Baldwin rejoined the main army at Marascha, its first general resting-place after its departure from Antiochetta. They had passed through Iconium and Heraclea, and those, and all other places, were abandoned by the natives before they arrived. Their fatigues and privations in their route from Heraclea to Marascha bore down the courage of the firmest (and if the Turks had acted with more policy than precipitation, Jerusalem would always have continued under the Moslem yoke). One of the mountains towards the south of the great chain of Mount Taurus admitted the passage of only a single file; and the road was rugged, that several of the beasts of burthen stumbled and fell into the abyss. The soldiers, exhausted and fainting with thirst, thought only of personal safety, and many of them disencumbered themselves of their helmets and armour.†

The crimes of Baldwin were heard of with merited indignation by all the Latin soldiers; most of his own deserted him, and if he had not been the brother of Godfrey, his selfishness and disregard to justice would not have been unpunished by Bohemond and his Italians.‡ A reception of this description was not calculated to unite him to the army and its holy purposes, and he resolved to execute those dazzling prospects of ambition which some late events had presented to his fancy. Pancrates, an Armenian prince, had represented to him that the countries on the other side of the Euphrates were rich, and that a large Christian population was oppressed by small bodies of Turks. Baldwin collected such of the troops as were still faithful to his standard, and at the head of two hundred horsemen, and a large party of foot soldiers, he quitted the main army in order to plunder and devastate Mesopotamia. Between Marascha and the Euphrates all the towns opened their gates. Turbessel was left in the possession of the Armenians, and the son of Pancrates was appointed governor of Ravendel. The friendship between the brother of Godfrey and his ally was soon turned into deadly hatred. Two Armenian princes charged Pancrates with the wish to enjoy Ravendel without owning the authority of the Franks. Neither torture nor imprisonment could for a while extort an order for the delivery of the contested place to the soldiers of Baldwin: but the savage command that the limbs of Pancrates should be torn asunder deprived him of all remains of courage, and the Armenian acceded to the desires, and then fled from the service of his master.*

The fame and power of Baldwin spread beyond the Euphrates; and the discontented inhabitants of Edessa looked to him as their saviour. That city was still enjoyed by the Greeks, though it paid a heavy tribute to the emir of the surrounding country. Its remoteness from Constantinople enfranchised the governor, and the Edessenes were oppressed both by his exactions and the Turkish tribute. For the removal of submission to the Moslems, the people compelled Thorus, duke of Edessa, to crave the aid of Baldwin: and at their solicitation he prepared to pass the Euphrates. The two hundred horse soldiers with which he had left the army of Godfrey were now diminished, by the accidents of war, and the establishing of conquests, to the small number of eighty. With them, and the scanty remains of foot soldiers, he entered Mesopotamia, and the people of the vicinity of Edessa, with crosses and standards, met their allies, prostrated themselves, and kissed

dangerously ill. His patron saint, the holy Giles, promised assistance; but the messenger to Raymond of the saint's intentions was not implicitly credited; for the attendants took the count from his bed, and laid him on the floor to die in dust and ashes. The saint, however, was as good as his word, notwithstanding the want of faith in his pretended votaries. Raymond de Agiles, 142. Mabillon, i. 157.

* For this joint expedition of Tancred and Baldwin, I have followed Albert, 215–220. Archb. of Tyre, 676–680, and Rad. Cad. 297–301.

† Archb. of Tyre, 684. Albert, 224. Tudebodus, 784. Agreeably to usual practice, the mountain most difficult of passage was called the mountain of the Devil.

‡ Archb. of Tyre, 681.

* Albert, 220, 221.

the feet of those whom they considered to be their preservers.* The testimonies of honour which Baldwin received from the clergy and people, made the duke of Edessa apprehend that his friends would become his masters. Apparently, in order to discover the intentions of the stranger, he offered to make him large pecuniary rewards if he would remain in the town, and defend it from the exactions of the Turks. But Baldwin disdained submission, and declared that he would instantly quit the country. The timid people pressed the duke to retain him, and as he was childish, even to adopt him as his son. Unable to resist the torrent of opinion, Thoros, in full council, received Baldwin to his arms, threw over him his own shirt, folded him to his bosom, and gave him the kiss of filiation. The wife of the duke also made the Italians undergo the same strange ceremony, and she embraced him as her child.† From that time, confident of the aid of Baldwin, the Edessenes looked for an opportunity to revenge themselves upon the Turks. The Ortokites, whom we have already mentioned as possessors of Jerusalem a few years before the crusade, spread their conquests into Mesopotamia, and at the time of which we are now writing, Balduc, an Ortokide, was lord of the fortress of Samosat, which of right appertained to Edessa. He kept up an incessant course of robbery on the flocks and herds of the Greeks; and, in hopes of reaping profit by their ransom, he seized women and children. Some of these people were in the tower of Samosat, and the Edessenes implored Baldwin to go to their rescue. Constantine, an Armenian prince, governor of Gargara, near Marascha, was also called. The two chiefs joined their levies, defeated their enemies in the field, and drove them into the citadel. While the Christians were rioting in the suburbs of Samosat, the Moslems made a sortie; two thousand of the plunderers were slain, and Constantine and Baldwin fled to Edessa.* The personal merits of the latter soon redeemed him from the disgrace of defeat, and the senate and people conspired to rid themselves of their old master, whom they charged with having stimulated the Turks to plunder their country, whenever they had declined to submit to his exactions. Baldwin refused his concurrence with their wishes, alleging the sacredness of his filial character, and his dread of endangering his fair name among the Christian princes. He went to the king, and warned him against popular fury. The wretched Thoros offered to resign all his treasures to his rebellious subjects, and retire from the country. At one moment the people assented to these conditions; in the next they exclaimed that his life must be forfeited, to atone for the injuries which his pusillanimity and avarice had drawn on their heads. He endeavoured to escape by a cord from the window of his tower, but the conspirators saw their victim, and pierced him with a thousand arrows. His head was carried about in triumph, and the Edessenes committed every species of indignity upon his body.† The next morning Baldwin was crowned prince of Edessa, and received the royal treasures. Balduc, assured that resistance to this foe would be a fruitless wasting of blood, offered to resign the fortress of Samosat for ten thousand pieces of gold. Baldwin expected an unconditional submission, but he was obliged to yield to the extortion, because the Turk threatened to kill all the Edessenes who were in his power. By the conditions of the treaty, Balduc and his attendants went to Edessa, and some suspicions of treachery made Baldwin insist that his wife and children should be given as hostages. The Ortokite could not resist a nominal compliance with the demand, yet he from

* Fulcher, 389.

† Guibert, 496. Archb. of Tyre, 682, 684. De Guignes, vol. ii. part ii. p. 137. Guibert, who occasionally gives us a notion of the manners of the time, says that he heard the mode of the adoption was as follows: "Intra lineam interulam, quam nos vocamus *Camisiam*, nudum intrare eum faciens, sibi adstrinxit; et deinde omnia osculo libato firmavit. *Idem et mulier post modum fecit.*"—Guibert, p. 496.

* Archb. of Tyre. 683. Albert, 222. Matthew of Edessa, p. 308. Bayeri, Hist. Osrhoena ed Edessena, lib. v.

† Albert, 122. Archb. of Tyre, 683. Matthew of Edessa takes the side of Thoros, and charges the people with deep ingratitude. The crime of rebellion is owned by the Latin historians: the violation of their promise to Thoros rests on the authority of Matthew only.

day to day neglected to perform it.* The new Edessene lord soon experienced the instability of popular favour, and it was found that the people had changed their masters, without having lost their slavery. Conspiracies were formed against him: but he unravelled and exposed the machinations of his rebellious subjects, and showed his ability for the difficult task of forming a new government. He engaged also in a foreign war, and by the conquest of Sororgia, all the road between Antioch and Edessa belonged to the Crusaders. Balak, the grandson of Ortoc, had been the lord of Sororgia, and when his castle was taken from him, he entered into an alliance with the Christians. But he soon offered to surrender even the last place which remained to him, and to live with his family in Edessa, urging as his reason, that his connexion with Baldwin brought upon him the hatred of the Muselmans. The new prince of Mesopotamia gave some credit to the sincerity of this wish, and went on an appointed day with two hundred cavaliers to the fortress of Balak. Suspicious by nature as well as by experience, he remained on his guard, but twelve of his soldiers were seized by the emir, who had not the prudence to conceal his treachery till circumstances could allow him to complete his scheme of villany. All demands for a restoration of the prisoners were refused. Baldwin, not being strong enough to enforce his requisition, retired to his capital, but Fulbert of Chartres, commander of Sororgia, laid waste the petty dominions of the Ortokites, and procured the release of ten of the Frenchmen; the other two were decapitated by the Turks. Baldwin affected not to respect the virtue and honour of his other foe, and he embraced the occasion of an attempt of Balduc at an escape, to seize this dangerous emir, and put him to death.†

While a few ambitious and courageous soldiers were triumphing over an inert population, and founding a European state in Mesopotamia, the general force of the Crusaders was advancing towards the capital of Syria. The Armenians frequently assisted their brethren in the faith with arms and provisions.* The count of Flanders, and one thousand knights, went to Artesia, (since Calchidia,) and with the aid of the Christian inhabitants, destroyed the Moslem garrison. The news of this loss alarmed Baghasian, the Seljukian governor of Antioch, and he despatched ten thousand men to check the march of his enemy. Some of his squadrons ravaged the Artesian territory, while their more numerour battalions kept concealed. Though acquainted with the nature of Turkish warfare, the impetuous courage of the Franks overleaped the suggestions of experience. The count poured his troops upon the plains, the Turks withdrew, and led the foe into the ambuscade. When recovered from their astonishment, the Christians endeavoured to fall back upon their old position: but not a man would have escaped the edge of the Tartarian scimitar if Tancred had not at that exigent moment joined them on his return to Bohemond from his Cilician conquests. His arrival changed the fate of the day, and his sword was so deeply stained with Turkish blood, that he enabled his friends to retreat to Artesia.† Open force was as inefficacious as stratagem for the recovery of the city, whose lofty towers and ample stores of provisions, bade defiance to a siege. The Turks made some efforts at the walls, and then returned to Baghasian, communicating the alarming news of the approach of the whole force of the Crusaders.‡ Godfrey and his army refreshed themselves with their new conquest, and then took the road to Antioch. Every measure announced the growing importance of the expedition. Orders were issued, forbidding individuals to quit the ranks without leave of their generals, and Robert of Normandy was sent before to remove the difficulties of the march. The river Orontes was one of the barriers of the city, and possession of the

* Albert, 222.

† Albert and the archbishop, *ubi supra*; and De Guignes, tome ii. p. 136.

* Quand les Allemands passèrent pour aller dans la Terre Sainte, Nicétas dit que les Arméniens les reçurent comme amis, parce qu'ils n'adoroient pas les images. Montesquieu, Grandeur et Décadence des Romains, chap. xxii.

† Albert, 225. Rad. Cad. 303. M. of Edessa, 308.

‡ Albert, *ubi supra*; and and the Archb. Tyre, 685.

iron bridge* was necessary for an attacking army; but its guard had been considerably increased, and Robert lost so many men in attempting to force a passage, that he anxiously looked for co-operation. Whether the assurances of Adhemar to the Normans, that God was on that day fighting with them, inspired the soldiers to one great effort, or whether the arrival of Godfrey appalled the Turks, is a subject of vain and useless discussion; but in fact the gates of the bridge soon were in the hands of the Latins, and all the army passed. On the next morning they invested Antioch.†

CHAPTER V.

MILITARY AND CIVIL HISTORY OF THE CROISES AT ANTIOCH.

The city invested.—Unskilful operations of the Croises.—Famine in the Christian Camp.—Singular mode of getting rid of spies.—Many of the Croises desert—Manners of the camp.—Embassy of the caliph of Egypt—Policy of the Latins.—The Croises aided by Pisa and Genoa.—Prowess of the Latin chiefs.—Inhumanity of the Latins.—Retreat of the count of Chartres.—Antioch taken by stratagem.—The Croises massacre the inhabitants.—The Persians attack the Franks.—The Latins are blockaded.—Second Famine.—More desertions.—Alexius aban dons his allies.—Impiety of some new Croises.—Direful effects of Alexius retreat.—The Christians saved by some superstitious frauds.—Embassy of the Hermit to the Persians.—Prudence of Godfrey.—Preparations for battle.—Battle of Antioch.—Victory of the Croises.

THE capital of Syria was only four miles in circumference, and extended over both elevated and level land. It was surrounded by a wall; and, in those places where the mountainous nature of the ground presented no natural defence, the height of the artificial bulwark was more than sixty feet. A deep ditch nearly encompassed the city; the Orontes washed part of the western walls; and opposite to the spots on the north and east, where the Crusaders encamped, was a marsh, which had been formed by the waters from the adjacent hills.* On the prospect of an attack, the emir, a grandson of Maleh Shah, made every preparation of defence. The fortifications were repaired, and furnished with hostile engines; and the magazines of provisions were replenished. Most of the male Christian population were considered superfluous consumers of stores, and were dismissed from the place. Antioch was the refuge of many of those people whom the Latins in their march had dispossessed; and the auxiliary and native troops amounted to six thousand or seven thousand horse soldiers, and from fifteen thousand to twenty thousand foot.†

The formidable appearance of the city sunk the heroism of some of the leaders into timorous prudence. They urged in council that many of their troops were dispersed over the country in various garrisons, and could not be recalled till the spring. In that season the emperor of Constantinople would send money and stores, and succours of men would also arrive from the west. But Raymond and others contended that inaction would produce vice and disorder; and a delay of the attack would be construed by the Turks into a consequence of inability and cowardice. "The power of God, which has hitherto given us victory, will still be our spear and shield; and while we are favoured by heaven, we need not fear either princes, or places, or times."‡ This appeal to bravery and religion banished despondency; and in order to guard against relaxation or cowardice, the chiefs bound themselves by oath not to desist from the siege till the city should be taken by force or stratagem.§ The plan of attack was agreed upon; and the camp was formed round the eastern, northern, and towards the western sides: part of the west, and all the south were left open to the besieged. The city had five gates: and by this arrangement, the gate of the bridge, and

* The bridge was of nine stone arches, and from the circumstance of its gates being covered with iron plates, it received the title of the Iron Bridge. Pocock, Description of the East, vol. ii., p. 172.

† Guibert, 498. Baldric, 101. Albert, 226. Archb. of Tyre, 685.

* Archb. of Tyre, 686, &c.

† Mus., Ital. I., 161. Archb. of Tyre, 688, 689.

‡ Raimond, 142. Archb. of Tyre, 689.

§ Malmsbury, 432.

the gate of St. George belonged to the Turks. The other three gates were blockaded. Bohemond and Tancred, who commanded the Italians, were opposite the entrance of the east, called the gate of St. Paul. The two Roberts, Stephen of Chartres, and Hugh Vermandois, with the Normans, the French, the Flemish, and the English extended from the camp of Bohemond, in a northerly direction, to a gate called the gate of the dog. From this gate to that of the duke, so named from the title of Godfrey, were Raymond and Adhemar with the people of Gascony, Provence and Burgundy. Godfrey, with his brother, and Conon of Montagu, and Reginald of Toul, accompanied by the people of Lorraine, the Frisons, the Saxons, Franconians, and Bavarians, extended from the gate of the duke towards that of the bridge.*

For some time the Crusaders rioted in plenty, totally undisturbed by the people of Antioch. The valleys round the city were fertile in corn and grapes, and herds of cattle were fed in their rich meadows.† Some days were lost by the besieged in the oppression of terror; but at length they resumed their heroism, and the horrors of war began. The few Greeks and Armenians of the city were allowed free communication with their brethren; and it was the universal complaint that they reported to the Turks the state of the Franks, and the preparations for hostility.‡ The garrison made frequent sallies from the unblockaded gates; and by the desultory mode of war in which the Turks excel, they harassed the foraging parties, and the imperfectly guarded places of the camp.§ For want of a bridge near the station of Godfrey, the Latin soldiers were obliged to wade or swim over the river, which it was necessary for them to pass when they were in quest of provisions. Ingenuity, however, at length assisted them; and a number of boats lashed together united the opposite shores. They hurled enormous stones, and impelled their battering-rams against the walls; but Antioch had in former ages resisted many a vigorous attack, and the mouldering hand of time had spared it. The usual battering instruments were ineffectual; and, at the cost of much invention and labour, they erected a new machine in the shape of a tower, and filled it with troops. The soldiers of Raymond wheeled it to the gate; but the showers of arrows from the Turks destroyed the assailants, and the besieged made a sortie at the same time, and set fire to the artificial tower, which was soon reduced to ashes. Their subsequent efforts against the walls were equally vain, for the Antiochians attacked them in the rear as well as from the battlements. As all the courage and skill of the Crusaders had been foiled, they now opposed the Turks by means which could only have been expected from the simplicity and ignorance of savages. They dug immense stones from neighbouring rocks, and accumulated them in such piles before the gate of the bridge, that the people of the city were in that quarter effectually barricadoed.*

So unskilful were the operations of the besiegers, that, at the end of three months, Antioch stood firm and uninjured. The labours of the Croises were in circle rather than in progression. The distresses which they had made in the country now recoiled on themselves; they repented of their improvident waste of the forage which they had collected from the other side of the river. The vicinity of Antioch was exhausted, and the wintry season prevented any commerce between the camp and distant lands. The sword of the enemy, and the more afflicting pangs of hunger, daily carried off numbers both of rich and poor.† An ox, which at the commencement of the siege was scarcely worth fifteen shillings, became as valuable as four pounds. The price of a lamb or kid was increased nearly twenty-fold. The pods of unripe beans were considered as delicacies; and thistles were held in the same estimation; though, in consequence of the scarcity of fuel, they could only be half boiled. Carrion was openly dressed; and human

* Archb of Tyre, 689. De Guignes, vol. ii., part 2, p. 87.
† Baldric, 101.
‡ Baldric, *ubi sup.* Robert, 45.
§ Archb. of Tyre, 690. Gesta, 11.

* Archb. of Tyre, 691.
† Robert, 46. Fulcher, 390. Archb. of Tyre, 692.

flesh was eaten in secret.* Twenty-four shillings scarcely furnished a horse's provender for one night; and hence the cavalry, which at the beginning of the siege numbered more than seventy thousand† horses, was soon after Christmas reduced to two thousand. The winter rains were heavier than usual; they made a morass of the camp, and putrified the tents and military accoutrements. Pestilential diseases necessarily sprung from these calamities. The surface of the Latin positions presented the appearance of one vast burial place. Many of the soldiers escaped evils which active bravery could not resist, nor patient endurance mitigate, by flying to the Christian settlements in Cilicia and Mesopotamia. Robert of Normandy went to a new English colony in Laodicea, and did not return to the army till he had been thrice recalled.‡ By the advice of the council, Bohemond, Tancred, and Robert of Flanders, with all the cavalry and fifteen thousand foot soldiers, made a predatory excursion into the Turkish territories. Raymond and Adhemar remained to guard the camp. Godfrey was oppressed by illness. Acquainted with every movement of their foes, the Turks seized this favourable occasion of attacking them; the bravery of the Christians rose with their dangers; they routed the infidels: but the impetuosity of their valour urged them to press too quickly after the Turks; and their imprudence cost them dear; for a new sally was made upon their divided squadrons, and the Moslems recovered the day. Bohemond and his troops returned to the camp with large stores of provisions; but they were soon exhausted by the ill disciplined army; and the Turks learned that famine had once more afflicted their enemy. Experience at length taught the Crusaders the propriety of vigilance, and of total separation from the people in Antioch. Under the disguise of Greeks, Syrians, and Armenians, the Moslems frequently mixed with the army, and reported its condition to Baghasian. A repetition of such conduct was prevented by an expedient at once ludicrous and dreadful. Bohemond slew some Turkish prisoners, and roasted them in general presence. He then exclaimed to the astonished bystanders that his appetite would submit to necessity, and that during the famine he would greedily devour what at other times would be loathsome and disgusting.*

Desertions multiplied; and among those which gave most offence to the generals, was the departure from the army of Taticius. He represented to the council that if he were permitted to go to Constantinople, he would induce his imperial master to open the granaries for the benefit of his liegemen. He would bind himself by oath to return, and would leave his tents as the pledge of his fidelity. Whether the chiefs were seduced by these fair promises, or whether they foresaw his treachery, and yet thought it prudent to conceal their feelings, is an uncertain and immaterial point. Taticius and his soldiers departed, never to return, and, according to the lamentation of the archbishop of Tyre, the people, with so pernicious an example before them, had no scruple in violating their oaths and public professions.† The desertion of Taticius was

* The assertion of cannibalism is made by Malmsbury, p. 433. Cannibalism was carried to a great extent by the lowest of the low, who, in the course of the siege, were formed into a regular battalion, and fought bravely with the Turks. "Et si Sarracenum noviter interfectum invenerunt, illius carnes, ac si essent pecudis, avidissime devorabant.

† This is the archbishop of Tyre's statement, p. 692. If it be correct, then, the Crusaders lost thirty thousand horses at the siege of Nice, and in their march through Asia Minor.

‡ Fulcher, 391. Guibert, 500. Archb. of Tyre, 693. Rad. Cad. 305.

* Albert, 231–2. Archb. of Tyre, 693. De Guignes, vol. ii., liv. 12, p. 88. Bernardus, p. 691.

† This is the account of the flight of Taticius, as given by the Latin historians. Raimond, 146. Guibert, 502. William of Tyre, 694. The story is far more plausible than that of the princess Anna. She tells us (p. 252), that Bohemond had formed plans for the possession of Antioch, and that he was unwilling to deliver it up to Taticius agreeably to the conditions of his oath. A report was at that time in circulation, that the sultan of Persia was about to succour Baghasian. Bohemond told Taticius that the Latin princes thought this succour was at the instigation of Alexius, and that therefore they would punish his treason by destroying his general and soldiers. On this hint Taticius fled.

not the only great instance of cowardice in this part of the siege. Two other columns of the sacred army gave way. The warriors were confounded by the departure of William viscount Melun, surnamed the Carpenter,* and the fanatics were disgraced by the worldly-mindedness of Peter.† They attempted to fly together, but Tancred met them, and brought them to the tent of Bohemond. Reproaches alone would not have constituted their punishment, if royal authority and influence had not turned the sword of justice aside. At the request of Hugh of Vermandois, Bohemond accepted the declaration and oath of William, that he would never give up the holy undertaking, or bear enmity against Tancred for having intercepted his flight. Peter likewise was pardoned.‡

The famine still continued, and was as productive of crimes as the most unbounded plenty. The Croises were in that state of sullen savage desperation which the extreme of misery often produces. The dying and the dead were spectacles so familiar to their eyes, that death no longer taught them morality. The exhortations of the clergy to virtue, though ceaseless, were in vain, and at the suggestion of the papal legate, judicial punishments were inflicted on moral crimes. Gaming, usury, drunkenness, and frauds in buying and selling, were cognizable by a tribunal, which was composed of lay and clerical elders. The pious Adhemar thought that conjugal affection was as sinful as immodest love, and that perfect chastity would be visited by divine favour. The women, both vicious and modest, were therefore separated from the men, and placed in a remote corner of the camp. About the same time Godfrey rose from the bed of sickness, and the people had no difficulty in accounting for this consolation by their return to piety.*

The news of the invasion of Syria by the Franks had spread over all the east, and the event particularly affected the Muselman power in Egypt. The caliph Mosthadi had heard too of the famished condition of the Christians before Antioch, and thought that he could dictate terms of amity. He sent an embassy to the camp; but the Crusaders, forewarned of its approach, prepared to receive it with magnificence. They ornamented their tents, and arrayed themselves in all the splendour which they could assume. Many of the soldiers were engaged in military exercises; others in games, and the chiefs were assembled in council. The ambassadors were surprised at this appearance of prosperity and strength, and delivered the message which the supposition of another state of things had dictated. If the Christians would be obedient to the Caliph, he

* So called, say Guibert and Robert, not because he was an artificer in wood, but because his battle-axe fell with the weight of a hammer, and broke through helmets and hauberks. The viscount of Melun was not celebrated for practical religion. He prepared his viaticum for Jerusalem from the plunder of poor people who lived near his estate in France. Guibert, p. 501.

† "When the siege grew hot, his devotion grew cold; he found a difference betwixt a voluntary fast in his cell, and a necessary and indispensable famine in a camp; so that being well nigh hunger-pinched, this cunning companion, who was a trumpet to sound a march to others, secretly sounded a retreat to himself." Fuller's Holy War, book I., c. 8. The jesuit Oultreman, in his life of Peter, does not mention his hero's flight from Antioch.

‡ Gesta, II. Robert, 48. The latter is charitable enough to hope that it was hunger, and not cowardice, which made the carpenter and the hermit take flight. Baldric, 103. Guibert, 501. Tudebodus, 787. Mus. Ital. I., 165.

* Albert, 234. Gesta, 567. Archb. of Tyre, 695. A rumour was in circulation through the camp of the Crusaders, that Sueno, the son of a king of Denmark, and fifteen hundred men, had perished in a valley in Cappadocia. Kilidge Arslan had rallied his soldiers, and had fallen upon and totally destroyed this body of the champions of the cross, in their march from Constantinople into Syria. This story rests on the authority of Albert of Aix (p. 233), and his transcriber, the Archbishop of Tyre (p. 694), Langebeck (Script. Rerum Danicarum, iii. 631, &c.), a strenuous advocate for its truth, confesses, that not one of the Danish historians mentions it. He attempts to fortify his opinion on the existence of a bas-relief in bronze, exhibiting Sueno in the habit of a Crusader. But this relief was made by order of Christian I., who reigned in the last half of the seventeenth century. There is no doubt, however, that the Danes made pilgrimages to the Holy Land, both before and after the council of Clermont.

wished them prosperity. He could not understand the reason of their desire to travel armed to the holy sepulchre. If they would go thither as pilgrims, he would assist them in their march. The permission of a month's residence in Jerusalem should be granted to every individual who thought that it was his duty to honour the temple and sepulchre. If, however, they were still confident in their arms, he warned them against temerity, for no human power had hitherto effectually opposed the caliphs of Egypt. The chiefs of the Crusade replied, that they appeared at the present time as warriors, because in their former character of pilgrims they had been despised and cruelly treated. The Holy Land belonged of right to the people of God, and though in chastisement of their offences it was under the Turkish yoke, yet the wrath of heaven was satisfied, and Palestine would once again flourish. The Muselmans glorified over the vanquished Greeks; but their crests would be humbled by the prowess of the Latins. The Egyptians would require the indulgence which they now proffered. Heaven had given Jerusalem to the Christians, and man could not withhold it from them. They would retain it, and guard the sepulchre from all profanation.* With this reply the conference ended. The ambassadors took the way for Cairo, and were accompanied by deputies of the Crusaders.†

Baghasian observed that neither hunger, nor cold, nor fatigue, could turn the holy warriors from their purpose. He implored the aid of all the Muselman princes and emirs in Syria, and those of Cesarea, Aleppo, and Ems, prepared twenty thousand men. It was intended that they should be aided in their endeavours to enter Antioch by a sortie from the city. But the Franks were informed of these schemes, and Bohemond and Raymond prepared to meet the re-enforcement before it could reach its destination. At the head of seven hundred horsemen, all the remains of their once splendid cavalry, the prince of Tarentum and the count of Tholouse proceeded to the encounter, which took place in a defile where individual bravery could not be oppressed by numbers. The attack was commenced by the Turks, but the Christians received them with couched lances, and their phalanx was impenetrable. The Moslems retreated, and the Latins pursued them with destruction. Two thousand of the Turks fell in this battle; their heads were cut off by their ferocious foes; some of which trophies of victory were sent with savage exultation to the Egyptian legates, and others were fixed on stakes round the camp or shot into the town, in return for the perpetual insults and mockery of the people of Antioch.*

Five months had elapsed since the commencement of the siege, and various were the calamities which the brave Crusaders had survived. They now refortified the outworks of their camp, and their storehouses were replenished by succours from Italy. While Europe was agitated with rage and indignation against Asia, the republic of Venice carried on her trade with the Muselmans, unmindful of religious distinctions.† Pisa and Genoa, her rivals in commerce, took a part apparently more generous, and sent a large succour of

* This is the account of the embassy as reported by Robert, who, short in most of his narratives, is full on this subject. The archbishop of Tyre relates the story differently. He tells us, (p. 696,) that the caliph rejoiced in the successes of the Crusaders over the Turks, and sent ambassadors to the Christians, urging them to continue the siege of Antioch, and even offering them assistance. De Guignes seems to have preferred this narrative of the Archbishop; for he tells the same tale, though he has not put any authority in his margin, and has not even noticed the other account.

† Raimond, 146.

* Baldric, 105. Albert, 237. Guibert, 504. Archb. of Tyre, 697–8.

† Even so early as the time of Charlemagne, the Venetians used to buy slaves, and sell them to the Saracens in Spain and Sicily. Pope Zachary, about the year 747, prohibited the purchase of Ghristian slaves in Rome, and the sale of them to the Moslems in Africa. A little more than a century afterwards the public authority of Venice forbade the traffic of Christian slaves. The Venetians used to sell arms to the infidels, until the emperors Basil and Constantine, towards the close of the tenth century, made the republic put a stop to such transactions. Marin, Storia civile et politica del commerzio de' Veneziani, tom. i. p. 206, tom. ii. p. 55, cited in Heeren, Essai sur l'Influence des Croisades. Muratori, Antiquitates Med. Ævi. Dis. xxx. vol ii. p. 883.

men and provisions to their brethren at Antioch. The vessels arrived at the mouth of the Orontes; the joyful news was soon communicated to the camp; crowds of voracious pilgrims ran to the coast, and Bohemond and Raymond also proceeded thither, with some regular bands of troops. The Turks, ever on the watch for occasions of hostility, prepared an ambuscade of four thousand men, by whom the escort on its return was attacked in a defile. The Christian soldiers were encumbered by hundreds of the rabble, carrying provisions and implements of war. The Moslems were inflamed by the prospect of booty, and their scimitars mowed down their unprepared enemies. The prince of Tarentum took flight, and spread the news in his camp. Godfrey roused his fellow princes to revenge the death of their brethren. With the two Roberts, Hugh, and other chiefs, he march to their succour; but before he reached the fatal passage, he was met by Raymond, who had lost many of his bravest men. Baghasian put all his troops in motion; but the duke of Lorraine returned and took possession of an eminence near the city, and slew or compelled all those who appeared to return to the shelter of their walls: and those troops who had so lately defeated Raymond, had no hopes of safety but in a second victory. The women of Antioch lined the ramparts; they were vociferous in their exhortations to their husbands to fight: and the Christians pretended to distinguish the sincere shout of the Turkish wives from the artificial cries of the female Greeks and Armenians. But Baghasian had ill-measured the strength and valour of the combatants; and he re-opened the gates for the preservation of the fugitives. The historians of the battle command us to believe, that if all the Christian soldiers had fought with the heroic valour of the dukes of Lorraine and Normandy (of whom stupendous feats are related), few of the Turks would have escaped the edge of their falchions. Godfrey cut one of his foes through the middle. The upper part of the body fell to the ground; but so firmly did the miscreant sit, that the lower members remained on the saddle, and the affrighted horse galloped into the town.* Another wretched Moslem he smote asunder from the neck to the groin, by taking aim at his head with a sword; and the weapon not only performed its prescribed duty, but cut entirely through the saddle and the back-bone of the horse. The sword of Robert of Normandy cleft the skull of a Saracen from the crown to the shoulders; and seeing one of the parts rolling over the ground, he charitably dismissed it to the powers of hell. Tancred enjoined his squire not to publish his deeds; but we must not let the modesty of the hero diminish our admiration of his courage.† A son of Baghasian, twelve emirs, and two thousand men of common rank fell in this dreadful battle: and if night had not suspended the victorious heroes' ferocity, Antioch would have fallen. The spoil reconciled the Christians to the disasters which they had experienced. On the earliest dawn of the ensuing day the Turks quitted the city, collected the dead bodies of their friends, and buried them in the common place of interment without the walls. Familiarity with scenes of horror had extinguished every feeling of humanity; the Christians dragged the corpses from the sepulchre, and despoiled them of their dresses and ornaments. They severed the heads from the trunks; and fifteen hundred of them were exposed on pikes to the weeping Turks; and some were sent to the caliph of Egypt in proof of victory.‡

* Tasso ascribes a feat, similar in most respects, to the fierce and fair Camilla.

E tra'l collo, e la nuca il colpo assesta;
E tronchi i nervi, e'l gorgozzuol reciso,
Gío rotando a cader prima la testa.
Prima bruttò di polve immonda il viso,
Che giù cadesse il tronco: il tronco resta
(Miserabile mostro!) in sella assiso.
Ma libero del fren con mille rote
Calcitrando il destrier da se lo scoute.
La Gerusalemme Liber. c. ix. 70.

† Sed est, quod stupeam, nec satis valeam stupere: cum homo tam pretiosus laudis emptor mox præsentis ora armigeri silentio concluserit adjurato. Rad. Cad.

‡ Baldric, 106, 107. Raimond, 147. Albert, 237. Guibert, 505, 506. Archb. of Tyre, 699. 701. Tudebodus, 790. Ralph de Diceto, p. 493. M. Paris, p. 29, 30, and De Guignes, ii. 89, 90; where Arabic historians, however, add little to the accounts of the Latins. Malmsbury, p. 448, recites the acts of personal prowess of Godfrey, and gives us another story (on the

The loathsome consequences of battle formed no impediment to the display of other horrors of war. The savage warriors before Antioch broke Turkish sepulchres into pieces, and erected a fortress near the gate of the bridge, from the ruins of the mansions of the dead; emulating the hill of bones before Nicé, which had been converted into a tower of hostility. The count of Tholouse accepted the dangerous, and therefore honorable, office of guarding it; and this exhibition of bravery silenced a thousand calumnies of feigned sickness which the soldiers had spread against him. His coldness and severity of temper made him unpopular; but he was no longer branded with the charge of avarice, when he gave to Adhemar and some other chiefs five hundred marks of silver, to be distributed among such of their soldiers as had lost their horses in the conflict.* The late successes gave courage to the councils of the princes; and they resolved that the gate of St. George on the west, between the mountain and the Orontes, should be blockaded. The coffers of Raymond again were opened, the works were raised, and Tancred accepted the post of honour. The army found that the firmness of the young warrior was equal to his bravery; that he was as vigilant in defence, as prompt in attack. Indeed* the Turks were now completely shut up, and unable to obtain provisions or wood or other necessaries. They had been usually supplied by the Armenians and Syrians from the mountains: but Tancred intercepted the succours of corn, wine, and oil, and turned them to the benefit of the Christian camp.† The country round Antioch was in possession of the besiegers; and as the season of spring was returned, communications were opened with distant countries. By gifts proportioned to their various stations, Baldwin, lord of Edessa, conciliated his fellow crusaders, who had often breathed indignation at his infidelity to the sacred cause, and had repined at his comparative prosperity and ease. An Armenian prince, whose territories adjoined those of Baldwin, sent a magnificent tent as an offering of friendship to the duke of Lorraine. But Pancrates, who was always anxious for revenge against Baldwin and his friends, captured the present, and sent it as his own gift to Bohemond. Prudence should have dictated to Godfrey a dignified indifference on the matter: but with his most intimate companion, Robert of Flanders,‡ he repaired to the tent of Bohemond, and demanded the present. The avaricious Italian refused to restore it. Godfrey laid his complaint before the council; and a piece of silk excited the passions of thousands of men, who had despised all worldly regards, and had left Europe in order to die in Asia. The justice of Godfrey's claim was apparent, and could not but be acknowledged. Bohemond listened to the general opinion, delivered the tent to the duke, and peace was restored.§

The prosperity of the Christians was checked by the news of the preparations which the sultan of Persia was making for the relief of the besieged. The alarm among the Crusaders increased as the rumour spread, and importance was given to popular fear, by the retreat of Stephen,

testimony of an eye-witness) of that renowned chieftain fighting with and destroying a lion near Antioch. The man who told Malmsbury this story, though he saw the action, should have doubted the evidence of his senses. Such of the Christians (about one thousand) as were slain threw aside their coats of mail, put on the white robe of martyrs, and went to heaven glorifying God; but saying also to infinite majesty, "Quare non defendis sanguinem nostrum, qui hodie pro tuo nomine effusus est?" Gesta Francorum, p. 13. The reader must already have recollected and coincided in the opinion of Lord Bacon, that "it were better to have no opinion of God at all, than such an opinion as is unworthy of him; for the one is unbelief, the other is contumely; and certainly superstition is the reproach of the Deity." Essay 17.

Better be dumb than superstitious:
Who violates the Godhead is most vicious
Against the nature he would worship: He
Will honor'd be in all simplicity,
Have all his actions wonder'd at, and view'd
With silence and amazement; not with rude,
Dull and profane, weak and imperfect eyes,
Have busy search made in his mysteries.
Ben Jonson.

* Raimond, 147. Archb. of Tyre, 701, 702. Baldric, 107.

* Guibert, 506. Archb. of Tyre, 702.

† Gesta 14. Mus. Ital. i. 171, 175.

‡ Robert of Flanders was always the fidus Achates of Godfrey.

§ Albert, 242.

count of Chartres, who pleaded illness and the salubrity of Alexandretta. But the people attributed his retirement to any other cause rather than that of corporal infirmity. He took with him four thousand men. This great secession roused the princes to the enactment of new laws for the prevention of desertion, and for the enforcement of discipline: and accordingly he who retired without the leave of the council was to be treated as a homicide, and as one who had committed sacrilege.* The report of aid from Persia animated the besieged into new acts of treachery. They felt the miseries of war, and they solicited a truce, in order, as they said, to arrange the conditions which should accompany the cession of the place. It was agreed, then, that the horrors of the sword should be stayed, and the mutual promises were ratified by religious sanctions. The city's gates were opened, and there was a free and familiar communication between the various people. The concluding day of the truce arrived, and no offers of capitulation were made by the Turks. On the contrary, they violated their oath, and seized as a prisoner the person of Walo, a noble cavalier, who had, like many of his comrades, been wandering in the groves of Antioch. The armed dogs, as an indignant observer calls the Moslems, tortured the Christian, and tore his body to pieces.†

The Latins recommenced the siege with indignation and fury, and the defence became every day more feeble. But when it was least needed, stratagem was called in to the aid of valour. Near the gate of St. George were three towers, which were guarded by three brothers of a noble Armenian tribe, and it was not considered that any dignity was lost, when their family took the occupation and name of Beni Zerri, or the sons of armour-makers.‡ At the time of the siege of Antioch, Phirouz was the head of the race. He was a man of a low and sordid disposition. He made religion subservient to his passions, and deserting the faith of his family, he united with the Muselmans. His abilities procured him the favour of Baghasian, and he was entrusted with military and civil charges. There was an affinity between the characters of Bohemond and Phirouz, and in various periods of the siege the accidents of war brought the Italian and the Armenian into intercourse. The magnificient promises of the former seduced the latter from his allegiance, and it was stipulated that the towers should be delivered to the Christians.* Bohemond found that Godfrey, Hugh, and the two Roberts, would accept the cession of Antioch upon any terms; but the count of Tholouse was as ambitious as the prince of Tarentum, and suspected sinister motives in all his actions. In a general council, then, Bohemond declared the necessity of a change of measures for the capture of Antioch. For seven months the army had suffered every human misery. Blood had been shed, famine had devastated the crusading ranks, and Antioch still remained in the hands of the enemy. The hosts of Persia were approaching, and would compel the Franks to raise the siege. As bravery had been unsuccessful, it was politic to resort to other means to get possession of the city before the arrival of the Persians: and as an incitement to the enterprises of the chiefs, the principality of Antioch ought to be the reward of skill and wisdom. The count of Tholouse was the only prince who refused his assent to this proposition.† He speciously declared that all the Crusaders were brothers and equals, and that the fruits, as well as the dangers of war, should be in common. The news of the approach of the Persian succour became every day more alarming, and policy could only suggest that the city should be immediately taken, or that a large part of the army should repel the menacing foe. The council again was summoned, the united assent of the duke of Lorraine, the count of Vermandois, and the two Roberts, overbore

* Archb. of Tyre, 703.
Robert, 52, 53.

‡ Archb. of Tyre, 704. Albert, 244. Tudebodus, 792.

* Robert and Fulcher, as if ashamed that Antioch should be taken by stratagem, assert that Jesus Christ appeared repeatedly to Phirouz in dreams, and exhorted him to deliver up the city to the Christian army.

† This is William of Tyre's account, 705. Baldric and Tudebodus state that the proposition was refused by all, p. 109, 792. To this account Guibert inclines, p. 509.

the opposition of the selfish Provençal; and it was resolved that no sentiments were so worthy of being adopted as those of the prince of Tarentum. Jerusalem, and the Holy Land, were the places for which the Croises had left Europe; and it would be dishonourable to the crusading cause, if the army should perish for want of generosity to an individual. Bohemond then revealed his frendship with Phirouz, and the offer of the renegado to deliver to him the city. The princes promised to their brother chieftain that Antioch, in the event of the conquest of it, should be his prize; but the gift was fettered by the condition that if the emperor Alexius should come to the succour of the Christians, Bohemond must acknowledge his feudal superiority.*

By the medium of a son of Phirouz, who was a Turkish spy in the Christian camp, the plot for the completion of the treachery was settled. The cause of the rumour cannot be discovered, but it soon was believed in Antioch that a plan was in action of delivering the city to the Christians. The remnants of the Greeks and Armenians had always been objects of apprehension to Baghasians; their motions were regarded with suspicion, and the Turkish council resolved that shortly all the tributaries should be put to death, if the Persian succour did not arrive. Baghasian was unlimited in his confidence to Phirouz, and the courtiers were jealous of the influence of the renegado. They uttered their suspicions of his loyalty, and he was summoned to their presence. Before they could charge him with treachery he rose in the character of a brother senator, and professed himself a friend to any measures of precaution that might be adopted. He thought that the guards of the towers should be changed, and by that measure all secret intercourse between the besiegers and the besieged would be cut off. Advice so judicious, so apparently patriotic, checked the suggestions of calumny, and Baghasian and his council declared their concurrence. The next morning was the time appointed for the change of guard, but in the interval the work of treason was to be executed. In the repose and silence of the night, Bohemond with his troops advanced close to the walls. He sent a trusty friend to watch the signs of Phirouz. The renegado and the soldier were conversing, while the officer on watch passed the tower. The soldier retired: Phirouz presented himself, and received from the officer warm commendations for strict attention to duty. The Christian returned to his comrades with the news that the plot was ripe for execution. The traitor lowered some ropes. But neither threats nor entreaties could instigate the Latins to enter on this novel and hazardous enterprise, and at length Bohemond himself mounted the walls. No one followed him, and he was compelled to return to his troops, in despair of the success of his undertaking. His re-appearance dissipated the panic; and all the Croises were now anxious for the escalade. In their impatience the ladder broke, and only sixty soldiers reached the ramparts. But these men prepared the way for their friends with dreadful effect. They seized ten towers, and slew the guards. A postern was then opened, and the whole army entered the city with all the ferocity of triumphant religious zealots, and the insolence which fills the mind when an obstinate resistance has been overcome. The banner of Bohemond was hoisted on a principal eminence; the trumpets brayed the triumph of the Christians; and with the affirmation, "Deus id vult!" they commenced their butchery of the sleeping inhabitants. For some time the Greeks and Armenians were equally exposed* with the Muselmans: but when a pause was given to murder, and the Christians

* Robert, 54. Baldric, 108. Guibert, 509–10. William of Tyre, 705–7. It appears from Rad. Cad. 309, that Bohemond sent Tancred and his troops away from Antioch at the time of these proceedings, and that Tancred did not know of them till Antioch was taken. Tancred was highly indignant, and declaimed strongly against Bohemond's jealous and selfish temper. Baldric says that Tancred knew all; but Baldric's authority in a case of this nature cannot be put in opposition to that of Tancred's biographer.

* "The Christians issuing in, and exasperated with the length of the siege, so remembered what they had suffered, that they forgot what they had to do, killing promiscuously Christian citizens with Turks. Thus passions, like heavy bodies down steep hills, once in motion, move themselves, and know no ground but the bottom."—Fuller, Holy War, book i. ch. 17.

became distinguished from the infidels, a mark was put on the dwellings of the former, and their edifices were regarded as sacred. The dignity of age, the helplessness of youth, and the beauty of the weaker sex, were disregarded by the Latin savages. Houses were no sanctuaries; and the sight of a mosque added new virulence to cruelty. If the fortune of any Moslem guided him safely through the streets, the country without the walls afforded no retreat, for the plains were scoured by the Franks. The citadel alone was neglected by the conquerors; and in that place many of their foes secured themselves, before the idea was entertained of the importance of subjugating it. The number of Turks massacred on this night was at least ten thousand. The fate of Baghasian was melancholy and unmerited. He escaped with a few friends through the crusaders' camp, and reached the mountains. Fatigue, disappointment, and the loss of blood from the opening of an old wound, caused a giddiness in his head, and he fell from his horse. His attendants raised him; but he was helpless, and again became stretched on the ground. They fancied, or heard the approach of the enemy; and, as in moments of extremity the primary law of nature is paramount, they left their master to his fate. His groans caught the ear of a Syrian Christian in the forest, and he advanced to the poor old man. The appeal to humanity was made in vain; and the wretch struck off the head of his prostrate foe, and carried it in triumph to the Franks.*

The attendants and followers of the camp pillaged the houses of Antioch as soon as the gates had been thrown open; but the soldiers did not for awhile suffer their rapacity to check their thirst for blood. When, however, every species of habitation, from the marble palace to the meanest hovel, had been converted into a scene of slaughter, when the narrow streets and the spacious squares were all alike disfigured with human gore, and crowded with mangled carcasses, then the assassins turned robbers, and became as mercenary as they had been merciless. The city was rich in most of the various luxuries of the east; but her money had been expended in supplying the inhabitants with provisions during the siege. Some stores of corn, wine and oil, had not been exhausted; and the Crusaders, changing their fierceness for the more civilized vices of debauchery and hypocrisy, ate and drank, rendering thanks to God. The discipline of the camp was relaxed; unbounded license was given to the passions; and, in the midst of the general profligacy, the miracles which heaven had wrought for its people were forgotten, and its judgments were despised.*

The new citizens were called to war a few days after they had achieved their conquest. The defeat of the sultan of Nice, and the devastation of the Turkish countries, had filled the oriental courts with surprise and alarm. The emperor of Persia summoned all his hosts to scourge the enemies of the Prophet; and the people, in every degree of subjection to him, formed under the banners of religion. His minister and greatest officer, Kerboga, emir of Mosul, commanded the levies. Kilidge Arslan collected his broken forces, and joined them; and the united army consisted of, at least, two hundred thousand men.† Fortunately for the Crusaders, the wisdom of Kerboga's measures had not been equal to his personal bravery. Treating his foes with orthodox Muselman contempt, he had not foreseen the fall of Antioch. His march was through the principality of Edessa; and he had halted for the purpose of annihilating the power of Baldwin. But three weeks had been devoted in vain to incessant attacks, when intelligence of the fall of the Syrian capital compelled the Persians to cross the Eu-

* Robert, 55. Baldric, 109—113. Albert, 244—247. Guibert, 510, 511. Archb. of Tyre, 710—712. Rad. Cad. 308. De Guignes, II. 91—93. Malmsbury, 434. Ordericus Vitalis, 737. Tasso makes Phirouz die before Jerusalem. But in truth he survived the siege, returned to Antioch, and drew to his party many disaffected Christians. He betrayed them, however, to the Muselmans; he abjured Christianity; and died as a robber.

* Albert, 247. Guibert, 481. Gesta, 567. Rad. Cad. 308.

† Such is the statement of Albert of Aix. Tudebodus (p. 791) numbers the Persians at three hundred and sixty-five thousand men; and Ralph of Caen (p. 319) at four hundred thousand.

phrates, and hasten to the relief of their oppressed allies.*

The hosts of the Moslem world pitched their tents round the fallen capital; and re-enforced the citadel which their enemies had so inconsiderately neglected.† Still the Turks might have been subdued, and the fortress might have been taken, if the Christians had had only men and walls to contend with. But a few days of luxury had consumed all the provisions which were in the city; and when the Persians appeared, the Crusaders sought in vain to accumulate fresh stores from the devastated vicinity. The sword was without, and famine was within; and the Moslems too resolved to conquer by starvation, if their scimitars should fail. They took the port of St. Simeon, burned the ships, and by these means, the cities on the shores of the Mediterranean could no longer contribute to the support of the Christians. All the distresses of the Crusaders before the walls were nothing, when compared with the horrors they suffered now that they were in possession of the city. So long as there was any food for the horses, the blood of these animals was drank, and then their flesh was devoured. Vegetables the most nauseous were greedily eaten; they boiled the leaves of trees; the skin of animals, and even the leather of the military accoutrements were stewed for food. Nothing, indeed, was so foul and insipid in itself, but that famine rendered it palatable. Misery levelled all natural as well as artificial distinctions. The courage of the warrior, the pride of the nobleman, the dignified virtue of the matron, and the retired bashfulness of the virgin, all were reduced to the level of the ignoble and the vicious, by the cravings of unsatisfied and increasing hunger. The people begged and clamoured for food. All ranks felt the distress alike; and even Godfrey was at last left without horses or money.‡ According to one writer, however, the poor wretches did not cease to cry, "Not unto us, O Lord, but unto thy name be the praise!" or to reflect without pleasure, that the Lord chastens every son whom he receives.* Resignation was perhaps the virtue of some; but all the army had not the courage of martyrs; and their minds were only kept from the horrors of despair by the faint hope that they might ere long be relieved by some new battalions of Crusaders. A great many soldiers escaped over the walls. Among those whose names have been preserved, were William and Alberic of Grantmenil; the former of whom had married a sister of Bohemond; and as the latter was both an ecclesiastic and a soldier, he was attached to the holy cause from a double motive. William the Carpenter disregarded the oath which he had taken in the presence of all the army, and fled. A few obscure names are mentioned; and the indignant archbishop of Tyre exclaims, that he remembers not the rest; for as their names are struck out of the holy volume of life, they cannot be inserted in his book.†

The fugitives, failed in their hope of escaping in a vessel at the port of St. Simeon, took the road to Alexandretta, and after a series of dangers, not much less calamitous than those which they had fled from, they joined the count of Chartres. Their miserable appearance spoke too well the state of the Latins before Antioch, and lest they should be thought deserters on frivolous causes, they exaggerated the afflictions of their brethren. The seal appeared now to be set on the desperation of the crusade, and Stephen, therefore, commenced his retreat to Europe. At Philomelia, in Phrygia, he met the emperor of Constantinople, who was advancing in order to enjoy the anticipated conquests of the Latins; or, as his daughter declares, to

* Baldric, 111, 112. Albert, 243. Guibert, 302.

† Albert, 248–250. Archb. of Tyre, 714. Du Cange, note on the Alexiad, p. 88. Malmsbury, 434.

‡ Robert, 59. Baldric, 117. Raimond, 153. Guibert, 518. Archb. of Tyre, 715–717.

* Baldric, 117. Tudeb. 798. Alexiad. p. 88, note. De Guignes, livre 13.

† Tudebodus, 799. Baldric, 117. Albert, 251. Archb. of Tyre, 717. "Alii multi quorum nomina non tenemus; quin deleta de libro vitæ, præsenti operi non sunt inserenda." The fugitives let themselves over Antioch by means of ropes. Baldric tells us that their hands were dreadfully excoriated; not an unlikely circumstance; and the knowledge of it must have been grateful to their indignant, and perhaps envious brethren, who also amused themselves with calling them the rope-dancers.

aid his feudal subject in the siege of Antioch. Fresh parties of European Crusaders had shortly before that time arrived at the Bosphorus, and had mixed themselves with the well-appointed army of Alexius. The stories of the fugitives had the same effect on the imperial mind as on that of Stephen. The first and great object of policy was to preserve the empire in its present condition, and not to waste its resources in distant expeditions. Yet the emperor's army was numerous, and if he had been a brave prince, he would have aided the Latins in dissipating the clouds of Tartars. But prudence or fear predominated; gratitude never whispered that the Crusaders should be requited for the conquest of Nice, and the return to Constantinople was ordered. The tears of emulation, the reproaches, the supplication of Guy, a brother of Bohemond, were all without effect, and the youthful warrior could not even obtain permission for himself and his friends to proceed to Antioch. All the European champions of the cross were compelled to march in the emperor's ranks. Their fury against him soon turned into execrations against heaven. Humility and resignation are no qualities of fanaticism. That disease springs as often from pride as from warmth of imagination, and its votaries fancy themselves not so much the agents as the supporters of Providence. They rise to an equality with God, and when his measures accord not with their ideas, they blaspheme and revolt from their duty. For the first three days of their return, the bishops, abbots, and presbyters, abstained from the usual prayers and spiritual exercises: and the feelings which they showed in sullenness and murmurs, the common people expressed in open indignation. It was impiously said no man will henceforth become the pilgrim or soldier of God. If heaven be omnipotent, why does it consent to these things?"*

The news of the approach of Alexius had preserved the courage of his allies in Antioch; but when his cowardice was heard of, they consigned him and his army to everlasting infamy, not only on account of their infidelity to obligations, but because they defrauded the people of the cross of those succours which God had provided. Heaven was implored that the Greeks might have their portion of eternal torments with the great betrayer Judas. Despondency weighed down some of the bravest minds, and if Godfrey, Raymond and Adhemar, had not displayed heroic firmness, the soldiery would have been abandoned, and many of the chiefs would have endeavoured to escape by sea to Europe. The common men sunk into melancholy and despair. Neither supplications nor severity could induce them to remain at their posts, and they shut themselves up in their habitations. Bohemond set fire to the houses: the soldiers ran to their quarters, and a military appearance was resumed. Two thousand private dwellings and churches were destroyed in this dreadful experiment. The flames spread with uncontrollable rapidity, and Bohemond apprehended that the seat of his principality would be ruined: or, as some of the early writers state, that the church of St. Peter and St. Mary should be visited with the same desolation.*

Though the fire had driven the soldiers to their posts, violence could give no spirit to attenuated bodies or despairing minds. The ruin of the hopes of Christendom appeared inevitable, and no man could anticipate the recovery of the sacred places. Both valour and stratagem had done their best. One resource, more powerful than all the others, yet remained to be tried, and that resource was superstition. A Lombard clerk preached to the clergy and laity, the noble and ignoble, and endeavoured to dissipate their fears. He said that he remembered a pious priest in Italy, who, journeying to perform mass before his diocesan, was encountered by a pilgrim, who anxiously inquired his opinion on the subject of so many princes and nations going in holy company to the sepulchre at Jeru-

* Tudebodus, 799. Robert, 60. Baldric, 118, 119. Albert, 253. Archb. of Tyre, 718. 720. Alexiad, p. 256–7, and Du Cange's notes.

* Tudebodus, 798. Gesta, 19. Albert, 253. Guibert, 517. William of Tyre, 720. The biographer of Tancred deplores, in his usual bombastic style, the destruction of the palaces, &c.; and it is curious to remark, that he describes the iron work of them to have come from England.

salem. He replied, "some people think that the design has been inspired by God himself; others, that the action springs entirely from the levity of the French character; and the misfortunes in Hungary and Bulgaria are judgments on them for their want of piety. For my part, I cannot decide between the conflicting sentiments." The pilgrim rejoined, "this expedition does not spring from the levity of the French people, but it has God for its author. The names of those are recorded in heaven as martyrs, who banish themselves from Europe in the name of Christ, and who lead a sober and religious life." The presbyter demanded the family and fortunes of the man who spoke with so much decision. "Know then," he replied, "I am Ambrose, bishop of Milan, servant of Christ; and in three years the soldiers of the Lord, after having conquered various nations of barbarians and suffered many labours, shall enter Jerusalem in triumph." The story of the Lombard clerk was received with credulity, both by the chiefs and by the ignorant populace, and served better than a philosophical treatise on resignation, to preserve their patience.* Before the effects of this tale had worn away, another priest swore on the gospels, that while he was at prayers, Jesus Christ, accompanied by his mother and St. Peter, appeared to him, and said, "Knowest thou me?" The priest answered, "No." A cross was then displayed on the head of the Saviour, and the astonished priest acknowledged his Lord. The son of man exclaimed, "I made you masters of Nice, I opened to you the gates of Antioch: and in return for these benefits you have lost your religious name in infamous debaucheries with Pagan women."† At these words the holy virgin and St. Peter threw themselves at the feet of Jesus, and besought him to have mercy on his votaries. He then said to Peter, "Go, tell my people, that if they will return to me, I will turn to them; and in five days will give them the help which they want." The presbyter offered to verify his story by a fiery ordeal; but as the merit of faith rises in proportion to the weakness of testimony, the bishop of Puy required merely a simple oath. Bohemond, Raymond, Godfrey, Hugh, and the two Roberts, swore that they would never desert each other, or fly from the sacred cause; and Tancred showed his fanaticism or courage in the expressions that he would not abandon the siege of the citadel, or the journey to Jerusalem, so long as sixty soldiers were in his train.* The succours of heaven were not withheld from any want of devotion in the people. The temples were crowded, and the streets resounded with psalms and hymns. A priest and a secular man were arrested in their flight; the one by his brother's ghost, the other by Jesus Christ himself. Heavenly promises were mixed with reproaches, and the spectre of the mortal man declared, that the disembodied souls of the slain Christians would assist their friends in the day of battle.† When superstition was at its height, a Provençal, or Lombard clerk, named Peter Barthelemy, assured the chiefs that St. Andrew had appeared to him in a vision, had carried him through the air to the church of St. Peter, and had shown him the very lance which had pierced the side of Christ. The saint commanded him to tell the army, that that weapon would ward off all attacks of the enemy; and that the count of Tholouse should support it. He had not at first obeyed the commands of the saint, for he dreaded the charges of fraud and imposture: but at last the threats of heavenly vengeance had overcome his modesty, and he resolved to communicate the important secret. Expressions of joy and thankfulness from the chiefs rewarded the holy man, and superstition or policy bowed conviction to the tale.‡

* Albert, 252.

† Strange morality, indeed, as Mr. Ellis observes, is ascribed to the Supreme Being, who declares himself offended, not by the unnecessary cruelties of the crusaders, not by the general profligacy of their manners, so much as by the reflection, that Paynim women were partners of their amours. Specimens of the Early English Poets, i. 99.

* Robert, 60. Guibert, 516, 617.

† Fulcher, 392, 3. Baldric, 119. Gesta, 568.

‡ As the count of Tholouse was the foremost in the affair of the lance, to him must be ascribed the honour of inventing the tale. His chaplain narrates it with the same air of conviction as he details historical truths. The

aid his feudal subject in the siege of Antioch. Fresh parties of European Crusaders had shortly before that time arrived at the Bosphorus, and had mixed themselves with the well-appointed army of Alexius. The stories of the fugitives had the same effect on the imperial mind as on that of Stephen. The first and great object of policy was to preserve the empire in its present condition, and not to waste its resources in distant expeditions. Yet the emperor's army was numerous, and if he had been a brave prince, he would have aided the Latins in dissipating the clouds of Tartars. But prudence or fear predominated; gratitude never whispered that the Crusaders should be requited for the conquest of Nice, and the return to Constantinople was ordered. The tears of emulation, the reproaches, the supplication of Guy, a brother of Bohemond, were all without effect, and the youthful warrior could not even obtain permission for himself and his friends to proceed to Antioch. All the European champions of the cross were compelled to march in the emperor's ranks. Their fury against him soon turned into execrations against heaven. Humility and resignation are no qualities of fanaticism. That disease springs as often from pride as from warmth of imagination, and its votaries fancy themselves not so much the agents as the supporters of Providence. They rise to an equality with God, and when his measures accord not with their ideas, they blaspheme and revolt from their duty. For the first three days of their return, the bishops, abbots, and presbyters, abstained from the usual prayers and spiritual exercises: and the feelings which they showed in sullenness and murmurs, the common people expressed in open indignation. It was impiously said no man will henceforth become the pilgrim or soldier of God. If heaven be omnipotent, why does it consent to these things?"*

The news of the approach of Alexius had preserved the courage of his allies in Antioch; but when his cowardice was heard of, they consigned him and his army to everlasting infamy, not only on account of their infidelity to obligations, but because they defrauded the people of the cross of those succours which God had provided. Heaven was implored that the Greeks might have their portion of eternal torments with the great betrayer Judas. Despondency weighed down some of the bravest minds, and if Godfrey, Raymond and Adhemar, had not displayed heroic firmness, the soldiers would have been abandoned, and many of the chiefs would have endeavoured to escape by sea to Europe. The common men sunk into melancholy and despair. Neither supplications nor severity could induce them to remain at their posts, and they shut themselves up in their habitations. Bohemond set fire to the houses: the soldiers ran to their quarters, and a military appearance was resumed. Two thousand private dwellings and churches were destroyed in this dreadful experiment. The flames spread with uncontrollable rapidity, and Bohemond apprehended that the seat of his principality would be ruined; or, as some of the early writers state, that the church of St. Peter and St. Mary should be visited with the same desolation.*

Though the fire had driven the soldiers to their posts, violence could give no spirit to attenuated bodies or despairing minds. The ruin of the hopes of Christendom appeared inevitable, and no man could anticipate the recovery of the sacred places. Both valour and stratagem had done their best. One resource, more powerful than all the others, yet remained to be tried, and that resource was superstition. A Lombard clerk preached to the clergy and laity, the noble and ignoble, and endeavoured to dissipate their fears. He said that he remembered a pious priest in Italy, who, journeying to perform mass before his diocesan, was encountered by a pilgrim, who anxiously inquired his opinion on the subject of so many princes and nations going in holy company to the sepulchre at Jeru-

* Tudebodus, 799. Robert, 60. Baldric, 118, 119. Albert, 253. Archb. of Tyre, 718. 720. Alexiad, p. 256-7, and Du Cange's notes.

* Tudebodus, 798. Gesta, 19. Albert, 253. Guibert, 517. William of Tyre, 720. The biographer of Tancred deplores, in his usual bombastic style, the destruction of the palaces, &c.; and it is curious to remark, that he describes the iron work of them to have come from England.

salem. He replied, "some people think that the design has been inspired by God himself; others, that the action springs entirely from the levity of the French character; and the misfortunes in Hungary and Bulgaria are judgments on them for their want of piety. For my part, I cannot decide between the conflicting sentiments." The pilgrim rejoined, "this expedition does not spring from the levity of the French people, but it has God for its author. The names of those are recorded in heaven as martyrs, who banish themselves from Europe in the name of Christ, and who lead a sober and religious life." The presbyter demanded the family and fortunes of the man who spoke with so much decision. "Know then," he replied, "I am Ambrose, bishop of Milan, servant of Christ; and in three years the soldiers of the Lord, after having conquered various nations of barbarians and suffered many labours, shall enter Jerusalem in triumph." The story of the Lombard clerk was received with credulity, both by the chiefs and by the ignorant populace, and served better than a philosophical treatise on resignation, to preserve their patience.* Before the effects of this tale had worn away, another priest swore on the gospels, that while he was at prayers, Jesus Christ, accompanied by his mother and St. Peter, appeared to him, and said, "Knowest thou me?" The priest answered, "No." A cross was then displayed on the head of the Saviour, and the astonished priest acknowledged his Lord. The son of man exclaimed, "I made you masters of Nice, I opened to you the gates of Antioch: and in return for these benefits you have lost your religious name in infamous debaucheries with Pagan women."† At these words the holy virgin and St. Peter threw themselves at the feet of Jesus, and besought him to have mercy on his votaries. He then said to Peter, "Go, tell my people, that if they will return to me, I will turn to them; and in five days will give them the help which they want." The presbyter offered to verify his story by a fiery ordeal; but as the merit of faith rises in proportion to the weakness of testimony, the bishop of Puy required merely a simple oath. Bohemond, Raymond, Godfrey, Hugh, and the two Roberts, swore that they would never desert each other, or fly from the sacred cause; and Tancred showed his fanaticism or courage in the expressions that he would not abandon the siege of the citadel, or the journey to Jerusalem, so long as sixty soldiers were in his train.* The succours of heaven were not withheld from any want of devotion in the people. The temples were crowded, and the streets resounded with psalms and hymns. A priest and a secular man were arrested in their flight; the one by his brother's ghost, the other by Jesus Christ himself. Heavenly promises were mixed with reproaches, and the spectre of the mortal man declared, that the disembodied souls of the slain Christians would assist their friends in the day of battle.† When superstition was at its height, a Provençal, or Lombard clerk, named Peter Barthelemy, assured the chiefs that St. Andrew had appeared to him in a vision, had carried him through the air to the church of St. Peter, and had shown him the very lance which had pierced the side of Christ. The saint commanded him to tell the army, that that weapon would ward off all attacks of the enemy; and that the count of Tholouse should support it. He had not at first obeyed the commands of the saint, for he dreaded the charges of fraud and imposture: but at last the threats of heavenly vengeance had overcome his modesty, and he resolved to communicate the important secret. Expressions of joy and thankfulness from the chiefs rewarded the holy man, and superstition or policy bowed conviction to the tale.‡

* Albert, 252.

† Strange morality, indeed, as Mr. Ellis observes, is ascribed to the Supreme Being, who declares himself offended, not by the unnecessary cruelties of the crusaders, not by the general profligacy of their manners, so much as by the reflection, that Paynim women were partners of their amours. Specimens of the Early English Poets, i. 99.

* Robert, 60. Guibert, 516, 617.

† Fulcher, 392, 3. Baldric, 119. Gesta, 568.

‡ As the count of Tholouse was the foremost in the affair of the lance, to him must be ascribed the honour of inventing the tale. His chaplain narrates it with the same air of conviction as he details historical truths. The

aid his feudal subject in the siege of Antioch. Fresh parties of European Crusaders had shortly before that time arrived at the Bosphorus, and had mixed themselves with the well-appointed army of Alexius. The stories of the fugitives had the same effect on the imperial mind as on that of Stephen. The first and great object of policy was to preserve the empire in its present condition, and not to waste its resources in distant expeditions. Yet the emperor's army was numerous, and if he had been a brave prince, he would have aided the Latins in dissipating the clouds of Tartars. But prudence or fear predominated; gratitude never whispered that the Crusaders should be requited for the conquest of Nice, and the return to Constantinople was ordered. The tears of emulation, the reproaches, the supplication of Guy, a brother of Bohemond, were all without effect, and the youthful warrior could not even obtain permission for himself and his friends to proceed to Antioch. All the European champions of the cross were compelled to march in the emperor's ranks. Their fury against him soon turned into execrations against heaven. Humility and resignation are no qualities of fanaticism. That disease springs as often from pride as from warmth of imagination, and its votaries fancy themselves not so much the agents as the supporters of Providence. They rise to an equality with God, and when his measures accord not with their ideas, they blaspheme and revolt from their duty. For the first three days of their return, the bishops, abbots, and presbyters, abstained from the usual prayers and spiritual exercises: and the feelings which they showed in sullenness and murmurs, the common people expressed in open indignation. It was impiously said no man will henceforth become the pilgrim or soldier of God. If heaven be omnipotent, why does it consent to these things?"*

The news of the approach of Alexius had preserved the courage of his allies in Antioch; but when his cowardice was heard of, they consigned him and his army to everlasting infamy, not only on account of their infidelity to obligations, but because they defrauded the people of the cross of those succours which God had provided. Heaven was implored that the Greeks might have their portion of eternal torments with the great betrayer Judas. Despondency weighed down some of the bravest minds, and if Godfrey, Raymond and Adhemar, had not displayed heroic firmness, the soldiers would have been abandoned, and many of the chiefs would have endeavoured to escape by sea to Europe. The common men sunk into melancholy and despair. Neither supplications nor severity could induce them to remain at their posts, and they shut themselves up in their habitations. Bohemond set fire to the houses: the soldiers ran to their quarters, and a military appearance was resumed. Two thousand private dwellings and churches were destroyed in this dreadful experiment. The flames spread with uncontrollable rapidity, and Bohemond apprehended that the seat of his principality would be ruined: or, as some of the early writers state, that the church of St. Peter and St. Mary should be visited with the same desolation.*

Though the fire had driven the soldiers to their posts, violence could give no spirit to attenuated bodies or despairing minds. The ruin of the hopes of Christendom appeared inevitable, and no man could anticipate the recovery of the sacred places. Both valour and stratagem had done their best. One resource, more powerful than all the others, yet remained to be tried, and that resource was superstition. A Lombard clerk preached to the clergy and laity, the noble and ignoble, and endeavoured to dissipate their fears. He said that he remembered a pious priest in Italy, who, journeying to perform mass before his diocesan, was encountered by a pilgrim, who anxiously inquired his opinion on the subject of so many princes and nations going in holy company to the sepulchre at Jeru-

* Tudebodus, 799. Robert, 60. Baldric, 118, 119. Albert, 253. Archb. of Tyre, 718. 720. Alexiad, p. 256-7, and Du Cange's notes.

* Tudebodus, 798. Gesta, 19. Albert. 253. Guibert, 517. William of Tyre, 720. The biographer of Tancred deplores, in his usual bombastic style, the destruction of the palaces, &c.; and it is curious to remark, that he describes the iron work of them to have come from England.

salem. He replied, "some people think that the design has been inspired by God himself; others, that the action springs entirely from the levity of the French character; and the misfortunes in Hungary and Bulgaria are judgments on them for their want of piety. For my part, I cannot decide between the conflicting sentiments." The pilgrim rejoined, "this expedition does not spring from the levity of the French people, but it has God for its author. The names of those are recorded in heaven as martyrs, who banish themselves from Europe in the name of Christ, and who lead a sober and religious life." The presbyter demanded the family and fortunes of the man who spoke with so much decision. "Know then," he replied, "I am Ambrose, bishop of Milan, servant of Christ; and in three years the soldiers of the Lord, after having conquered various nations of barbarians and suffered many labours, shall enter Jerusalem in triumph." The story of the Lombard clerk was received with credulity, both by the chiefs and by the ignorant populace, and served better than a philosophical treatise on resignation, to preserve their patience.* Before the effects of this tale had worn away, another priest swore on the gospels, that while he was at prayers, Jesus Christ, accompanied by his mother and St. Peter, appeared to him, and said, "Knowest thou me?" The priest answered, "No." A cross was then displayed on the head of the Saviour, and the astonished priest acknowledged his Lord. The son of man exclaimed, "I made you masters of Nice, I opened to you the gates of Antioch: and in return for these benefits you have lost your religious name in infamous debaucheries with Pagan women."† At these words the holy virgin and St. Peter threw themselves at the feet of Jesus, and besought him to have mercy on his votaries. He then said to Peter, "Go, tell my people, that if they will return to me, I will turn to them; and in five days will give them the help which they want." The presbyter offered to verify his story by a fiery ordeal; but as the merit of faith rises in proportion to the weakness of testimony, the bishop of Puy required merely a simple oath. Bohemond, Raymond, Godfrey, Hugh, and the two Roberts, swore that they would never desert each other, or fly from the sacred cause; and Tancred showed his fanaticism or courage in the expressions that he would not abandon the siege of the citadel, or the journey to Jerusalem, so long as sixty soldiers were in his train.* The succours of heaven were not withheld from any want of devotion in the people. The temples were crowded, and the streets resounded with psalms and hymns. A priest and a secular man were arrested in their flight; the one by his brother's ghost, the other by Jesus Christ himself. Heavenly promises were mixed with reproaches, and the spectre of the mortal man declared, that the disembodied souls of the slain Christians would assist their friends in the day of battle.† When superstition was at its height, a Provençal, or Lombard clerk, named Peter Barthelemy, assured the chiefs that St. Andrew had appeared to him in a vision, had carried him through the air to the church of St. Peter, and had shown him the very lance which had pierced the side of Christ. The saint commanded him to tell the army, that that weapon would ward off all attacks of the enemy; and that the count of Tholouse should support it. He had not at first obeyed the commands of the saint, for he dreaded the charges of fraud and imposture: but at last the threats of heavenly vengeance had overcome his modesty, and he resolved to communicate the important secret. Expressions of joy and thankfulness from the chiefs rewarded the holy man, and superstition or policy bowed conviction to the tale.‡

* Albert, 252.

† Strange morality, indeed, as Mr. Ellis observes, is ascribed to the Supreme Being, who declares himself offended, not by the unnecessary cruelties of the crusaders, not by the general profligacy of their manners, so much as by the reflection, that Paynim women were partners of their amours. Specimens of the Early English Poets, i. 99.

* Robert, 60. Guibert, 516, 617.

† Fulcher, 392, 3. Baldric, 119. Gesta, 568.

‡ As the count of Tholouse was the foremost in the affair of the lance, to him must be ascribed the honour of inventing the tale. His chaplain narrates it with the same air of conviction as he details historical truths. The

aid his feudal subject in the siege of Antioch. Fresh parties of European Crusaders had shortly before that time arrived at the Bosphorus, and had mixed themselves with the well-appointed army of Alexius. The stories of the fugitives had the same effect on the imperial mind as on that of Stephen. The first and great object of policy was to preserve the empire in its present condition, and not to waste its resources in distant expeditions. Yet the emperor's army was numerous, and if he had been a brave prince, he would have aided the Latins in dissipating the clouds of Tartars. But prudence or fear predominated; gratitude never whispered that the Crusaders should be requited for the conquest of Nice, and the return to Constantinople was ordered. The tears of emulation, the reproaches, the supplication of Guy, a brother of Bohemond, were all without effect, and the youthful warrior could not even obtain permission for himself and his friends to proceed to Antioch. All the European champions of the cross were compelled to march in the emperor's ranks. Their fury against him soon turned into execrations against heaven. Humility and resignation are no qualities of fanaticism. That disease springs as often from pride as from warmth of imagination, and its votaries fancy themselves not so much the agents as the supporters of Providence. They rise to an equality with God, and when his measures accord not with their ideas, they blaspheme and revolt from their duty. For the first three days of their return, the bishops, abbots, and presbyters, abstained from the usual prayers and spiritual exercises: and the feelings which they showed in sullenness and murmurs, the common people expressed in open indignation. It was impiously said no man will henceforth become the pilgrim or soldier of God. If heaven be omnipotent, why does it consent to these things?"*

The news of the approach of Alexius had preserved the courage of his allies in Antioch; but when his cowardice was heard of, they consigned him and his army to everlasting infamy, not only on account of their infidelity to obligations, but because they defrauded the people of the cross of those succours which God had provided. Heaven was implored that the Greeks might have their portion of eternal torments with the great betrayer Judas. Despondency weighed down some of the bravest minds, and if Godfrey, Raymond and Adhemar, had not displayed heroic firmness, the soldiers would have been abandoned, and many of the chiefs would have endeavoured to escape by sea to Europe. The common men sunk into melancholy and despair. Neither supplications nor severity could induce them to remain at their posts, and they shut themselves up in their habitations. Bohemond set fire to the houses: the soldiers ran to their quarters, and a military appearance was resumed. Two thousand private dwellings and churches were destroyed in this dreadful experiment. The flames spread with uncontrollable rapidity, and Bohemond apprehended that the seat of his principality would be ruined: or, as some of the early writers state, that the church of St. Peter and St. Mary should be visited with the same desolation.*

Though the fire had driven the soldiers to their posts, violence could give no spirit to attenuated bodies or despairing minds. The ruin of the hopes of Christendom appeared inevitable, and no man could anticipate the recovery of the sacred places. Both valour and stratagem had done their best. One resource, more powerful than all the others, yet remained to be tried, and that resource was superstition. A Lombard clerk preached to the clergy and laity, the noble and ignoble, and endeavoured to dissipate their fears. He said that he remembered a pious priest in Italy, who, journeying to perform mass before his diocesan, was encountered by a pilgrim, who anxiously inquired his opinion on the subject of so many princes and nations going in holy company to the sepulchre at Jeru-

* Tudebodus, 799. Robert, 60. Baldric, 118, 119. Albert, 253. Archb. of Tyre, 718. 720. Alexiad, p. 256-7, and Du Cange's notes.

* Tudebodus, 798. Gesta, 19. Albert, 253. Guibert, 517. William of Tyre, 720. The biographer of Tancred deplores, in his usual bombastic style, the destruction of the palaces, &c.; and it is curious to remark, that he describes the iron work of them to have come from England.

salem. He replied, "some people think that the design has been inspired by God himself; others, that the action springs entirely from the levity of the French character; and the misfortunes in Hungary and Bulgaria are judgments on them for their want of piety. For my part, I cannot decide between the conflicting sentiments." The pilgrim rejoined, "this expedition does not spring from the levity of the French people, but it has God for its author. The names of those are recorded in heaven as martyrs, who banish themselves from Europe in the name of Christ, and who lead a sober and religious life." The presbyter demanded the family and fortunes of the man who spoke with so much decision. "Know then," he replied, "I am Ambrose, bishop of Milan, servant of Christ; and in three years the soldiers of the Lord, after having conquered various nations of barbarians and suffered many labours, shall enter Jerusalem in triumph." The story of the Lombard clerk was received with credulity, both by the chiefs and by the ignorant populace, and served better than a philosophical treatise on resignation, to preserve their patience.* Before the effects of this tale had worn away, another priest swore on the gospels, that while he was at prayers, Jesus Christ, accompanied by his mother and St. Peter, appeared to him, and said, "Knowest thou me?" The priest answered, "No." A cross was then displayed on the head of the Saviour, and the astonished priest acknowledged his Lord. The son of man exclaimed, "I made you masters of Nice, I opened to you the gates of Antioch: and in return for these benefits you have lost your religious name in infamous debaucheries with Pagan women."† At these words the holy virgin and St. Peter threw themselves at the feet of Jesus, and besought him to have mercy on his votaries. He then said to Peter, "Go, tell my people, that if they will return to me, I will turn to them; and in five days will give them the help which they want." The presbyter offered to verify his story by a fiery ordeal; but as the merit of faith rises in proportion to the weakness of testimony, the bishop of Puy required merely a simple oath. Bohemond, Raymond, Godfrey, Hugh, and the two Roberts, swore that they would never desert each other, or fly from the sacred cause; and Tancred showed his fanaticism or courage in the expressions that he would not abandon the siege of the citadel, or the journey to Jerusalem, so long as sixty soldiers were in his train.* The succours of heaven were not withheld from any want of devotion in the people. The temples were crowded, and the streets resounded with psalms and hymns. A priest and a secular man were arrested in their flight; the one by his brother's ghost, the other by Jesus Christ himself. Heavenly promises were mixed with reproaches, and the spectre of the mortal man declared, that the disembodied souls of the slain Christians would assist their friends in the day of battle.† When superstition was at its height, a Provençal, or Lombard clerk, named Peter Barthelemy, assured the chiefs that St. Andrew had appeared to him in a vision, had carried him through the air to the church of St. Peter, and had shown him the very lance which had pierced the side of Christ. The saint commanded him to tell the army, that that weapon would ward off all attacks of the enemy; and that the count of Tholouse should support it. He had not at first obeyed the commands of the saint, for he dreaded the charges of fraud and imposture: but at last the threats of heavenly vengeance had overcome his modesty, and he resolved to communicate the important secret. Expressions of joy and thankfulness from the chiefs rewarded the holy man, and superstition or policy bowed conviction to the tale.‡

* Albert, 252.

† Strange morality, indeed, as Mr. Ellis observes, is ascribed to the Supreme Being, who declares himself offended, not by the unnecessary cruelties of the crusaders, not by the general profligacy of their manners, so much as by the reflection, that Paynim women were partners of their amours. Specimens of the Early English Poets, i. 99.

* Robert, 60. Guibert, 516, 617.

† Fulcher, 392, 3. Baldric, 119. Gesta, 568.

‡ As the count of Tholouse was the foremost in the affair of the lance, to him must be ascribed the honour of inventing the tale. His chaplain narrates it with the same air of conviction as he details historical truths. The

Raymond, his chaplain, and ten other men, were appointed to fetch the precious relic from its repository. After two days' devotion to holy exercises, all the Croises marched in religious order to the church of St. Peter, and the chosen twelve entered the walls. During a whole day, the people waited with awful anxiety for the production of their sacred defence. The workmen dug in vain, their places were relieved by fresh and ardent labourers, and, like their predecessors, they gave up the cause. When, however, the night came on, and the obscurity of nature was favourable to mysteriousness, Peter Barthelemy descended into the pit, and after searching a decent time, he cried aloud that the lance was found. The chaplain of Raymond seized and embraced the relic: the people rushed into the church: incredulity was banished, and the astonished multitude blamed each other for the previous weakness of their faith.*

In a moment twenty-six days of misery were forgotten. Hope succeeded to despair, courage to cowardice. Fanaticism renewed its dominion, and it was resolved that the sacred lance should pierce the hearts of their enemies, if the Turks would not depart in peace.† Peter the Hermit, accompanied by an interpreter, was sent on this expedition of mercy. The sultan received him with all the splendour of oriental magnificence,* but the fanatic was undaunted, and indeed so contemptuous was his demeanor, that his character of ambassador alone preserved his life. His language was as haughty as his manner. The Turks must immediately quit a country, which, by the beneficence of St. Peter, belonged to the faithful. God befriended the Croises, and he would punish those who infringed the rights of his people. If the Moslems would acknowledge the divine will, they might retire to their country with their baggage and goods; and if they would abjure their false religion, they might become the brethren of the Christians by baptism, and even Antioch and its territory should be theirs. But if they persisted in their iniquity and infidelity, the swords of the Franks would convince them on whose side justice and heaven stood. Astonishment at the effrontery of Peter possessed all the auditors, and a storm of rage broke from the Persian general. "We despise and abhor the idolatry of your religion. But if you will acknowledge that there is only one God, and that Muhammed is his prophet, we will feed and clothe your wretched bodies. If, however, you dare to propose conditions to conquerors, we will with our swords humble the pride of your nation. Slavery and death is the appointed lot of those who dispute the right of the Turks to a land which they had taken from the effeminate Greeks." The companion of the Hermit continued the discourse, and still further inflamed the mind of Kerboga. The ministers of the Croises were contemptuously dismissed, and the menacing fierceness of their foe urged them to make a speedy return to the camp.†

The soldiers as well as the chiefs crowded around Peter when he rejoined them, and anxiously inquired whether their fate were peace or war. The Hermit told his tale, and began to be eloquent in his description of the pride and power of the Persians: but the

two archbishops, Baldric and William, appear to have had no suspicion of fraud. Ralph of Caen (p. 316, 317) affirms that Bohemond, the two Roberts, Tancred, and Arnold, the duke of Normandy's chaplain, discovered the trick, and that the prince of Tarentum delivered their opinions to the council, and put some searching questions to Raymond, on the history of the lance from the days of Pilate to that time. Fulcher's statement in Du Chesne, p. 828. exonerates the bishop of Puy from all share in the imposition: it appears he told Raymond it could not be the true lance. Yet Fulcher goes on to say, that when the lance was found, the heretics were convinced. Fuller's remark on the subject of the lance is an excellent one. "But let us know that heaven hath a pillory whereon Fraus Pia herself shall be punished; and rather let us leave religion to her native plainness, than hang her ears with counterfeit pearls."

* Baldric, 119. Albert, 254. Raimond, 150, 1. Fulcher, 391. William of Tyre, 721.

† Anna, confounding Christian names, makes Peter the Hermit the finder of the relic: and, fancying that the lance was at Constantinople, she supposes that the thing which was found was one of the nails which pierced the Saviour on the cross. Alexiad, 258, 259. Du Cange's notes.

* Malmsbury says (345) that Kerboga was playing at chess, and did not let the game stop.

† Robert, 62. Baldric, 118. Guibert, 520. Archb. of Tyre, 721, 722. Tudebodus, 800,

prudent Godfrey, dreading the contagion of the terrors of the ambassador, drew him to his tent, and heard the details in private. Indignation at the contumely of the Moslems spread through the city, and the soldiers prepared to chastise the enemies of God. They polished their shields and sharpened their swords. What few provisions they had left, they freely gave to each other; and their horses (only two hundred) were allowed a double portion of provender. Temporal cares did not possess them wholly. They sung hymns, then prayed, made religious processions, confessed one to another, and, in receiving the sacrament of the holy supper, they felt their anger kindled against the impious despisers of the efficacy of the death of Christ. The clergy were seen in every church, and among each band of soldiers, promising forgiveness of sins to those who fought bravely. The leaders of the army, the bishops, and particularly the pious Adhemar, poured not their blessings only, but largeness of money and provisions; and now the people who had seemed just before pale, wan, and spirit-broken, appeared with a bold and martial front, anticipating nothing but victory. Religion had changed all. Every one felt that he was the man of God, and that, assisted by the lance of his Saviour, he should discomfit his foes.*

The next day was the day of battle, and the religious courage of the army was animated by the circumstance that it was the festival of the church of St. Peter and St. Paul. All the troops, except the count of Tholouse, and a few of his Provençals, who were left to watch the citadel, quitted Antioch, and formed in battle array on the plain before the city. The van was preceded by the priests and monks with crucifixes in their hands, praying aloud for the protection of heaven, and exclaiming in the language of the Psalmist, "Be thou a tower of defence to those who put their trust in thee." Every event was turned into a favourable omen, and even the morning dew scented with the perfume of roses was supposed to be a special favour from heaven. The army marched in twelve divisions, in honour of the twelve apostles. To Hugh count of Vermandois, as the bearer of the papal standard, was assigned the distinction of leading the van. Robert of Flanders commanded the second division; Robert of Normandy, and his noble kinsman, Stephen, earl of Albemarle, the third. The bishop of Puy led the fourth, and this division was the most honourable of the twelve, for it carried the head of the sacred lance. The fifth, sixth, ninth, tenth, and eleventh divisions were conducted by brave and celebrated generals; the seventh and eighth were led by Godfrey and Tancred; and the division of reserve was under the command of Bohemond. The bishop of Puy, clothed in armour, and bearing the lance in his right hand, advanced from the ranks, and exhorted the champions of the cross to fight that day as brothers in Christ, as the sons of God. "Heaven," he continued, "has pardoned you for your sins, and no misfortune can happen to you. He who dies here will live hereafter, because he seeks eternal glory. Be brave of heart, for the Lord will send to you legions of saints. Go then against your enemies, who are more prepared for flight than for combat; go in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ to battle, and the Lord God Almighty will be with you." The army shouted their approbation and assent. They then pressed forwards to the plain on the other side of the Orontes. Two thousand Turks, the guardians of the iron bridge, were annihilated by the three first divisions, and the whole army formed in two lines between the mountains and the river. Hugh was at the right of the line, and Godfrey on the left. Kerboga had expected the Christians as suppliants, and he learned only by the destruction of his corps of observation, that they marched as warriors. His movements were directed by skill; he bent his attacks against a part only of the enemy, the divisions of Godfrey and Hugh; and the sultan of Nice, after having made a circuitous route, fell upon the rear of Bohemond. The Christians opposed no stratagem to the manœuvre of the Turks, but the battle was fought man to man, lance to lance. Tancred hung the event in suspense by rescuing the prince of Tarentum; but at last the

* Archb. of Tyre, 722, 3. Guibert, 321. Albert, 255.

Franks contended for safety, not for victory, and the Saracenian cavalry was mowing away their ranks. In this perilous moment some human figures, clad in white armour, and riding on white horses, appeared on the summit of the neighbouring hills, and the people distinguished the martyrs St. George, Maurice, and Theodore.* The superstitious, or politic Adhemar ran through the ranks, exclaiming, "Behold, soldiers, the succour which God has promised you." The men answered with the cry, "Deus id vult!" Their martial energies revived at this animating shout, and, not waiting for the bright squadron of their celestial allies, they closed their battalions, and bore down upon the Saracens; who, terrified at this unexpected vigour, threw away their arms and fled. So closely did the Christians pursue the steps of Kerboga, that the valiant emir could not rally the troops, or save the Turkish women and children from murder, or his camp from spoliation. The booty was so great, that every one of the conquerors became in a moment far richer than when he assumed the cross; and there fell to the share of Bohemond the splendid tent of Kerboga, which, like the one sent by Harun al Raschid to Charlemagne, could (it is said!) contain two thousand men, was divided into streets like a town, and fortified with towers. One thousand five hundred camels were found in the camp, and the cavalry mounted themselves on Arabian horses. The citadel of Antioch followed the fate of the covering army, and surrendered: the chief and three hundred of the garrison embraced Christianity, and remained in the town: the more faithful Moslems were conducted with their arms and equipage into the next Muselman territories. The ambition of the count of Tholouse was the only interruption to the general rejoicing. His banner floated on the walls, when the army re-entered the city in religious procession; but the other chiefs, indignant at his selfishness, supported the prince of Tarentum, in his rights to the full and free possession of his prize.*

After the defeat of the Turks, the Christians were not so much occupied by the exultation of success, or the enjoyment of the plunder, as to fail in their care of religion. Superstition had saved the cause of fanaticism; and the priests neglected not their interest or their duty in the moment of victory. The churches were restored to their pristine dignity, and clergy were appointed for the decorous solemnization of religious rites. Those temples, which had been turned into mosques, or, by deeper contempt, into stables, were cleansed of their pollutions. The public spoil furnished gold and silver, materials for crosses, candelabras, and other ornaments of the church. The Greek patriarch was reinstated in

* As the Crusaders were in their own estimation the soldiers of God, they looked for a portion of that supernatural aid which had often in days of old embraced the nerves of the Jews. The idea mentioned in the text appears to have been taken from the case of the Maccabees—"And then it happened that through the city, for the space of almost forty days, there were seen horsemen riding in the air, in cloth of gold, and armed with lances like a band of soldiers, and troops of horsemen in array, encountering and running one against another, with shaking of shields, and multitudes of pikes, and drawing of swords, and casting of darts, and glittering of golden ornaments, and harness of all sorts. Wherefore every man prayed that that apparition might turn to good."—Maccabees, book ii., ch. 5, v. 2–4.

As when, to warn proud cities, war appears
Waged in the troubled sky, and armies rush
To battle in the clouds, before each van
Prick forth the aëry knights, and couch their spears
Till thickest legions close; with feats of arms
From either end of heaven the welkin burns.
Milton's Paradise Lost, II. 533, &c.

* Tudebodus, 801, 802. Gesta, 21, 22. Robert, 63, 66. Baldric, 120, 123. Albert, 255, 258. Raimond, 154–5. Guibert, 521, 523. Archb. of Tyre, 723, 726. Malmsbury, a writer not remarkable for superstitious credulity, is totally silent on the subject of the lance, but says that in this battle it is not to be denied that the martyrs assisted the Christians, as the angels in old times did the Maccabees. Malms. p. 435. In one of the Crusader's circular letters to the princes and people of Europe, the loss of the Turks at the battle of Antioch is fixed at sixty-nine thousand men; and that of the Christians at ten thousand. Not a word is expressive of the deaths by famine and disease; but strong applications are made for men and provisions, Martenne, Vet. Scrip. Amp. Coll. i. 568. But in another circular letter, preserved in the Thes. Nov. of Martenne (vol. i., p. 281), the princes gloss over the misfortunes at Antioch, by saying that the Christians had only two hundred horses left. The distresses subsequent to the capture are mentioned at length.

his honours; and the Latin clergy professed they would rather serve under him than elect a new superior, and by that means act contrary to the canons of the church, and the example of the saints and fathers.*

CHAPTER VI.

THE REDEMPTION OF THE HOLY SEPULCHRE.

Embassy to Alexius.—Desertion of the count Vermandois.—Delay of the Croises at Antioch.—Vices of the Croises.—A pestilence.—Death of Adhemar.—Letter to the Pope.—Politics of the chiefs.—Further delays of the chiefs.—Cannibalism of the Crusaders.—The soldiers, but not the leaders, anxious to proceed.—The Croises march.—Treachery of the count of Tholouse.—Discovery of the fraud of the lance.—Politics of the Croises with Alexius and the caliph.—The Crusaders' first view of Jerusalem.—Retrospect.—State of the Holy City.—Invested by the Croises.—Horrid drought in the Latin camp.—Manners of the Franks.—Procession round Jerusalem.—The city stormed, and taken.—First Massacre.—Cruelty of Godfrey.—His piety.—Second Massacre.

WHILE the clergy were reviving Christianity in Antioch, the princes of the Crusade deliberated on the temporal affairs of their cause. Their indignation against the cowardice of the emperor Alexius was yet alive; and they resolved that Hugh, count of Vermandois, and Baldwin, count of Hainault, should in the name of all the holy warriors, censure him for his impiety against God, and his treachery to man. His desultory, wavering conduct, and his shrinking from all zealous co-operation with them, had dissolved a connexion, of which reciprocal aid formed the basis. The ambassadors directed their course through Asia Minor; but in the neighbourhood of Nice, the count of Hainault fell into Turkish snares; and his friend alone reached Constantinople. Alexius rejoiced at the defeat of the Turks, for they were enemies of all classes of Christians. He heard the narrative of the misery of the Crusaders with equal joy; for in their weakness he contemplated his own security. He derided their threatenings as the ravings of impotence; and their denunciations of heavenly wrath were scorned by an unprincipled usurper. The count of Vermandois had not the firm and unyielding courage of the duke of Lorraine; he shrunk from the dangers of repassing Asia Minor; and, as if to justify the Grecian opinion of the versatility and perfidious levity of the Latins, he abandoned his holy cause, and followed the route of the count of Chartres to France.*

When the ambassadors quitted Antioch, the victorious people were clamorous to proceed immediately to Jerusalem and accomplish their vow: but the chiefs resolved that popular impatience should be restrained till the month of November. The wounded soldiers required restoration to health, the army repose from its fatigues before fresh dangers could be encountered. A Syrian summer had already dried most of the springs and fountains round Antioch, and the new deserts which they were to pass could not be anticipated without dread. Three months' tranquillity were therefore considered necessary; and the chiefs and their soldiers quartered themselves in the city and its neighbourhood.† Bohemond descended into Cilicia, and received the submission of Tharsus, Adana, Mamistra, and Anzarba. The emir of a neighbouring fortress, called Ezaz, implored the succour of the Crusaders against Redouan, sultan of Aleppo. Since the arrival of the Franks, many Christian women had been captured by this emir; and he bestowed one of them upon a favourite general, who promised in return to ravage the territories of the Turkish lord. But the forty thousand soldiers of the sultan scattered his feeble bands, and besieged him in his castle. By the counsel of his friend's wife, the emir implored the alliance and succour of Godfrey. The

* This yielding of power to decorum did not last long, for in two years the Greek patriarch was obliged to retire to Constantinople; and the Latin priests made Bernard, a chaplain of the bishop of Puy, their patriarch. Archbishop of Tyre, 727, &c. Demster says, that the Scotch annals declare this Bernard to have been a Scotchman, who, after the council of Clermont, had preached the Crusade in Scotland, and led his recruits to Antioch. Accolti, p. 175.

* Albert, 260. Archb. of Tyre, 729.

† Baldric, 122. William of Tyre, 729.

duke of Lorraine, at first alone, then accompanied by Baldwin, prince of Edessa, and finally by the count of Tholouse and the prince of Antioch, repulsed the lord of Aleppo. So quick and unexpected was his retreat, that many unsuspecting Christians about Antioch were made prisoners; but he repented that he had not retired without molesting the enemy, for Godfrey pursued him with dreadful retaliation. Ezaz became a fief of the Latins; and the cruel conquerors not only deprived their allies of independence, but compelled them to supply the waste which had been made of necessaries in the expedition.*

These external successes were more than balanced by internal calamities. Discord prevailed among the princes; and they even assisted their people in rapine and theft. Public justice did not restrain private injury, and the will of every man was his only law. The heat of the season, the multitude of human carcasses, and the general disorder of the army, bred a pestilential disorder, which spread its ravages with such horrible energy, that in a few months it destroyed more than one hundred thousand persons. A troop of fifteen hundred German cavaliers, high in courage, and completely armed, recently landed at the port of St. Simeon, were cut off in a few days. The Crusaders complained that they had not been led to Jerusalem immediately after the fall of Antioch, when, it was said, the fame of the Christians had been sounded over the east, and their course would have been unmolested. But the commands of God had been disobeyed, and he was now punishing his people for their supineness. Of all the victims of the wide-wasting pestilence, none was so deeply lamented as Adhemar of Puy. The people buried their father and protector in the place where the sacred lance had been discovered.† The death of the legate was communicated to the Pope.‡ The chiefs entreated again and again their spiritual lord, by whose incitement they had taken the cross, to come and complete the work which they had begun. St. Peter had made Antioch the first city of the Christian name, and it was proper that his successor should sit in his cathedral, restore primitive virtue, and banish all heresies.*

While the messengers were traversing Asia and Europe, the plague continued its ravages at Antioch; and Godfrey, with the Lorrainers, went into the principality of Edessa, and dwelt in Turbussel. He there might have found security and peace, but he was grateful to his brother for his hospitality, and in return made successful war on his Turkish neighbours. The count of Tholouse, in order to keep in action the military qualities of his soldiers, besieged the rich city of Albara, on the eastern bank of the Orontes, two days' journey south of Antioch. Albara was carried by assault; and the Christians vented their rage against infidelity, by murdering the Turks, and gratified their orthodoxy by the establishment of a Latin church, and the appointment of a Latin bishop.†

The selfishness of Baldwin, and the prudence or cowardice of the counts of Vermandois and Chartres, had broken the unity of council and action of the crusading princes. The ambition of Bohemond and Raymond was equally injurious to the general interests. The count of Tholouse would not relax in his opposition to the claims of the Italian on the principality of Antioch, but even took forcible possession of the gates of the bridge and the adjacent towers. The altercations between these chiefs became more warm as the season approached for the departure of the army to Jerusalem. The other commanders interposed; and there were repeated debates on the subject even in the church, and before the altar of St. Peter. The firmness and artifice of Raymond prevailed. Varnishing his selfishness with honour and religion, he pretended, that, were he to accord with the ambition of Bohemond, he

* De Guignes, ii. 97, 8. Archb. of Tyre, p. 730. Albert, 261, 263.

† Baldric, 123. Raimond, 391. Albert, 261. No person could have been more popular than Adhemar. "He had every virtue under heaven:" and was, besides, eloquent and facetious, and all things to all men. Baldric, 123.

‡ The letter was written by the chiefs of the first rank, and the order of precedency was Bohemond, Raymond, Godfrey, Robert of Normandy, Robert of Flanders, and Eustace.

* Fulcher, 394, 5.

† Archb. of Tyre, 731, 733.

should violate the spirit of his promise of friendship to the emperor; but that, subject to the imperial rights, he would let the cause be determined by Godfrey and the rest, when Jerusalem should be taken. He contended that Bohemond ought to accompany them to the sacred city. These reasonable propositions weighed with the judges, and the public voice was in favour of the postponement of decision.*

November arrived; the people, more religious than selfish, were ardent in their wishes for the completion of their pilgrimage; the chiefs, however, and even the duke of Lorraine, led them to new wars of ambition, and attempted to surprise the town of Marra.† But their confidence exceeded their prudence, and their attacks were distinguished by vigour rather than skill. Their scaling ladders were too few, and the enemies were expert in destroying their works by enormous stones, and the Greek fire.‡ The Christians learned nothing from experience: their sufferings from famine had been the extreme of misery, and yet they sat down to the siege of Marra with no stores of provisions. They were soon reduced to their old resources of dogs' flesh and human carcasses. They broke open the tombs of the Muselmans, ripped up the bellies of the dead for gold, and then dressed and eat the fragments of flesh. The siege must have been raised, had not Bohemond arrived with new succours; the desperate savages mounted the walls in various places, and the city was taken. Their cruelty could not be appeased by a bloodless conquest: extermination, not clemency, marked their victory. The night checked, but did not close their work of blood, for the next day they used their swords with such industrious ferocity, that the most obscure places of the city were filled with carcasses. Many of the inhabitants were guilty of self-slaughter, in order to avoid falling into the hands of the enemy; but the victims both of savageness and of despair, were mangled and eaten by their conquerors. Some wealthy citizens had procured a promise of safety from Bohemond, by tempting his avarice, but when streams of blood flowed through the streets, the perfidious chief commanded his prisoners to be brought before him. They who were vigorous or beautiful, were reserved for the slave market at Antioch; but the aged and infirm were immolated at the altar of cruelty.*

It was the wish of Raymond that Marra should form a part of the bishoprick of Albara: but Bohemond refused to deliver up such quarters of the town as he had conquered, unless his compeer would resign the gate and the towers which he held at Antioch. These dissensions were odious to the people, because they delayed the general work of the Crusades. The complaint was just, that the strength of the army had been wasted in petty conflicts, in wars of selfishness, and not of religion. Disaffection almost amounted to open rebellion, and the soldiers agreed that they would choose commanders who would immediately lead them to Jerusalem. To prevent tumult, the count of Tholouse promised to march in fifteen

* Guibert, 525. Tudebodus, 804.

† Marra was a few miles distant from Albara, or Bira, in the country of Apamea. De Guignes, ii. 98.

‡ The secret of state, then, had transpired, and it seems that the Turks had discovered the art of making the Greek fire: the most formidable weapon of destruction that was known till the invention of gunpowder. Indeed, in the early part of the tenth century, the Greeks were no longer the only people acquainted with the means of preparing it; for John Cameniata, speaking of the siege of his native city, Thessalonica, which was taken by the Saracens in 904, says, the enemy threw fire into the wooden works of the besieged, which was blown into them by means of tubes, and thrown from other vessels. Beckman's History of Inventions, vol. iv., p. 85.

* Tudebodus, 806. Robert, 69, 70. Baldric, 125. Albert, 267, 8. Guibert, 527. Archb. of Tyre, 733, 4. Abulfeda, III. 317. Abulmahasen in De Guignes, ii. 98. Tudebodus, Robert, Baldric, and Albert, mention the facts of the miserly cannibals ripping open dead bodies in expectation of finding gold, and of their eating human flesh. Robert speaks of these things with horror; but Albert drily says, there was nothing surprising in the matter, "for hunger is sharper than a sword." He was much astonished that they preferred the flesh of dogs to that of Christians and Saracens. Ralph of Caen (p. 315) also mentions the facts with shame and indignation. See to the encyclical letter of Daimbert, Godfrey, and Raymond, in Martenne Thes. Nov. vol. i. p. 281. Ralph de Diceto in Twysden, col. 498. Sigibert. Chron. p. 104, ed. Stephens, and Ekhard, p. 532, in the fifth vol. of Martenne, Vet. Scrip. Amp. Coll.

days. His rival then appeared to be still more impatient, and returned to his city for the purpose of organizing his forces. The days for departure passed, and yet no reconciliation was effected between the contending chiefs. The other princes were slow in acceding to popular wishes, but they disdainfully refused the bribes of Raymond, and his ambitious projects were annihilated by his own soldiers who garrisoned Marra. In his absence they rebelled, and declared that Marra should not, like Antioch, be the occasion of delaying the march. The remonstrances of the family of Raymond, and of the bishop of Albira, were useless, and the fortifications and walls were destroyed. The sick and infirm assisted, and it is reported that so great was the strength which heaven inspired them with in this holy work, that the labour of each individual exceeded the work of three or four oxen. As the count of Tholouse was immoveable by reason and justice, Tancred and some friends went to the gates near the iron bridge of Antioch, and under the language of friendship were admitted. They immediately assumed a military appearance, drew their swords from the concealment of their garments, and slew or drove away the soldiers of the count of Tholousé, and Bohemond became sole lord of the city which his artifice had won.*

The indignation of Raymond at the destruction of Marra could only vent itself in empty imprecations, for it was the action of the whole people, and could not be punished. He therefore thought it prudent to conciliate his Provençals. The importunities of the people for a vigorous and direct pursuit of hostilities could no longer be resisted, for Marra had been exhausted, and the solders made their fell repasts on the bodies of the Saracens which had been buried more than two weeks. Projects of ambition being now useless, Raymond assumed the character of a monk, and marched to Cafarda in company with his Latin clergy, invoking the pity of God, and the assistance of the saints. After a short residence there he collected his troops, and pursued his crusading route. Robert of Normandy attached himself to his cause; but it is singular that Tancred should march with the foe of his kinsman Bohemond. From the ruined country round Marra they proceeded into more fertile lands, and the Turkish emirs, taught at length the impracticability of resistance, sold provisions to and entered into treaties with the Christians. The standard of Raymond was hoisted on every town for a considerable distance; and that act of possession saved the places from the depredations of subsequent bodies of Crusaders. The fortress of Arca, a few leagues to the northward of Tripoli, was known to be richly furnished, and Raymond halted on his journey with the intention of making it his prize. Neither an escalade, nor a long siege, accomplished the subjugation, and the name of the count of Tholouse was repeated no more with terror.*

Two months after the departure of Raymond from Marra, Godfrey and Robert of Flanders, with the rest of the army, left Antioch. Bohemond accompanied them as far as Laodicea. He then returned to his principality, and softened the regret and anger which his desertion of the cause occasioned, by largely contributing to the expenses and conveniences of the journey. Laodicea was in possession of the Greeks, but the Crusaders terrified the governor, and he released the pirates whom Baldwin and Tancred had encountered in Cilicia, and who had since fallen into Grecian thraldom. The duke of Lorraine commanded their small naval force to coast within sight of the army, which would wind its way along the shores. Gabala was the next town which was assailed by the Croises, and the emir attempted by large promises of gold to induce Godfrey to raise the siege. But he despised all sordid considerations, and the Turk therefore tried the more easy virtue of Raymond. The count of Tholouse accepted the bribe, and under the plea of the approach of a large army, he requested the co-operation of the duke of Lorraine. The siege of Gabala was raised, but on

* Raimond, 160, 161. Baldric, 126. Archb. of Tyre, 735. Malmsbury, 436. The Pisans never lost sight of commercial business; they prevailed on Bohemond to give them a street in Antioch, where they might have their exchange and court of justice, and carry on correspondence with their friends in Italy. Tronchi, p. 35.

* Raimond, 161, 165. Robert, 70. Archb of Tyre, 734–6.

approaching Area no Turkish army appeared, and Tancred exposed to the chiefs the cause of the pretended alarm. The young Italian was prompted in this instance by selfish as well as virtuous motives, for Raymond had, through avarice or ambition, withheld from him all pecuniary remuneration for military aid, and he therefore entered into the service of Godfrey.* Raynouard, viscount of Turenne, and some other lords, suddenly attacked Tortosa, and by an ingenious device made the citizens imagine that all the Christian soldiers were before the town. The Muselmans fled in the secresy of the night, and the soldiers entered and pillaged the place.

The treachery of the count of Tholouse diminished his authority; and as his counsels were no longer assisted by the bishop of Puy, even the spiritual reverence which was paid to him, as keeper of the lance, began to decline. The superiority, too, which Raymond and his Provençals claimed on account of their sacred charge, excited the envy and disgust of the army. The prince of Antioch had always been a professed skeptic; and his belief had been contagious. To silence incredulity, Raymond on more than one occasion published stories of new revelations from heaven to Peter Barthelemy; and he declared that death must be the punishment of want of faith. Some examples were made: but they did not produce general conivction. The Latin clergy had no absolute master; and the chaplain of one prince might, with impunity, revile the prodigies which another exhibited. Arnold, chaplain of the duke of Normandy, disclaimed the notion that the lance in the possession of Raymond was the weapon which had pierced the side of Christ. The clerical heretic was eminent both for talents and for profligacy; and though the latter distinction might have injured his judgment on spiritual matters, yet he had a certain energy of character which imposed on the mass of mankind. His representations called for new miracles; and every day some priest or other related his dream of the preceding night, in which he had seen souls dying in hell for even a momentary incredulity. Still, however, it was murmured through the camp, that if the tale of Peter Barthelemy were true, heaven could bear witness to it by some visible interposition. The fanatic offered to convince the world of his alliance with supernatural powers; and in the presence of the assembled soldiers, to undergo the fiery ordeal. A regular course of fasting and prayer preceded the trial; and the aid of heaven was invoked by the clergy. On the appointed day, Peter rushed into the fire, which was supposed to be the agent of God. But Heaven declared that the lance which he bore in his hand was not the true lance, for the flames enveloped and destroyed him. Some poor wretches, as pertinacious as ignorant, continued to maintain its divinity, and attributed Peter's death to the overbearing pressure of the crowd on his coming out of the fire. Raymond, however, was not able to spread this disposition to credulity; and could therefore boast no more of the special confidence of heaven.*

While the soldiers were raging with theological hatred on the affair of the lance, the deputies who had been sent into Egypt returned, accompanied by ambassadors of the caliph. The Christians had been treated with Saracenic severity when the Egyptians heard of their reverses; but when the army of the emir of Mosul had fallen, the caliph gave them liberty. Yet he still held the Latins in contempt; and the emperor Alexius encouraged the continuance of hostilities. The deputies of the caliph again proposed that the soldiers of Christ and Muhammed should bend their united efforts against the Tartarian spoliators: but his politics and religion forbade him from offering the Christians any permanent settlements at Jerusalem. The caliph wished to prepare the way for the acceptance of these terms by large presents to the leaders of the Crusaders: but the presents and the treaty were rejected with indignation. The fury of the Latins was fresh when ambassadors from Alexius reached the

* Albert, 269. Archb. of Tyre, 739. This is the probable account. Raymond d'Agiles, however, considers the accusation by Tancred of Raymond as calumnious, p. 162. The rest of the Latin historians say nothing about the matter.

* William of Tyre, 739. Raimond, 164—9. Gesta, 571.

camp. The court of Constantinople was filled with astonishment and alarm that Antioch had been given to Bohemond, and commanded the forces to halt till midsummer, when they should be joined by their liege lord. But Godfrey and his council justly reproached their own simplicity for having ever confided in Alexius, and replied to his envoys, that he who had so early broken his oath to his allies, that he who had violated them whenever they had interfered with his interest, had no claim upon the fidelity and obedience of others.

These embassies and negotiations awoke the Croises to a full view of the enmity of the Egyptian caliph, and the perfidiousness of Alexius; and they burned with desire to chastise the Muselmans, and to conquer Jerusalem without imperial aid. They despised the count of Tholouse for wishing to press the siege of Arca; and the army resumed its course to Jerusalem along the sea-coast. The emir of Tripoli attempted to oppose the torrent of invaders; but he was soon compelled to deprecate their vengeance; and though Raymond wished that the town should be sacked, yet mercy prevailed in the minds of the other generals; and they were contented with large supplies of provisions, the liberation of three hundred Christian slaves, and the payment of fifteen thousand pieces of gold.† The soldiers crossed the plain of Beritus, went through the country of Sidon,‡ Athareb or Sarfend, Ptolemais or Acre; and when they arrived at Jaffa, they left their maritime route, and marched to and halted at Ramula.* The Saracens fled from the town; and the Crusaders, in their grateful joy at the possession of its riches, vowed that they would raise a bishoprick to the honour of St. George, whose canonized bones reposed there, but whose virtuous spirit had procured them the favour of heaven.† Some daring chieftains proposed to march into Egypt, and destroy the head itself of the Muhammedan power; an event which would be followed by the immediate submission of Jerusalem. But the council was overruled on the strong arguments of the length and difficulty of the march, and the inadequacy of a small army to the accomplishment of so great an end.‡ On the third day after their arrival at Ramula, the soldiers and people took the road to Jerusalem, and soon reached the town which, in the history of its sacred and its Roman days, had assumed the different names of Emmaus and Nicopolis. The Holy City was then in view; every heart glowed with rapture; every eye was bathed in tears. The word Jerusalem was repeated in tumultuous wonder by a thousand tongues; and those who first beheld the blessed spot, called their friends to witness the glorious sight.§ All passed pains were forgotten; a moment's happiness outweighed years of sorrow. In their warm imaginations the sepulchre was redeemed, and the cross triumphed over the crescent. But

* Raimond, 170. Robert, 71. Archb. of Tyre, 740. Mus. Ital. I. 206, 210.

† The crusaders found near Tripoli sweet-honeyed reeds, called Zucra, which they sucked, and liked so much that they could scarcely be satisfied. Albert's account of this plant (the sugar-cane) is curious. "It is annually cultivated with great labour. When ripe they pound it, strain off the juice, and keep it in vessels till the process of coagulation is complete, and hardens in appearance like salt or snow. They eat it scraped and mixed with bread, or dissolved in water, and it is to them more pleasing and wholesome than the honey of bees." p. 270. These remarks are interesting, inasmuch as they are the first on record which any European ever made concerning a plant, the cultivation whereof forms so large a chapter in the annals of human misery.

‡ In the country round Sidon, the soldiers were incommoded by serpents or tarantulas. But the bite was cured, and the poison charmed away, when a chief touched the part affected. Another mode of cure is mentioned by Albert of Aix (p. 271), which I wonder should have escaped the disgusting diligence of certain wide-searching commentators on Shakspeare. If they had discovered it, they would have dragged it in as an illustration of some passage or other, not over delicate, in his comedies.

* The crusaders were then only sixteen miles from Jerusalem.

† An obscure man (quendam Robertum), they appointed the first bishop on this new establishment. Albert, p. 272.

‡ Raimond, p. 173.

§ "Discovering the city afar off, it was a pretty sight to behold the harmony in the difference of expressing their joy; how they clothed the same passion with divers gestures: some prostrate, some kneeling, some weeping; all had much ado to manage so great a gladness." Fuller's History of the Holy War, book i. chap. 24.

with that rapidity of thought which distinguishes minds when strongly agitated by passion, the joy of the stranger, and the fierceness of the warrior, were changed in a moment for religious ideas and feelings. Jerusalem was the scene of the resurrection of Christ; and, therefore, the subject of holy rejoicing; but it was the place of his sufferings also; and true devotion, full of self-abasement and gratitude, is as strongly affected by the causes and circumstances as the consequences of the Great Sacrifice. The soldier become in an instant the simple pilgrim; his lance and sword were thrown aside; he wept over the ground which, he said, his Saviour had wept over; and it was only with naked feet that he could worthily approach the seat of man's redemption.*

Of the millions of fanatics who had vowed to rescue the sepulchre from the hands of the infidels, forty thousand only encamped before Jerusalem: and of these remains of the champions of the cross, twenty-one thousand five hundred were soldiers, twenty thousand foot and fifteen hundred cavalry. The destruction of more than eight hundred and fifty thousand† Europeans had purchased the possession of Nice, Antioch, and Edessa. It was not from any dread of the Turks that the armies of the Christians were so numerous; but as religious feelings, and not political necessities had convulsed the world; as the war proceeded from the people, and not from the rulers alone, no regulation of princes could limit the number of warriors. A moderate force would have been far more powerful than such unparalleled swarms: it would have been more easily supported, and its compactness would have defied assault. No certain conclusions as to comparative military desert can be drawn from the battle of Doryleum; but the engagement with Kerboga at Antioch shows, that however exhausted the Latins might have been, yet their heroic courage and fanatical spirit could not be successfully opposed by myriads of Moslem votaries. Famine was the active agent of death in the first crusade. The soldiers had heard from preceding pilgrims the horrors of the land journey from Europe to Jerusalem; yet so great was their contempt of the enemy, and so presuming their confidence in the miraculous interposition of Providence, that their religious and military ardour was seldom checked by considerations of policy. The great leaders, indeed, took the wise measure of endeavouring to gain the friendship and aid of Alexius, and with that object before them, they were justified in halting at Nice. But after the subjugation of that city, their march to Jerusalem ought to have been direct and immediate, and the acquisition of Turkish territories should have been deferred till after the foundation of a Christian state in Palestine. But as the Crusaders approached the Holy Land, the cause of their armament was in a great measure forgotten. Ambition and avarice swayed the minds of Bohemond, Baldwin, and Raymond, and real religious enthusiasm burnt more strongly in the minds of the soldiers than of the leaders. The popular imagination was inflamed by fanaticism; but religion had not produced any salutary effect on the lives of the people. They viewed it through the medium of their passions; and the gratification of their love of war they thought that they were performing

* Baldric, 129, 131. Raimond, 173. Albert, 270, 274. Archb. of Tyre, 742, 745. Rad. Cad. 319.

† The monkish historians are often perplexed and contradictory on the subject of numbers; but their numerical statements are generally some approaches to truth, and give more distinct ideas to the reader than the phrases, "an innumerable multitude," "the people were as numerous as the sands of the sea, or the leaves of autumn," &c., &c. In a note to p. 36, we showed that the number of the rabble, destroyed before the march of the grand army, was a quarter of a million. The people before Nice amounted to 700,000, p. 49. There arrived at Jerusalem only 40,000, including the whole or part of several bands of crusaders, who joined the army at different times, and particularly an English force which had made the voyage by sea in thirty ships, and landed at Laodicea after the battle of Antioch. Raimond, 172, 173. The various re-enforcements we will set down, at 10,000. The losses by desertion and garrisoning towns were considerable, say 40,000.

Rabble of Peter and others,		250,000
Force before Nice, and additions,	710,000	
Deduct arrivals at Jerusalem, losses by desertion and garrisoning,	80,000	
		630.000
		880,000

their duty to God. The rabble which accompanied Peter were ignorant of the necessity of conciliating the emperor of Constantinople, and therefore placed no restraints on their ferocity. But the policy of the chieftains, and the religious principle of not injuring fellow Christians, preserved some order and discipline in the regular armies, till they had entered into the Turkish territories. But their crimes after their departure from Nice were enormous. Fanaticism had stripped morality from religion, and misery completed the triumph of vice over virtue.*

Jerusalem, at the time of the crusade, comprised the hills of Golgotha, Bezetha, Moria, and Acra; and as Mount Sion (one of the early seats of population) was not enclosed within the walls, the city was nearly the figure of a square. The garrison consisted of forty thousand regularly appointed Egyptian troops, commanded by Istakar, a favourite general of the caliph. In this moment of distress, the peasants crowded to Jerusalem with their arms and provisions, and the aggregate of the armed inhabitants and countrymen could not be less than twenty thousand. The Christian tributaries were despoiled; the old men, women, and children were retained, but, in dread of their turbulence, the young and vigorous were banished from the city. The valleys and rocks on the south and the east gave Jerusalem an impregnable appearance, and the Christians resolved to attack the more accessible sides of the north and west. The northern line, from the north-east to the north-west corners, was occupied by the two Roberts, Tancred and Godfrey. The troops of Eustace joined those of his brother, and the line on the west was concluded by the Provençals. In the course of the siege the count of Tholouse advanced to Mount Sion, and wished to gain a reputation for piety, by encamping opposite that part of the mount where, it was supposed, the Saviour of the world had eaten his last supper with his disciples.*

The besiegers were ignorant or careless of the superior number of the enemy, and confiding in the justice of their cause, on the fifth day after their encampment made a furious attack. Their bucklers were their only defence against the storms of arrows and fireballs from the besieged. Their impetuous valour hurried them through the Barbacan, and they reached the foot of the city walls. The Muselmans were defended more by their fortifications than their courage, and if the Christians had been possessed of a few common military engines, Jerusalem would have been taken. But they fought with their naked swords alone, and when escalading became necessary, one ladder only was found. Some of the foremost mounted, and the battle was carried on at the top of the walls. Victory for a while hovered over the heads of the Christians; but the consternation of the Fatimites dissipated; they re-assembled more quickly than their enemies could accumulate at the single place of attack, and the ramparts were soon cleared of invaders.† After this ebullition of savage and thoughtless courage, the Christians prepared with some wisdom and prudence for the siege. The princes resolved that every species of military machine should be erected; but the palm and the olive were the only trees which grew in the vicinity, and the propriety was more apparent than the execution of the resolve was practicable, till the soldiers gathered materials from the wood of Sichion, thirty miles from the camp. Some Genoese vessels arrived at Jaffa, and under an escort of the main army, their crews reached Jerusalem. The Italians were well skilled in the useful arts, and assisted by Gaston of Bearn, they erected more formidable machines than the rude soldiers could have raised. The catapult was to assault, the vinea or sow‡ to undermine the

* The Archbishop of Tyre is not very prone to exaggerate the vices of his order: yet he tells us that since the death of Adhemar at Antioch and the bishop of Orange at Mara, the clergy had sunk into dissoluteness and profligacy; and that with the exception of the bishop of Bari, and a few others, they were as criminal as the people. P. 763.

* M. Paris, 38, ed. Watts. Robert, 74. Archb. of Tyre, 750.

† Archb. of Tyre, 750. Baldric, 131.

‡ The machine which the ancients call a vinea, and the crusaders a sow, was constructed of slight timbers, the roof covered with thin boards, and wicker-work: the sides, defended

walls, but the most happy issues were anticipated from three immense moveable towers. Each tower had three stories; the lowest near the ground, the second on a level with the ramparts, and the third was much more elevated. The soldiers on each floor were armed with the sword, the bow, and hand mangonel. A few days only were occupied in these preparations; but the privations of the Christians were more severe than their labour. Hunger had been the great calamity before Antioch, and drought was the scourge in the camp round Jerusalem. The naked stones of the Siloe mocked their wants, and the bed of the Cedron is in summer an unwholesome morass. Every fountain and receptacle of water had been destroyed by the emir.* The people eagerly watched for the appearance of dew; they dug holes in the ground, and pressed their mouths to the damp clod. Many abstained from food, in hope of mitigating by hunger the pain of thirst.† The chieftains indeed had their wants occasionally relieved by the Christians of Bethlehem and other towns; but those who had no gold to commute for water, were compelled to travel several miles from the camp in search of springs, exposed to flying squadrons of the Moslems.

When the towers and other works were completed, a day was appointed for a general assault. But Godfrey changed his place of attack, and transported his great tower from the north-west to the part of the north-eastern side of the walls, which was between the gate of Herod and that of St. Stephen. The fortification was low; but the surrounding ditch was so deep, that the Muselmans were justified in not placing their soldiers in that quarter. Raymond's machine too was not brought to the walls; and much remained to be done before Godfrey could make an attack. Three days were spent in filling up the trench: the aid of the Genoese seamen was most efficacious; and all were further stimulated to exertion by the donation of a piece of money to every one who cast three stones into the hollow. At the close of the military preparations religion claimed her dues. Misery had produced disorder and crime; and the clergy complained that, in the short space of a month, the character of the Christian soldiers before Jerusalem had become as immoral as it had been in the long and painful siege of Antioch. Superstition was as active as vice; and it was not a single imposition which could make the people question the truth of visions and dreams. Adhemar appeared by night to one of those priests who had been distinguished for his intimacy with the departed saints. He assured him that the crimes of the army had caused the horrible drought; but that if the soldiers would be penitent, Heaven would deliver the sacred city into their hands. The people were awed into virtue by this revelation; and the necessity of union became obvious to the chiefs. As no devotion to God is so acceptable as charity to man, the gallant and disinterested Tancred, in the face of the army, offered friendship to Raymond. After this example of virtue, all minor feuds were hushed, and concord and piety reigned throughout the camp. Peter the Hermit, and Arnold, exhorted the Croises to all religious and martial virtues. The soldiers, completely armed, made a holy procession round the walls. The clergy, with naked feet, and bearing images of the cross, led them in the sacred way. Cries of "Deus id vult!" rent the air; and the people marched to the melody of hymns and psalms, and not to the sound of drums and trumpets. On Mount Olivet and Mount Sion they prayed for the aid of Heaven in the approaching conflict. The Saracens mocked these expressions of religious feeling by raising and throwing dirt upon crucifixes; but these insults had only the effect of producing louder shouts of sacred joy from the Christians. The next morning every thing was prepared for battle; and there was no one who was not resolved either to die for Christ, or restore his city to liberty. Religious zeal did not only infuse courage and vigour into the infirm and young, but

with undressed hides, protected the soldiers within it, who, after the manner of a sow, proceeded to undermine the foundations of the walls. Malmsbury, p. 441.

* Turba le fonti e i rivi, e le pour onde
Di venemi mortiferi confonde.
Gerusalemme, Liber. c. i. 89.

† See note I.

even the women took arms. The battering-rams, the cats, and the towers, were impelled against the walls; and the Egyptians met the attack with darts, stones, and the Greek fire. The conflict raged throughout the day; and strong as were the fanaticism and courage of the Christians, yet the triumph lay with the besieged. The great tower of the count of Tholouse was much injured; hundreds of men were slain; and, on the approach of darkness, the commanders ordered a retreat. The night was spent in watching and alarm by Christians and Saracens. The walls of the city had many breeches in them; and the camp was weakly defended. But the spring of action was not relaxed; and when the morning arose, all was industry and bustle. The means both of hostility and defence were repaired. Every Christian seemed fresh and fierce; the towers were manned with choice-drawn cavaliers; some mounted the summits and second stories, others were at the bottom impelling the immense masses. The battering-rams were put into motion; and such Croises as were not attached to some of these engines, were stationed at a distance, to cover by their darts and arrows the attack of their friends. The besieged repaired their mural breaches, got ready their fire, their boiling oil, and all the dreadful stores of war. For several hours expectation stood in horror for the issue of the raging conflict. About noon the cause of the western world seemed to totter on the brink of destruction; and the most courageous thought that Heaven had deserted its people. At the moment when all appeared lost, a knight was seen on Mount Olivet, waving his glittering shield as a sign to the soldiers that they should rally and return to the charge. Godfrey and Eustace cried to the army that St. George was come to their succour. The languishing spirit of enthusiasm was revived, and the Crusaders returned to the battle with pristine animation. Fatigue and disability vanished; the weary and the wounded were no longer distinguishable from the vigorous and active; the princes, the columns of the army, led the way, and their example awoke the most timid to gallant and noble daring. Nor were the women to be restrained from mingling in the fight; they were every where to be seen in these moments of peril and anxiety, supporting and relieving their fainting friends. In the space of an hour the Barbacan was broken down, and Godfrey's tower rested against the inner wall. Changing the duties of a general for those of the soldier, the duke of Lorraine fought with his bow. "The Lord guided his hand, and all his arrows pierced the enemy through and through." Near him were Eustace and Baldwin, "like two lions beside another lion."* At the hour when the Saviour of the world had been crucified,† a soldier, named Letoldus of Tournay, leaped upon the fortifications; his brother Englebert followed, and Godfrey was the third Christian who stood as a conqueror on the ramparts of Jerusalem.‡ The glorious ensign of the cross streamed from the walls.§ Tancred and the two Roberts burst open the gate of St. Stephen, and the north and north-west parts of the city presented

* Dux Godefridus, non tunc miles, sed sagittarius: cujus manus ad prælidum et digitos ad bellum Dominus dirigebat; quoniam sagittis jactis, inimicorum pectora et utraque latera perforabat. Juxta quem fratres ejus Eustachius et Balduinus, velut duo juxta leonem leones, et duros ictus jaculorum et lapidum suscipiebant, et quadruplici fœnore compensabant. Rob. Mon. 75. — I apprehend that Baldwin du Bourg was the person meant. Baldwin, the brother of Godfrey, was at Edessa.

† "William of Tyre findeth a great mystery in the time; because Adam was created on a Friday, and on the same day and hour our Saviour suffered. But these synchronisms, as when they are natural, are pretty and pleasing, so when violently wrested, nothing more poor and ridiculous." Fuller's Holy War, book i. ch. 24.

‡ The statement in the text is the most common one of the order in which the crusaders entered the city. But other nations have contested it: the Pisans are positive it was one of their countrymen. Tronchi, p. 35.

§ Nothing can be more poetically beautiful than Tasso's description of the appearance of the ensign of the cross on the walls of Jerusalem.

La vincitrice insegna in mille giri
Alteramente si rivolge intorno:
E par che in lei più riverente spiri
L'aura, e che splenda in lei più chiaro il giorno:
Ch' ogni dardo, ogni stral, che in lei si tiri,
O la declini, O faccia indi ritorno:
Par che Sion, par che l'opposto monte
Lieto l'adori, e inchini a lei la fronte.
Gierusalemme Liber. c. 18, 100.

many openings. The news of the success soon reached the ears of Raymond; but instead of entering any of the breaches, he animated his troops to emulate the valour of the French. Raymond's tower had only been partially repaired, the Provençals mounted the walls by ladders, and in a short time all Jerusalem was in possession of the champions of the cross. The Muselmans fought for a while, then fled to their temples, and submitted their necks to slaughter. Such was the carnage in the Mosque of Omar, that the mutilated carcasses were hurried by the torrents of blood into the court; dissevered arms and hands floated into the current that carried them into contact with bodies to which they had not belonged.* Ten thousand people were murdered in this sanctuary. It was not only the lacerated and headless trunks which shocked the sight, but the figures of the victors themselves reeking with the blood of their slaughtered enemies. No place of refuge remained to the vanquished, so indiscriminately did the insatiable fanaticism of the conquerors disregard alike supplication and resistance. Some were slain, others were thrown from the tops of the churches and of the citadel. On entering the city, the duke of Lorraine drew his sword and murdered the helpless Saracens, in revenge for the Christian blood spilt by the Moslems, and as a punishment for the railleries and outrages to which they had subjected the pilgrims.† But after having avenged the cause of Heaven, Godfrey did not neglect other religious duties. He threw aside his armour, clothed himself in a linen mantle, and, with bare head and naked feet, went to the church of the sepulchre. His piety (unchristian as it may appear to enlightened days) was the piety of all the soldiers; they laid down their arms, washed their hands, and put on habiliments of repentance. In the spirit of humility, with contrite hearts, with tears and groans, they walked over all those places which the Saviour had consecrated by his presence. The whole city was influenced by one spirit; and "the clamour of thanksgiving was loud enough to have reached the stars." The people vowed to sin no more; and the sick and poor were liberally relieved by the great, who thought themselves sufficiently rich and happy in living to see that day. All previous misfortunes were forgotten in the present holy joy. The ghost of the departed Adhemar came and rejoiced; and as at the resurrection of Christ the bodies of the saints arose, so at the resurrection of the temple from the impurity of the infidels, the spirits of many of those who had fallen on the road from Europe to Jerusalem, appeared and shared in the felicity of their friends. Finally, the hermit who, four or five years before, had wept over the degraded condition of the Holy City, and who had commiserated the oppressed state of the votaries of Christ in Palestine, was recognised in the person of Peter.* It was remembered that he had taken charge of letters from the patriarch to the princes of Europe: it was acknowledged that he had excited their piety, and inflamed their zeal; and the multitude fell at his

* Thus, as is expressed in a public document often quoted, if the Pope, and the Faithful, desire to know what the Christians did with the Saracens they pursued in Jerusalem, they are assured that, in the porch and temple of Solomon (the Mosque of Omar) they rode in the blood of the Saracens up to the knees of their horses. Martenne, Thes. Nov. vol. i. p. 281. See too Ekhard in Martenne, Vet. Script. Amp. Coll. vol. v. p. 523.

† Dux vero Godefridus, non arcem, non aulam, non aurum, non argentum, non spolia, ambiebat: sed cum Francis suis, sanguinem servorum suorum, qui in circuitu Iherusalem effusus fuerat, ab eis vindicare satagebat: et irrisiones et contumelias quas Peregrinis intulerant, ulcisci cubiebat. In nullo autem bello talem habuit occidendi facultatem; nec super pontem Antiochiæ, cum giganteum dimidiavit gentilem. Robertus Mon. p. 75.

* This is the last historical mention of Peter. Of what became of him afterwards the early writers are silent. Thevet (Vies des Hommes Illustres, livre iv. c. 15) attributes the formation of the Latin kingdom in Palestine entirely to his sage counsels. Another lover of the marvellous, puts him on board a ship for France; the vessel would have been wrecked, had it not been for the exertions and prayers of the hermit, and a vow which the count of Claremont made to build a chapel to St. John the Baptist, in case of his safe arrival in France. The chapel was built, and Peter lived near it, in the exercise of all Christian virtues, for a few years. More than a century after his death his tomb was opened; and it is almost needless to mention, that time had not committed any ravage on his person. Oultremen, ch. 10.

feet in gratitude for his faithful discharge of his trust, praising God who was glorified in his servant.*

In wars of ambition, subjugated cities, after the ebullition of military lawlessness, become the possessions of the victorious state and public. But in the Crusades each soldier fought from personal motives; and the cause of the war, and not submission to authority, was the principle of union. Personal interest frequently prevailed; and, accordingly, each Crusader became the owner of any particular house on the portal of which he had set his buckler.† But the treasures of the mosques were converted to the use of the church and of the poor; and among the splendid spoils of two of the principal temples, were seventy large chandeliers, fifty of silver, and the remainder of gold.‡

The massacre of the Saracens, on the capture of the Holy City, did not proceed from the inflamed passions of victorious soldiers, but from remorseless fanaticism. Benevolence to Turks, Jews, infidels, and heretics, was no part of the piety of the day; and, as the Muselmans in their consciences believed that it was the will of Heaven that the religion of Muhammed should be propagated by the sword, so the Christians were under the mental delusion that they were the ministers of God's wrath on disobedient man. The Latins, on the day after the victory, massacred three hundred men, to whom Tancred and Gaston de Bearn had promised protection, and had given a standard as a warrant for their safety. Though the religion of Tancred was as cruel as that of his comrades, though his deadly sword had explored every corner of the mosque of Omar, yet he respected the sacredness of his word; and nothing but the interposition of the other chiefs prevented him from retaliating on the murderers. It was resolved that no pity should be shown to the Muselmans; and the most humane justified the determination by the opinion, that, in conjunction with the Saracens of Egypt, they might molest the Christians, and recover the city. The subjugated people were therefore dragged into the public places, and slain as victims. Women with children at the breast, girls and boys, all were slaughtered.* The squares, the streets, and even the uninhabited places of Jerusalem, again were strewed with the dead bodies of men and women, and the mangled limbs of children. No heart melted into compassion or expanded into benevolence. The city was washed, and the melancholy task was performed by some Saracenian slaves. No contemporary rejoiced out of general regard to humanity; but every one condemned the count of Tholouse, whose avarice was more alive than his superstition, and whose favourite passion made him save and conduct to Ascalon the only few Muselmans, except the slaves, who escaped the general butchery. The synagogues were set on fire, and the Jews perished in the flames. †

* The patriarch had lately returned from Cyprus. This account of the religious procession of the Crusaders I have taken almost verbatim from the Archb. of Tyre, 760–1, and the Gesta Francorum, 576. The other historians add little to the narrative of the Archbishop; but they are unanimous in placing the time when the circumstance occurred on the very day of the capture of the city, and immediately after the first massacre. The Archbishop seems to have been incorrect in placing it on the following morning.

† *One* writer (the second anonymous in Bongarsius, p. 577) says, that in consequence of the soldiers of Raymond being the last who entered the town, they had not the usual share of the spoil; and that they piled the dead bodies of the Saracens into heaps, and burnt them, in hopes of finding some pieces of gold and silver among the ashes. Ralph of Caen always describes the Provençals of Raymond as mercenary and selfish. In vulgar phrase, they were the Jews of the army. "Franci ad bella. Provinciales ad victualia," was a proverb among the Christians. Rad. Cad. p. 306.

‡ Malmsbury, p. 443, though a great admirer of Tancred, charges him with having appropriated to himself some of the contents of the temple of Solomon; but that afterwards, reproved by his own conscience, and the reproaches of other people, he restored them.

* —— Christiani sic neci totum laxaverant animum, ut non sugens masculus aut fœmina nedum infans unius anni vivens manum percussoris evaderet. Albert, 283. As Fuller says, "This second massacre was no slip of an extemporary passion, but a studied and premeditated act." — "Besides, the execution was merciless, upon sucking children, those not speaking spake for them; and on women, whose weakness is a shield to defend them against a valiant man." Fuller, Holy War, book i. ch. 24.

† This account of the siege of Jerusalem has been taken (frequently a mere verbal translation) from the original writers, or their immediate

CHAPTER VII.

THE STATE OF THE HOLY LAND AFTER THE FIRST CRUSADE.

Foundation of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem.—Succession of kings between the first and second Crusades.—Godfrey.—Baldwin I.—Baldwin II.—Fulk.—Baldwin III.—Political history of the kingdom of Jerusalem.—Limits of the kingdom.—Military history.—Mode of warfare.—Supplement to the first Crusade.—Death of the count of Tholouse.—Foundation of the county of Tripoli.—History of that state.—Affairs of Antioch.—History of Edessa.—The Courtenay family.—Fall of Edessa.—Vain attempt to recover it.

JERUSALEM was in the hands of the Christians; the sepulchre was redeemed, and the blood of the Moslems atoned for profanation. The coolest policy must approve the conduct of the vanquishers subsequently to the capture of the city, though it was the result of martial phrensy; for, surrounded by Muselman foes, the new inhabitants of Jerusalem could alone preserve their independence by extending their territory. A Christian kingdom was raised, and the laws, language,* and manners of Europe were planted in Palestine. A minute and chronological history of the battles and sieges in which the Latins were involved, would be neither profitable nor disagreeable; but a full and distinct knowledge may be gained of the effects of the first Crusade,† if we separate the military from the civil transactions, and regard the natural relations of things rather than the order of time. The political history of Palestine forms the subject of the present chapter. The next will comprise a view of the constitution and laws of the Latins, and some religious and military institutions which distinguished the newly established kingdom.

On the eighth day after the capture of the Holy City, the princes assembled for the august purpose of electing a monarch. The deliberations were interrupted by several of the clergy, as representatives of the bishop of Calbaria and Arnold, one of whom was ambitious of the patriarchate of Jerusalem, and the other of the bishoprick of Bethlehem. The meddling priests confessed the propriety of electing a king, but declared that precedence should accompany rank, and that as spiritual things were more worthy than those of a temporal nature,

abridgments in Bongarsius, Gesta, 27, 28. Robert, 74, 76. Baldric, 132, 134. Raimond, 175, 178, the first thirty-one chapters of the sixth book of Albert of Aix, Guibert, 533, 537, the second Gesta, 573, 577, and the eighth book of William of Tyre. Add to these, Ordericus Vitalis, 756. Mus. Ital. i. 223, 226. Ralph of Caen, 324, &c. Malmsbury, 443, &c., and M. Paris, 41. The Archbishop of Tyre, only mentions one massacre: that in the temple of Solomon, in which ten thousand men fell. He justifies it on the argument, that the Saracens deserved punishment for their profanation of the holy places. He then says, there were about the same number killed in the streets. There is no doubt that the Christians murdered the Muselmans from *principle*. In the middle ages the vice of intolerance attacked the lives of men: in latter times it has, with more humanity and refinement, distributed their rights and possessions only. The total number of the Moslem victims is not mentioned by the Latin writers. Aboulmahasen, one of De Guignes' authorities (Hist. des Huns, &c. vol. ii. p 99), says, that one hundred thousand people perished in the mosques of Sakra and Akra, and one hundred thousand were made prisoners; the aged and infirm were killed, and the women became captives. These general expressions are as useful as "the sands of the sea," and "the stars of the Heaven," of the Greek authors. The Christians made no prisoners; and Albert is decisive that in the days of chivalry women were assassinated. Abulfeda (vol. iii. p. 519, ed. Reiske) coolly says, that the massacre lasted seven days, and that seventy thousand persons were killed in the mosque of Omar. But Aboulmahasen and Abulfeda lived many years after the event, and only wrote from incorrect tradition.

* The language of the Latin Christians in Palestine was the same as that which was spoken in Northern France, and which was carried by the Normans into England, and superseded the Anglo Saxon. It was a dialect of the Romane or Romance language, and was called the French Romane, in distinction from the other dialect called the Provençal Romane. As another name of the latter was afterwards an important territorial distinction, I may remind the reader that in the provinces to the south of the Loire the affirmative *yes* was expressed by the word *oc*, in the north it was called *oil*: and hence Dante has named the southern language, langue d'oc; and the northern, langue d'oil.

† In strict propriety, the word Crusade is applicable to the state of every Christian who assumed the badge of the cross, travelled to the Holy Land, and fought with the infidels. But I shall use the word in the confined sense of those great or national armaments which went to Palestine at the instigation of the Pope, or of a general council, and in consequence of some important political event in the east.

the choice of a patriarch should take place before that of a monarch.* The princes treated this intrusion with contempt; and it was resolved that personal merit should be rewarded by royal dignities. The rank, family, and possessions of the chieftains were known to each other; but private morals and manners are visible only to friends and domestics.† The inquiry was made, and Godfrey's virtues were declared to be pre-eminent.‡ The princes conducted him in religious and stately order to the church which covered the tomb of Christ: but he refused to wear a diadem in a city where his Saviour had worn a crown of thorns: and modestly avowed, that the honour of becoming the defender and advocate of the holy sepulchre, was all that he aspired to.§

A year wanting five days was the term of the short reign of Godfrey. His tomb was not only watered by the tears of his friends, but was honoured by the lamentations of many of the Muselmans, whose affections his virtues had conciliated. The church of the holy sepulchre received his ashes, and it was decreed that that place should be the repository of the kings his successors.‖ On his death there arose a struggle for supremacy between the clerical and secular powers. The claims of the church to the possession of all divine and human authority were transferred from the west to the east. Godfrey, Bohemond, and Baldwin, had been invested by the patriarch* with rule over their several states, and the artful churchman contended, that as God had been the conqueror of Jerusalem, God was its king, and that he, as Heaven's vicegerent, should be received as governor. The humble and religious Godfrey had renounced to the ambitious prelate the whole town of Jaffa, the sepulchre, the tower of David, and many other parts of Jerusalem; and the strange condition had been added, that if Godfrey should die without children, the two cities were to go unreservedly to the patriarch.† The king left no issue, but his promises to the church could not affect his people, and a valiant nation felt that it was more necessary to be governed by a sword than a crosier. Tancred offered the throne to the prince of Antioch, but Bohemond about that time lost his liberty in endeavouring to extend his power into the Armenian territories. A fruitless attempt was made by the enemies of the Bouillon family, to invest the count of Tholouse with royal honours. But most of the barons and cavaliers fixed their regards upon the count of Edessa. The enterprising spirit of Baldwin eagerly aspired to a throne, and although the principality comprehended more territories than the kingdom, yet the possession of the Holy City was the highest object of ambition as well as of devotion. He shed some tears for the death of his brother, but his feelings of joy at the prospect of a

* The archbishop of Tyre admits the force of the general reasoning involved in this declaration, but is indignant that such arguments should be used as a mere cloak to ambition. He every where censures Arnold for profligate manners; and Raimond d'Agiles says, that the debaucheries of this priest were the subjects of the songs of the army.

† Godfrey's friends gave a singular proof of his religious disposition. He was fond of remaining in church after the termination of the service; his attendants were tired and impatient; and his excessive devotion often spoiled the dinner. Archb. of Tyre, 764.

‡ "As for the knowing of men, which is at second-hand from reports: men's weakness and faults are best known from their enemies, their virtues and abilities from their friends, their customs and crimes from their servants, their conceits and opinions from their familiar friends, with whom they discourse most. General fame is light, and the opinions conceived by superiors or equals are deceitful; for to such, men are more masked. *Verior fama è domesticis emanat.*" Bacon, on the Advancement of Knowledge, book 2. Works, vol. i. p. 203, edit. 1803.

§ See Appendix, note K.

‖ Albert, 299. Guibert, 554. William, 775. Godfrey was only forty years old at the time of his death.

* Daimbert, bishop of Pisa, was legate of Pope Paschal the Second, the successor of Pope Urban the Second, who died fifteen days after the capture of Jerusalem, and therefore from some other cause than joy at that event. Albert of Aix charges Baldwin and Bohemond with having taken the bribes of Daimbert. The duke of Normandy had succeeded in making his friend Arnold patriarch, but, on the arrival of Daimbert, the Norman priest prudently resigned, and the Pisan prelate stepped into the vacant place. Archb. of Tyre, 771.

† The Archbishop of Tyre (p. 771) is ashamed of the rapacity of Daimbert.

kingly crown soon overcame his grief. He resigned Edessa to his relation, Baldwin du Bourg, and hastened to take possession of the throne. He repelled the attacks of the emirs of Damascus and Ems, ever active when the Christians left their fortifications; but so many were the perils of the little army in its march to Jerusalem, that his good chaplain with great honesty and simplicity confesses, he had rather at that time have been at Chartres than in the Holy Land. All the barons received the brother of Godfrey with acclamations: and the patriarch, not thinking it politic to display his mortification, pretended fear, and retired to the sanctuary of Mount Sion. Baldwin, satisfied with the acknowledgments of the soldiers, disregarded the sanction of the church. But after some show of his power and abilities, friends mediated an accommodation between him and the prelate: and, before all ranks of people, in the church of Bethlehem, the patriarch poured the oil of consecration on the head of Baldwin, and crowned him with the regal diadem.* But Tancred, the other opponent of the new king, was not so soon appeased. He had retired from Jerusalem before the coronation, and he would not repair thither on a royal summons to do homage for some territories which he had acquired from the Muselmans. He haughtily replied, that he knew no judge of Jerusalem. A second and third summons were unanswered; but in a short time afterwards, he proposed to confer with the king near a river between Jaffa and Azotus. The remembrance of animosities in Cilicia embittered subjects of present altercation, and the agreement of the princes to delay the conclusion of the conference, prevented open outrage. The people of Antioch entreated the young Italian to administer the affairs of their country during the confinement of his relation Bohemond. Peace without a compromise of character was in the power of Tancred, and he therefore delivered the contested places to the sovereign, upon the condition that, in the event of his return, he might enjoy them in feudal tenure.*

In the reign of Baldwin, the kingdom of Jerusalem acquired strength and extent. The Muselmans of Syria trembled, and concealed their hatred of the invaders. The Fatimites, however, continually menaced the infant state. Baldwin marched his army into Egypt. But the hand of nature arrested him in the career of his fortune. The intellectual firmness of the dying man was greater than that of his friends. He endeavoured to moderate their lamentations, by recalling to their minds the perils of war and famine which they had surmounted. The place of an individual such as himself could be readily supplied, and it was their duty to think only of preserving the Holy Land. One desire which dwelt upon his mind was that they would not let his body lie in Egypt, where it would become a subject of ridicule for the Muselmans. His weeping friends replied, that in the heat of the season they could scarcely touch, much less carry a corpse so great a distance; but the dying man gave them specific instructions for embalming his body, which would enable them with ease to remove it to Jerusalem. Then, recommending Baldwin du Bourg for his successor, he expired. All the soldiers mourned his death: but after the first violence of grief, the Franks assumed their ordinary appearance, lest the fatal circumstance should become known to and inspire the enemy with confidence. The army immediately left Egypt, and quickly reached the vicinity of Jerusalem. The time was the week before Easter: Baldwin du Bourg and his Edessenes were just arriving to celebrate the feast: they joined the melancholy train, and the body of the late king was taken to the sepulchre of Godfrey. The sudden loss overwhelmed the Latins with grief, and even the Saracens in Jerusalem sympathized with the common feeling. As a general in the army of the first Crusaders, and as the conqueror of Edessa, Baldwin was selfish, treacherous, and ambitious. But when he attained the height of power, he displayed com-

* Archb. of Tyre, 776, 780. Albert, 301. 307. Fulcher, 402, 406. "As for that religious scruple which Godfrey made to wear a crown of gold where Christ wore one of thorns, Baldwin easily dispensed therewith. And surely in these things the mind is all; a crown might be refused with pride, and worn with humility." Fuller, Hist. of the Holy War, book ii. ch. 7.

* Albert, 307—8

manding virtues: what he planned with ability, he generally executed with prudence; and as in the early period of his reign the number of the Christian residents in Palestine was small, and the Turks pressed him on every side, great honour must be given to a man who supported and enlarged a state which was placed on such weak foundations.*

On the very day of Baldwin's funeral, the prelates and barons met in council for the choice of a successor. The prince had died without children.† The lovers of hereditary succession urged the claims of Eustace, brother of the deceased king; but that prince was in Europe,‡ and the necessities of the country required a monarch without delay. Joscelyn de Courtenay, whose history occupies a large space in the annals of Edessa, urged the claims of Baldwin du Bourg, on the grounds of his valour and wisdom, and also his consanguinity to the late sovereigns. His opinion was espoused by the patriarch; no contradiction was offered by the other barons or prelates; Baldwin du Bourg was anointed king of Jerusalem, and repaid the services of Courtenay, by resigning to him the whole of the Edessene principality.*

Baldwin du Bourg reigned from the year 1118 to the year 1131. His portrait as a monarch may be comprised in the assertion that he imitated the piety of Godfrey, and the military conduct of Baldwin I. He pursued with constancy the politics of his predecessors, and largely added to the kingdom of Jerusalem.†

The fourth Latin king was Fulk, count of Anjou.‡ He was one of those numerous cavaliers whom restlessness as well as religion drove from Europe into Asia. In the year 1120 he travelled to the Holy Land with a hundred men at arms. He was then in the meridian of life:§ and though his residence in the Holy Land was short, yet he left a strong impression on the court of his virtues and accomplishments. The king of Jerusalem had no son,‖ and he wished to ally one of his daughters to a noble French family: he fixed his eyes on Fulk; the offer was a splendid temptation, and nine years posterior to his first expedition, the gallant warrior landed in Palestine as the acknowledged heir to the throne. Not long afterwards, the king was taken ill, and finding his death approaching, he threw aside the royal robes, quitted his palace, and repaired to the

* Fulcher, 423, 430. Gesta, 609, 614. Albert, 358, 377. Archb. of Tyre, 808, 816. It is difficult to conceive why Tasso censures Baldwin, and praises Bohemond. Their cases were the same. Both deserted the Crusades from selfish motives, and, for aught appears to the contrary, both were wise princes over Edessa and Antioch.

Ma vede in Baldovin cupido ingegno
Ch' all' umane grandezze intento aspira:
* * * * *
E fondar Boemondo al novo regno
Sun d'Antiochia alti principi mira;
E leggi imporre, ed introdur costume,
Ed arti, e culto di verace nume.
Gerusalemme Liber., c. i. 9.

† Whether Baldwin had one, two, or three wives, is disputed. Fulcher, 426. Guibert, 558. Albert, 373. Malmesbury, 468. But as it is certain that he left no children, and as the conduct of his wives had no effect on politics, their history is not important to us.

‡ Some of the lords of Palestine sent an offer of the crown to Eustace. He left France, but refused to continue his route, when he heard, in Italy, that the people had chosen Baldwin du Bourg. The brother of Godfrey generously and piously exclaimed—"God forbid that I should ever excite trouble in a country, where Jesus Christ offered up his life, in order to reconcile guilty man to heaven." L'Art de vérifier les Dates, vol. ii. p. 763.

* Albert, 379. Gesta, 614. Archb. of Tyre, 817.

† Ascalon was not taken till the reign of Almeric I. The conquest of that important city was the last and greatest accession of power to the kingdom of Jerusalem.

‡ The earls of Anjou had often made journeys to Palestine. One of them many years before the first crusade went to Jerusalem, and compelling two servants by an oath to do whatever he commanded, he was publicly dragged by them, in the sight of the Turks, to the holy sepulchre. The servants scourged his naked back, while the old sinner cried aloud. "Lord receive thy wretched Fulk, thy perfidious, thy runagate; regard my repentant soul, O Lord!" Malmsbury, p. 307.

§ The archbishop of Tyre is certainly wrong in making Fulk's age sixty when he married Melesinda. He was not even thirty-eight: he was born in 1092. See l'Art de vérifier les Dates, article Comtes d'Anjou.

‖ Baldwin was married to Morfia, daughter of an Armenian lord. She bore him four daughters: Melesinda; Alice, who married Bohemond, the second prince of Antioch; Hodierna, who became the wife of Raymond, count of Tripoli; and Joie, who died an abbess.

more holy dwelling of the patriarch. The high clergy and barons were summoned; in their presence he gave the sovereignty to his daughter Melesinda and her husband Fulk, and died in their embraces.*

Fulk was the sovereign of Jerusalem from the year 1131 till 1144. His conduct as king afforded little matter for praise or reproach. He left the state nearly as he found it. His panegyrist, the archbishop of Tyre, has dignified him with the different virtues of a hero and a saint, and then mixing a description of his mental with his personal qualities, he says, the king had red hair, but that, contrary to the usual case of such persons, he was kind, affable, and compassionate.

Baldwin, the third of that name, eldest son of the late king, was crowned, with Melesinda his mother, in the church of the holy sepulchre, by the patriarch of Jerusalem. At the time of his coronation he was only thirteen years old, but he soon cast off the restraint of maternal authority, and bore the sceptre alone. In his reign the principality of Edessa was torn from the Christians, and a new crusade was undertaken by the potentates and people of the west.

In the short reign of Godfrey, the Christians wrested Caiphas, and the towns on the lake of Genesareth, from the Muselmans. The emirs of Cesarea, Ascalon, and Acre, sent presents and tributes of money to the king; but his principal care was bestowed on fortifying Jaffa, and rendering it a convenient station for religious travellers. Important accessions of strength were made to the kingdom of Jerusalem in the reign of Baldwin the First. That monarch completed the subjugation of Azotus, a city which had been in alternate submission and rebellion in the reign of Godfrey. In the year 1103, the city of Acre resisted the Christian knights, but in the following spring seventy Genoese vessels, filled with pilgrims and soldiers, arrived in the Holy Land, and, associated with the national troops, had the glory of achieving the conquest. The merchant warriors had always commerce in view, and extorted from Baldwin a third of the plunder, a street, and an exchange in Acre, with various commercial privileges.* Beritus became a Christian barony, and by the conquest of Sarepta, the king could attack with equal ease its neighbours, Tyre and Sidon. In 1111, some pilgrims from the north of Europe† landed at Jaffa. Their work of piety completed, they accorded with Baldwin's wish for the performance of some act of veneration for the Christian cause, and they claimed only provisions in return for their services. The supreme court resolved that Sidon would be the most important of all acquisitions. But after having attacked the city by every instrument of violence, and with every stratagem of art, reverses in another part of his country compelled the king to make peace with the Sidonians, and the Europeans were dismissed. A very few years afterwards, Sivard, a Norwegian prince, landed at Ascalon with ten thousand fighting men. They were conducted to Jerusalem, and Baldwin, with his clergy and people, showed them those spots which were sacred in the eyes of Christians. When their zeal was at its height, the renewal of the siege of Sidon was resolved upon; the Norwegian fleet blockaded the city by sea, and the king, with Bertrand, count of Tripoli, assaulted it by land. Baldwin had called his allies to no trifling enterprise, for six weeks elapsed before the besieged Saracens yielded.‡

After having destroyed a fleet of Genoese and Pisans, the Venetian navy sailed to the Holy Land; and the doge Michael performed his pilgrimage to Jerusalem. The warlike Christians of Palestine thought that the occasion was favourable for strengthening their frontier. In a political view, Tyre and Ascalon were equally important; but the counsel of Heaven was invoked in the church of the sepulchre, and the lot fell upon Tyre. Religious feelings did not absorb worldly considerations; but the

* Archb. of Tyre, 846, 851.

* Archb. of Tyre, 791. Fulcher, 416. Bernardus, cap. 91.

† The archbishop of Tyre calls them Danes and Norwegians. Albert says they came from Jutland, Denmark, and Flanders.

‡ Albert, 346, 347, 364, 365. Archb. of Tyre, 804, 805. Hist. de Regibus Norvagicis, cap. xxxiii. edit. Kirchman.

doge demanded and obtained, in return for the use of his navy, the promise of a moiety (which was afterwards reduced to a third) of the city of Tyre in full sovereignty; a street, a church, and other advantages in Jerusalem and its dependencies. The winter was passed in preparations for war; and the patriarch and clergy pawned the ornaments of the churches in order to raise money for the soldiers. In the spring, the Venetian navy entered the port of Tyre, and formed their line of battle. The army of Jerusalem, commanded by Eustace, lord of Cesarea and Sidon,* the count of Tripoli, and the patriarch, attacked the triple walls and towers on the land's side. Tyre, though fallen from the grandeur of ancient days, was still one of the richest and most powerful cities on the Mediterranean shores. When the Christians besieged it, the caliphs of Egypt were its lords; but they showed the feebleness of their government by conceding a third part of it to the sultans of Damascus, whose situation was more convenient than theirs for the defence of the city. Tyre was crowded with a rich and luxurious population; but the soldiers of Syria were the strength of the place. If the Turks and Egyptians were sometimes divided in their exertions, their enemies were equally discontented; and the land forces of the Christians complained of all the labour of the siege. At the end of five months, the battering-rams had made dreadful breaches in the walls, and famine attenuated the numerous population. The doge landed his sailors; and they prepared to scale the ramparts. A generous emulation was provoked by this union, and the town was compelled to capitulate. The Franks and the Venetians shared the prize; and an archbishoprick, subordinate to the patriarchate of Jerusalem, was established.†

In its largest extent, the Latin kingdom of Palestine spread from the Mediterranean to the deserts of Arabia,* and from the river between Beritus and Biblos to the town of Darum.† The lands were parcelled out among the Crusaders agreeably to the general principles of feudal polity. Sometimes the conquered Muselmans were allowed to live as tributaries,‡ but, generally, the towns were exclusively occupied by the Crusaders. The subjects of Baldwin I. were few; but he invited to his capital all those Christian families, who, at various times of ecclesiastical persecution, had sheltered themselves in Arabia. For the encouragement of commerce, his immediate successor allowed all people, whether Christians or Muselmans, to trade with Jerusalem exempt from customary imposts.§

During all the interval between the first and second crusades, the Holy Land was seldom free from hostile inroads. The Latin conquests had spread consternation among the Muselmans, and the

* Baldwin II. was at that time the prisoner of Balak, a Turkish emir. This was his second captivity. A few years before, he and Joscelyn du Courtenay had been made captive by the Turks; but some Armenians entered the place of their confinement in the disguise of monks and pedlars, stabbed the garrison, and gave liberty to the king and count. But Baldwin was again taken prisoner. Joscelyn, however, defeated and killed Balak in a general engagement; and this victory accelerated the fall of Tyre, and the liberation of the king.

† Gesta, 620, 621. Archb. of Tyre, 829—841, 847. Fulcher, 431—440. Ord. Vit. 829. Bernard, c. 117—120.

* The people complained that there was no station of defence on the other side of the Dead Sea; and immediately Baldwin I. built the fortress of Karac, or Montreal, in the third Arabia. Archb. of Tyre, 812. In the reign of Fulk, a place called Karac was built in the second Arabia, near the ancient Raba, by a nobleman named Pagan. Archb. of Tyre, 884, 885. There were other towns in the Palestinian dominions called Karac; and this application of one name to various places has given rise to so much confusion.

† We might perhaps add the county of Tripoli to this slip of land. Tripoli was nominally dependent on Jerusalem: but in conduct it was often a free state. The principality of Antioch and the county of Edessa were the allies but not the tributaries of the Latin kingdom. In 1149, Baldwin III. re-edified Gaza, in order to check the incursions of the Egyptians from their station in Ascalon. In 1153, Ascalon was taken by the Christians, as we shall describe in a succeeding chapter. But long before that event Edessa had been recaptured by the Turks; and in a general political point of view, the loss and gain were nearly balanced.

‡ A new class of people became known in consequence of the intercourse between the Crusaders and the Muselmans. The Pullani or Poulains were the children of Syrian mothers and European fathers, or of Syrian fathers and European mothers. The former was generally the case; for European women were not very numerous in Palestine.

§ Fulcher, cap. 49, p. 430.

people of Damascus implored the aid and advice of the caliph of Bagdad. Tears and good wishes were the only return which the commander of the faithful could give. But the sultan of Egypt was alarmed for the safety of his dominions in Palestine. Within a month after the election of Godfrey, Al Aphdal (the former conqueror of Jerusalem) poured his Fatimites into the Holy Land, and they were joined by thousands of Arabians and Turks. Five thousand horsemen and fifteen thousand foot soldiers, constituted the Latin force; and in the exaggeration of vanity or fear, the number of the infidels has been equalled to that of the hosts of Kerboga at Antioch.* The Moslems waited the attack, and so sure were they of victory, that every man had a bottle of water suspended from his neck, wherewith he could refresh himself in pursuing the routed Latins. But all their wisdom was wasted in confidence. The soldiers of the king of Jerusalem uttered a short prayer, and rushed upon the enemy with all the fury which courage, inflamed by holy madness, could inspire. Godfrey, the duke of Normandy, and Tancred were the most distinguished in the attack. On the first onset the Egyptians fled. According to the vaunt of the Latin historians, scarcely a man fell on the side of the Christians, while thirty thousand of the foes were slain on the field of battle, and sixty thousand in the pursuit. The only resistance which the Franks experienced was made by a body of more than five thousand Ethiopians, who concealed themselves among the inequalities of the ground, fired their arrows, and then plunged into the ranks of their enemy with swords and with scourges of leather and iron balls. But their valour was unsupported, and the Latins scattered or destroyed them. The spoil of the Egyptian camp was immense; the whole was divided among the soldiers, except the sword and standard of the sultan, which were taken to Jerusalem, and hung over the altar of the holy sepulchre.†

In the second year of the reign of Baldwin the First, the Egyptians made a rapid march into Palestine, and the Franks heard that they were encamped at Ramula. Presuming on his prowess, and not waiting for all the military strength of the nation, the king headed some few hundred horsemen. The small phalanx was overwhelmed by the Egyptians; Stephen, earl of Chartres,* was taken prisoner, and murdered by his enemy; and the earl of Burgundy, and most of the Christians, were slain in the field. After surviving the perils of the battle, and escaping the danger of being burnt in some wood where he concealed himself, Baldwin took refuge in a castle near Ramula, which was soon menaced by the Saracens. When apparently nothing short of a miracle could avert his fate, he was saved by a noble action of gratitude. In a former moment of victory he had overtaken a Muselman woman in the pangs of labour. He gave her his cloak to wrap herself in, and his friends carried her water and fruit. When the child was born he sent the objects of his humane attention to their nearest relative, who was a Saracen of rank. The Turk, as full of gratitude as of joy, vowed that he would never forget the generosity of Baldwin. In the course of the night, the grateful Muselman approached the walls, and told the sentinels that he had matters of state to communicate to the king. They allowed him to pass, and to enter the royal chambers. He declared his name and character to the astonished monarch, and revealed his purpose of rescuing the friend of his wife and infant, Baldwin had little time for deliberation, and no expedients for choice; he was assured that the castle must fall, and he knew that the dignity of his station would be no shield against the sword of the Muselmans. He trusted therefore to the offer of the noble Saracen for safe conduct through the Moslem force. The Christians lost the castle, but the calamity was amply compensated by the escape of the king.†

* Enc: Letter in Martenne, Thes. Nov. vol. i. p. 281.

† Archb. of Tyre, book 9, ch. 10—13. Albert, book 6, ch. 47. Gesta, 29.

* The earl of Chartres, mentioned in the text, was the *hero* who ran away in the first Crusade, His wife was Adela, a daughter of king William I. of England, and this spirited lady vowed she would give her husband no rest till he recovered his fame in Palestine. He went thither, and died in the manner above related.

† On this occasion the Archbishop of Tyre is

Turks menaced the Latins of Syria. Those who were on the Orontes implored a union of the Christian princes. The union was made, the enemy were defeated; and by magnanimity, not retaliation, Bertrand was revenged on Tancred. But with that quick versatility which distinguished the politics of the states of Palestine, the count of Tripoli soon afterwards assisted the emperor Alexius in his never-ceasing wish of stamping the mark of feudal tenure on the principality of Antioch. But he died while the negotiations were pending, and his death rendered them abortive. His son Pontius, whose mother was Alice, daughter of Eudes I. duke of Burgundy, was his successor in the county of Tripoli, and the lordship of Tholouse in France was given to Alphonsus Jordan, son of the celebrated Raymond.*

Before the close of the year 1112, the Christians mourned the death of Tancred. His end was that of a warrior, for he died of a wound which he had received from an enemy. In his last moments, with more disinterestedness than delicacy, he called his wife, and Pontius of Tripoli, before him, and recommended their marriage. As he had no children to emulate his virtues and chivalry, he confided the government of Antioch to his kinsman, Roger, son of Richard, count of Capua, and seneschal of Apulia.†

Some years after these events, Pontius, count of Tripoli, turned his arms against the Muselmans; but if the entreaties of the countess for assistance had not prevailed with the king of Jerusalem, the friend of Tancred would have been conquered by Zenghi, sultan of Aleppo, who besieged him in the castle of Barin, or Montferrat. He was doomed, however, to perish by the swords of the Muselmans. The Syrians of Mount Libanus betrayed him into their hands, and he suffered a cruel death. Raymond his successor explored the recesses of Mount Libanus, dragged the treacherous Syrians to Antioch, and massacred them in the view and for the gratification of the people, who had long known and loved Pontius. Palestine again was in arms, for the sultan of Aleppo had attacked Raphania. The king of Jerusalem, and the count of Tripoli, joined their levies, but were defeated; Raymond was taken prisoner, and the king with difficulty saved himself in the neighbouring castle of Barin. All the Latins in Syria united for the defence of Fulk, and even the prince of Antioch quitted his city, though it was menaced by the Greeks. He arrived with the count of Edessa near the castle, but the politic Turk had been apprised of his approach, and had extorted from the exhausted monarch a treaty of peace, whereby the castle was to be delivered to Zenghi, and the safety of the king, the liberty of the count of Tripoli, and the restoration of Paneas, or Cesarea Philippi, were to be purchased for fifty thousand pieces of gold.*

By splendid offers of favour and treasure to the Armenian prince, Alexius endeavoured to gain the person of Bohemond; but the superior cunning of the Italian prevailed, and Danischmend thought that the alliance of the conquering Latins would be more powerful and useful than that of the inert and feeble Greeks. After two years captivity, Bohemond returned to Antioch, and found that his faithful Tancred had enlarged the estate by the addition of the two important cities of Laodicea and Apamea.† Foiled in his endeavours to procure the cession of Antioch, as the terms of the liberation of its prince, Alexius demanded at the point of the sword feudal submission from Bohemond. But the Italian answered, that the treaty of Constantinople was reciprocal in its obligations, and that one party who had neglected and despised its stipulations had no claim on the performance of them by the other. War was then waged between the Greeks and Latins: the imperial arms triumphed by land; but the Pisans, the friends of Bohemond, by their maritime victories, saved the infant state.‡ Foreign hostility

* Archb. of Tyre, 806, 807. L'Art de vérifier les Dates, ii. 296.

† Archb. of Tyre, 807.

* Archb. of Tyre, 852, 888. Ben. Latir, i. 550, 558. Paneas appears, more than once, to have belonged to the Christians several years previous to these events. At the time of the treaty it was in the hands of a rebellious emir; but the united Latins and Muselmans soon made him sue for mercy.

† Rad. Cad. p. 329, 330.

‡ The important services which the Pisans

often diverted the Christians from internal tumults, and the princes of Antioch and Edessa would have subjugated the city of Carra,* in Mesopotamia, if the question of lordship over it had not occupied their attention when the moment for victory was arrived. But the Turks of Aleppo and Mosul were on the spot before the dispute was closed, and in the battle which ensued, the Muselmans were completely victorious. The prince of Edessa, the archbishop, and Joscelyn de Courtenay were made prisoners, and Tancred and Bohemond with difficulty escaped to Antioch.† The disorder of the Christians in the east was fomented by discord between the king of Jerusalem and the patriarch. It was sacrilegiously thought by Baldwin the First, that the treasures of the church should support the soldiers as well as the monks and the poor. On one occasion, Daimbert was forced to yield; but, on a reiteration of the request, he openly charged the king with profanation; and Baldwin was not backward in his sarcasms against the personal licentiousness of Daimbert. The patriarch was driven from Jerusalem, and fled for redress and revenge to the court of Bohemond. But the prince of Antioch was unable, without European succour, to defend himself or others, and Daimbert resolved to fly to the protection of the Vatican. The government was once more confided to the skilful charge of Tancred, and the potentate and churchman sailed from Syria, and soon landed on the Italian shores.‡ The news of the object of Bohemond's arrival quickly spread, and he was invited to the court of Philip, king of France. The fame of his valour had passed from the east to the west, and his presence inspired the adventurous Frenchmen with a generous emulation. The king was proud of marrying one of his daughters to the prince of Antioch, and of betrothing another to the gallant Tancred.* Spain, Italy, and France sent forth their choicest knights, and the favourite of the French monarch sailed from Apulia at the head of five thousand horsemen and forty thousand foot.† He was accompanied by Daimbert, who, after a long sojourn at Rome for Baldwin's accusation of him before the Holy See, departed with the orders of the Pope for the recovery of the patriarchate.‡ Bohemond landed at Durazzo, and immediately waged war with Alexius; but the injuries of the Latin cause were terminated by treaty, not by arms. Famine had commenced its work of havoc among the Italians, and the officers were suspected of having received the gold of Alexius. Bohemond preserved his dignity, and would not as an inferior meet the emperor. He insisted, and it was granted, that he might be accompanied into the presence chamber by two knights, and that he should not be compelled to bend the knee or incline the head. He did not, however, require that the emperor should rise on his approaching the throne. The hypocrites vowed perpetual peace, and the Byzan-

rendered to the Italians in Antioch, are acknowledged in a treaty between Tancred and the republic, A.D. 1108. By that instrument Tancred conceded to his friends a street in Laodicea, and another in Antioch. Muratori, Antiquitates Italiæ Med. Ævi Dissert. xxx. vol. i. p. 906, and p. 97, ante, note.

* Called Haran, in the book of Genesis, and celebrated also as the place near which Crassus was defeated by the Parthians, about half a century before Christ. Dio, lib. iv. c. xxviii. Carra was situated about fourteen miles from Edessa, on the other side of the Euphrates.

† Archb. of Tyre, 792, 3.

‡ There is a ridiculous story in the Alexiad, that Bohemond caused a report to be spread that he was dead, and that he escaped the Greeks in a coffin. Du Cange very rationally refutes this story, on the arguments of the total silence of the Latin writers, the want of proof that Antioch was surrounded, and that Bohemond could escape by no other means. Alexiad, p. 270, notes, 94.

* The wife of Bohemond was Constantia widow of Hugh, count of Champagne. Cecilia, her younger sister, became the wife of Tancred. L'Art de vérifier les Dates, i. 571, and p. 171, ante.

† Fulcher (p. 420) says that no women were allowed to go on this crusade, lest they should be expensive and troublesome. "Feminam autem nullam tunc secum transfretare permisit, ne exercitantibus impedimento et oneri essent." Anna (p. 292) mentions some soldiers in Bohemond's army from Thule; which place, in this instance, many writers suppose meant England. But it is singular, that directly Bohemond's return to Italy was known in Europe, the prudent Henry the First, who was at that time employed in the subjugation of Normandy, forbad his soldiers from entering into the service of the Italian. Ord. Vit. p. 816.

‡ Archb. of Tyre, 799. Daimbert died, however, in Sicily.

Turks menaced the Latins of Syria. Those who were on the Orontes implored a union of the Christian princes. The union was made, the enemy were defeated; and by magnanimity, not retaliation, Bertrand was revenged on Tancred. But with that quick versatility which distinguished the politics of the states of Palestine, the count of Tripoli soon afterwards assisted the emperor Alexius in his never-ceasing wish of stamping the mark of feudal tenure on the principality of Antioch. But he died while the negotiations were pending, and his death rendered them abortive. His son Pontius, whose mother was Alice, daughter of Eudes I. duke of Burgundy, was his successor in the county of Tripoli, and the lordship of Tholouse in France was given to Alphonsus Jordan, son of the celebrated Raymond.*

Before the close of the year 1112, the Christians mourned the death of Tancred. His end was that of a warrior, for he died of a wound which he had received from an enemy. In his last moments, with more disinterestedness than delicacy, he called his wife, and Pontius of Tripoli, before him, and recommended their marriage. As he had no children to emulate his virtues and chivalry, he confided the government of Antioch to his kinsman, Roger, son of Richard, count of Capua, and seneschal of Apulia.†

Some years after these events, Pontius, count of Tripoli, turned his arms against the Muselmans; but if the entreaties of the countess for assistance had not prevailed with the king of Jerusalem, the friend of Tancred would have been conquered by Zenghi, sultan of Aleppo, who besieged him in the castle of Barin, or Montferrat. He was doomed, however, to perish by the swords of the Muselmans. The Syrians of Mount Libanus betrayed him into their hands, and he suffered a cruel death. Raymond his successor explored the recesses of Mount Libanus, dragged the treacherous Syrians to Antioch, and massacred them in the view and for the gratification of the people, who had long known and loved Pontius. Palestine again was in arms, for the sultan of Aleppo had attacked Raphania. The king of Jerusalem, and the count of Tripoli, joined their levies, but were defeated; Raymond was taken prisoner, and the king with difficulty saved himself in the neighbouring castle of Barin. All the Latins in Syria united for the defence of Fulk, and even the prince of Antioch quitted his city, though it was menaced by the Greeks. He arrived with the count of Edessa near the castle, but the politic Turk had been apprised of his approach, and had extorted from the exhausted monarch a treaty of peace, whereby the castle was to be delivered to Zenghi, and the safety of the king, the liberty of the count of Tripoli, and the restoration of Paneas, or Cesarea Philippi, were to be purchased for fifty thousand pieces of gold.*

By splendid offers of favour and treasure to the Armenian prince, Alexius endeavoured to gain the person of Bohemond; but the superior cunning of the Italian prevailed, and Danischmend thought that the alliance of the conquering Latins would be more powerful and useful than that of the inert and feeble Greeks. After two years captivity, Bohemond returned to Antioch, and found that his faithful Tancred had enlarged the estate by the addition of the two important cities of Laodicea and Apamea.† Foiled in his endeavours to procure the cession of Antioch, as the terms of the liberation of its prince, Alexius demanded at the point of the sword feudal submission from Bohemond. But the Italian answered, that the treaty of Constantinople was reciprocal in its obligations, and that one party who had neglected and despised its stipulations had no claim on the performance of them by the other. War was then waged between the Greeks and Latins: the imperial arms triumphed by land; but the Pisans, the friends of Bohemond, by their maritime victories, saved the infant state.‡ Foreign hostility

* Archb. of Tyre, 806, 807. L'Art de vérifier les Dates, ii. 296.

† Archb. of Tyre, 807.

* Archb. of Tyre, 852, 888. Ben. Latir, i. 550, 558. Paneas appears, more than once, to have belonged to the Christians several years previous to these events. At the time of the treaty it was in the hands of a rebellious emir; but the united Latins and Muselmans soon made him sue for mercy.

† Rad. Cad. p. 329, 330.

‡ The important services which the Pisans

often diverted the Christians from internal tumults, and the princes of Antioch and Edessa would have subjugated the city of Carra,* in Mesopotamia, if the question of lordship over it had not occupied their attention when the moment for victory was arrived. But the Turks of Aleppo and Mosul were on the spot before the dispute was closed, and in the battle which ensued, the Muselmans were completely victorious. The prince of Edessa, the archbishop, and Joscelyn de Courtenay were made prisoners, and Tancred and Bohemond with difficulty escaped to Antioch.† The disorder of the Christians in the east was fomented by discord between the king of Jerusalem and the patriarch. It was sacrilegiously thought by Baldwin the First, that the treasures of the church should support the soldiers as well as the monks and the poor. On one occasion, Daimbert was forced to yield; but, on a reiteration of the request, he openly charged the king with profanation; and Baldwin was not backward in his sarcasms against the personal licentiousness of Daimbert. The patriarch was driven from Jerusalem, and fled for redress and revenge to the court of Bohemond. But the prince of Antioch was unable, without European succour, to defend himself or others, and Daimbert resolved to fly to the protection of the Vatican. The government was once more confided to the skilful charge of Tancred, and the potentate and churchman sailed from Syria, and soon landed on the Italian shores.‡ The news of the object of Bohemond's arrival quickly spread, and he was invited to the court of Philip, king of France. The fame of his valour had passed from the east to the west, and his presence inspired the adventurous Frenchmen with a generous emulation. The king was proud of marrying one of his daughters to the prince of Antioch, and of betrothing another to the gallant Tancred.* Spain, Italy, and France sent forth their choicest knights, and the favourite of the French monarch sailed from Apulia at the head of five thousand horsemen and forty thousand foot.† He was accompanied by Daimbert, who, after a long sojourn at Rome for Baldwin's accusation of him before the Holy See, departed with the orders of the Pope for the recovery of the patriarchate.‡ Bohemond landed at Durazzo, and immediately waged war with Alexius; but the injuries of the Latin cause were terminated by treaty, not by arms. Famine had commenced its work of havoc among the Italians, and the officers were suspected of having received the gold of Alexius. Bohemond preserved his dignity, and would not as an inferior meet the emperor. He insisted, and it was granted, that he might be accompanied into the presence chamber by two knights, and that he should not be compelled to bend the knee or incline the head. He did not, however, require that the emperor should rise on his approaching the throne. The hypocrites vowed perpetual peace, and the Byzan-

rendered to the Italians in Antioch, are acknowledged in a treaty between Tancred and the republic, A.D. 1108. By that instrument Tancred conceded to his friends a street in Laodicea, and another in Antioch. Muratori, Antiquitates Italiæ Med. Ævi Dissert. xxx. vol. i. p. 906, and p. 97, ante, note.

* Called Haran, in the book of Genesis, and celebrated also as the place near which Crassus was defeated by the Parthians, about half a century before Christ. Dio, lib. iv. c. xxviii. Carra was situated about fourteen miles from Edessa, on the other side of the Euphrates.

† Archb. of Tyre, 792, 3.

‡ There is a ridiculous story in the Alexiad, that Bohemond caused a report to be spread that he was dead, and that he escaped the Greeks in a coffin. Du Cange very rationally refutes this story, on the arguments of the total silence of the Latin writers, the want of proof that Antioch was surrounded, and that Bohemond could escape by no other means. Alexiad, p. 270, notes, 94.

* The wife of Bohemond was Constantia widow of Hugh, count of Champagne. Cecilia, her younger sister, became the wife of Tancred. L'Art de vérifier les Dates, i. 571, and p. 171, ante.

† Fulcher (p. 420) says that no women were allowed to go on this crusade, lest they should be expensive and troublesome. "Feminam autem nullam tunc secum transfretare permisit, ne exercitantibus impedimento et oneri essent." Anna (p. 292) mentions some soldiers in Bohemond's army from Thule; which place, in this instance, many writers suppose meant England. But it is singular, that directly Bohemond's return to Italy was known in Europe, the prudent Henry the First, who was at that time employed in the subjugation of Normandy, forbad his soldiers from entering into the service of the Italian. Ord. Vit. p. 816.

‡ Archb. of Tyre, 799. Daimbert died, however, in Sicily.

The conduct of the Christians, in their hostilities with the Muselmans, present to us some curious particulars of the state of the age. Before every battle the aid of Heaven was invoked; and the priests were not remiss in blessing and animating the warriors. The cause of war and religion was dear to all classes of people: the aged gave their prayers, the weak their tears, while military fierceness strung the nerves of the young and adventurous. On occasions of more than ordinary importance, when the clock of Jerusalem sounded the note of war, fasts were ordained of such superstitious rigour, that children at the breast were not allowed the usual nourishment; and the herds of cattle were driven from their pasturage. It was pretended that a piece of the true cross was found in the Holy City; the great fraud of the fourth century was revived; and the precious relic was in every engagement the chief incitement to valour. The thunders of Heaven were often supposed to have aided the soldiers of God; and the people, more credulous than delicate, carried into the field some milk which they believed had belonged to the Blessed Virgin.* The Franks never forgot the lesson which the Moslems had taught them of ripping open bodies for gold.† Religious wars have always been more sanguinary than contests which have sprung from ambition or national animosities. In the Crusades, intolerance and implacability went hand in hand; and the fancied authority of Heaven for the infliction of punishment, sharpened and embittered the military character, which was already wild and savagely furious. In the wars which scourged and desolated Europe, the spirit of chivalry mitigated the ferocity of the soldier; his heart was accessible to the claims of the injured, the wretched, and the prostrate. But when he fixed the sign of the cross on his coat of mail, and spurred his charger in the plains of Palestine, sanctified bitterness mingled with his valour, and all the sympathies and charities of the gentle knight disappeared. It behoved the champion of the sepulchre to wade through seas of blood. The cries of women, and the helplessness of children, could not mollify the rigour of fanaticism. The humanities of chivalry were denied to the Muselmans; for chivalry was an institution of Christianity (of Christianity in a corrrupted and degraded state), and founded as much for the purpose of the destruction of infidels, as for the security and happiness of the faithful. Both vindictive antipathy and evangelical charity were the duties of knighthood; and he who spared a Muselman was as faithless a soldier of Christ, as he who plunged his sword into the heart of a fallen and suppliant Christian.

The mercantile cities of Italy, and the people of the north of Europe, co-operated with the remnants of the first Crusaders in forming a kingdom. France, Italy, and Germany, poured forth their hosts as soon as the western world had been blessed with the news that the sepulchre was in the hands of the faithful. The new champions of the cross encountered, but sunk under the horrors of Asia Minor.* The sword of the enemy, and those destructive agents of death, famine and disease, swept from the world more than four hundred thousand fanatical spirits.†

poetical. He says the king appeared among his subjects quasi stella matutina in medio refulgens nebulæ, p. 788.

* The expression of Robert de Monte is,—"Episcopus Bethleemides ferens in pyxide lac sanctæ Mariæ Virginis." This singular relic is a great subject of ridicule in Erasmus' Dialogue concerning Pilgrimages, "O matrem filii simillimam! ille nobis tantum sanguinis sui reliquit in terris; hæc tantum lactis, quantum vix credibile est esse posse uni mulieri uniparæ, estiamsi nihil bibisset infans," &c. &c. Thus too Swift, "Lord Peter swore he had a cow at home, which gave as much milk at a meal as would fill three thousand churches; and what was yet more extraordinary, would never turn sour." A Tale of a Tub, section 4.

† See p. 21, ante. Speaking of the sack of Azotus by the soldiers of Baldwin in 1101, Malmsbury says, "the scene was enough to excite laughter in a by-stander, to see a Turk disgorging besants when struck on the neck by the fist of a Christian."

* A detailed history of the preparations and march of these supplementary Crusaders would be only a repetition (changing names) of many of the circumstances of the first Crusade. I shall limit myself, therefore, chiefly to results.

† The aggregate mentioned in the text is

One* beneficial consequence resulting to the Christian cause from this profusion of blood was the capture of Tortosa, which like Azotus had fluctuated between submission and rebellion. The count of Tholouse had been the guide of the Crusaders through Asia Minor, and rather than censure their own improvidence, they attributed many of their misfortunes to the treachery of their leader. But opinions changed, or indignation abated; and under his command, and for his use, the French Princes subjugated Tortosa: and if valour had met with its reward the broad banners of the cross would have surmounted the ramparts of Tripoli. The hope of conquering that city never deserted Raymond, and his Provençals built a castle near it, which was called the castle of the Pilgrims, from the holy character of those who erected it. In France his territories were more extensive than those of the Capetian monarchs: in rank and power he far exceeded Godfrey of Bouillon. But his ambition and treachery gradually lost him the favour of the chiefs; old age came upon him, and he died unlamented on the sea-coast of Palestine, in the year 1105.* He bequeathed his oriental lands to his nephew, William Jordan, count of Cardagne. Four years afterwards, Bertrand, eldest son of Raymond, conducted some Provençals and a fleet of Genoese and Pisans to the siege of Tripoli. The king of Jerusalem and all the Christian princes in Palestine co-operated with them, and the Egyptians resigned their post. Baldwin erected the city and its territory into a county for the family of the deceased Raymond. Bertrand was declared count to the prejudice of his cousin. Tortosa and some other places were given to the count of Cardagne; but he died soon after his investiture; and, according to agreement, Bertrand was his successor.†

Tancred found a foe in the lord of Tripoli. The regent of Antioch then seized Tortosa, and gave it to William, a natural son of his crusading companion, Robert duke of Normandy. A cloud of

comprised of these materials: Conrad, constable of the emperor Henry IV. led - 2,000
The counts of Vermandois, Blois, Burgundy, and Vendome, the count of Parma, and the bishop of Milan - - - 260,000
Counts of Nevers and Auxerre - 15,000
Dukes of Aquitain, Bavaria, and marchioness of Austria - 160,000
437,000

Most of these people perished in Asia Minor. The counts of Blois and Vermandois, mentioned in the second division, were the celebrated Stephen and Hugh of the first Crusade. The earl of Vermandois died of his wounds at Tarsus in Cilicia. The earl of Blois reached Jerusalem, but was taken prisoner (A. D. 1102) by the Egyptians, and murdered. See p. 95, ante. Ordericus Vitalis, 789—793. Albert, 316—325. Archb. of Tyre, 782—787. See too, L'Art de vérifier les Dates, ii. 561, 705, 295, 615, 358. The duke of Aquitain, whom we have mentioned, had need of expiation of his offences against religion and the clergy. He had married a woman whose husband was living; and the bishop was resolved to excommunicate him. He began to read the form; but the nobleman drew his sword, and threatened to kill him. The prelate, pretending alarm, desired a moment's reflection, and made use of it to finish the ceremony of excommunication. "Strike now," he exclaimed, "I am ready." "No," replied the prince, "I do not love you well enough to dismiss your soul to Paradise; but I will send your body into exile."

* The remnants of the supplemental Crusade were as useful in supporting, as the remnants of the first Crusaders had been in forming, the Latin kingdom in Palestine. After the capture of Jerusalem, most of the Christians who survived returned to Europe. Tancred was the only chief who remained with Godfrey; and the effective force of himself and the king did not exceed two thousand foot soldiers, and three hundred horsemen.

* Archb. of Tyre, 791, 795. In the earl of Blois' second Crusade, Raymond had been the guide of some of the Crusaders; and their misfortunes were attributed to his supposed alliance with the Turks. He had been frequently treacherous to Godfrey. The king with difficulty prevented him from establishing an Imperium in Imperio in Jerusalem. Raymond encouraged the town of Ascalon to hold out against Godfrey when the Christians defeated the Egyptians in the neighbourhood. He also supported the town of Azotus in rebellion; and his last effort of malice, was to persuade many of the barons and soldiers to return to Europe. Mus. Ital. I. 229. Albert, 289. Malmsbury, 475. Villehardouin, 136. In the rugged verse of Robert of Gloucester, and the polished strains of Tasso, the subject of the present note is designated by the same title of virtue. In the one he is called "the earl of Seyne Gyle the gode Reymond;" and in the other, "il buon Raimondo." But in every view this epithet was misapplied: for the count of Provence had not those virtues which endear a man to his equals, or those qualities which conciliate the populace.

† Archb. of Tyre, 795, 801. Bernardus, cap. 96.

Turks menaced the Latins of Syria. Those who were on the Orontes implored a union of the Christian princes. The union was made, the enemy were defeated; and by magnanimity, not retaliation, Bertrand was revenged on Tancred. But with that quick versatility which distinguished the politics of the states of Palestine, the count of Tripoli soon afterwards assisted the emperor Alexius in his never-ceasing wish of stamping the mark of feudal tenure on the principality of Antioch. But he died while the negotiations were pending, and his death rendered them abortive. His son Pontius, whose mother was Alice, daughter of Eudes I. duke of Burgundy, was his successor in the county of Tripoli, and the lordship of Tholouse in France was given to Alphonsus Jordan, son of the celebrated Raymond.*

Before the close of the year 1112, the Christians mourned the death of Tancred. His end was that of a warrior, for he died of a wound which he had received from an enemy. In his last moments, with more disinterestedness than delicacy, he called his wife, and Pontius of Tripoli, before him, and recommended their marriage. As he had no children to emulate his virtues and chivalry, he confided the government of Antioch to his kinsman, Roger, son of Richard, count of Capua, and seneschal of Apulia.†

Some years after these events, Pontius, count of Tripoli, turned his arms against the Muselmans; but if the entreaties of the countess for assistance had not prevailed with the king of Jerusalem, the friend of Tancred would have been conquered by Zenghi, sultan of Aleppo, who besieged him in the castle of Barin, or Montferrat. He was doomed, however, to perish by the swords of the Muselmans. The Syrians of Mount Libanus betrayed him into their hands, and he suffered a cruel death. Raymond his successor explored the recesses of Mount Libanus, dragged the treacherous Syrians to Antioch, and massacred them in the view and for the gratification of the people, who had long known and loved Pontius. Palestine again was in arms, for the sultan of Aleppo had attacked Raphania. The king of Jerusalem, and the count of Tripoli, joined their levies, but were defeated; Raymond was taken prisoner, and the king with difficulty saved himself in the neighbouring castle of Barin. All the Latins in Syria united for the defence of Fulk, and even the prince of Antioch quitted his city, though it was menaced by the Greeks. He arrived with the count of Edessa near the castle, but the politic Turk had been apprised of his approach, and had extorted from the exhausted monarch a treaty of peace, whereby the castle was to be delivered to Zenghi, and the safety of the king, the liberty of the count of Tripoli, and the restoration of Paneas, or Cesarea Philippi, were to be purchased for fifty thousand pieces of gold.*

By splendid offers of favour and treasure to the Armenian prince, Alexius endeavoured to gain the person of Bohemond; but the superior cunning of the Italian prevailed, and Danischmend thought that the alliance of the conquering Latins would be more powerful and useful than that of the inert and feeble Greeks. After two years captivity, Bohemond returned to Antioch, and found that his faithful Tancred had enlarged the estate by the addition of the two important cities of Laodicea and Apamea.† Foiled in his endeavours to procure the cession of Antioch, as the terms of the liberation of its prince, Alexius demanded at the point of the sword feudal submission from Bohemond. But the Italian answered, that the treaty of Constantinople was reciprocal in its obligations, and that one party who had neglected and despised its stipulations had no claim on the performance of them by the other. War was then waged between the Greeks and Latins: the imperial arms triumphed by land; but the Pisans, the friends of Bohemond, by their maritime victories, saved the infant state.‡ Foreign hostility

* Archb. of Tyre, 806, 807. L'Art de vérifier les Dates, ii. 296.

† Archb. of Tyre, 807.

* Archb. of Tyre, 852, 888. Ben. Latir, i. 550, 558. Paneas appears, more than once, to have belonged to the Christians several years previous to these events. At the time of the treaty it was in the hands of a rebellious emir; but the united Latins and Muselmans soon made him sue for mercy.

† Rad. Cad. p. 329, 330.

‡ The important services which the Pisans

often diverted the Christians from internal tumults, and the princes of Antioch and Edessa would have subjugated the city of Carra,* in Mesopotamia, if the question of lordship over it had not occupied their attention when the moment for victory was arrived. But the Turks of Aleppo and Mosul were on the spot before the dispute was closed, and in the battle which ensued, the Muselmans were completely victorious. The prince of Edessa, the archbishop, and Joscelyn de Courtenay were made prisoners, and Tancred and Bohemond with difficulty escaped to Antioch.† The disorder of the Christians in the east was fomented by discord between the king of Jerusalem and the patriarch. It was sacrilegiously thought by Baldwin the First, that the treasures of the church should support the soldiers as well as the monks and the poor. On one occasion, Daimbert was forced to yield; but, on a reiteration of the request, he openly charged the king with profanation; and Baldwin was not backward in his sarcasms against the personal licentiousness of Daimbert. The patriarch was driven from Jerusalem, and fled for redress and revenge to the court of Bohemond. But the prince of Antioch was unable, without European succour, to defend himself or others, and Daimbert resolved to fly to the protection of the Vatican. The government was once more confided to the skilful charge of Tancred, and the potentate and churchman sailed from Syria, and soon landed on the Italian shores.‡ The news of the object of Bohemond's arrival quickly spread, and he was invited to the court of Philip, king of France. The fame of his valour had passed from the east to the west, and his presence inspired the adventurous Frenchmen with a generous emulation. The king was proud of marrying one of his daughters to the prince of Antioch, and of betrothing another to the gallant Tancred.* Spain, Italy, and France sent forth their choicest knights, and the favourite of the French monarch sailed from Apulia at the head of five thousand horsemen and forty thousand foot.† He was accompanied by Daimbert, who, after a long sojourn at Rome for Baldwin's accusation of him before the Holy See, departed with the orders of the Pope for the recovery of the patriarchate.‡ Bohemond landed at Durazzo, and immediately waged war with Alexius; but the injuries of the Latin cause were terminated by treaty, not by arms. Famine had commenced its work of havoc among the Italians, and the officers were suspected of having received the gold of Alexius. Bohemond preserved his dignity, and would not as an inferior meet the emperor. He insisted, and it was granted, that he might be accompanied into the presence chamber by two knights, and that he should not be compelled to bend the knee or incline the head. He did not, however, require that the emperor should rise on his approaching the throne. The hypocrites vowed perpetual peace, and the Byzan-

rendered to the Italians in Antioch, are acknowledged in a treaty between Tancred and the republic, A.D. 1108. By that instrument Tancred conceded to his friends a street in Laodicea, and another in Antioch. Muratori, Antiquitates Italiæ Med. Ævi Dissert. xxx. vol. i. p. 906, and p. 97, ante, note.

* Called Haran, in the book of Genesis, and celebrated also as the place near which Crassus was defeated by the Parthians, about half a century before Christ. Dio, lib. iv. c. xxviii. Carra was situated about fourteen miles from Edessa, on the other side of the Euphrates.

† Archb. of Tyre, 792, 3.

‡ There is a ridiculous story in the Alexiad, that Bohemond caused a report to be spread that he was dead, and that he escaped the Greeks in a coffin. Du Cange very rationally refutes this story, on the arguments of the total silence of the Latin writers, the want of proof that Antioch was surrounded, and that Bohemond could escape by no other means. Alexiad, p. 270, notes, 94.

* The wife of Bohemond was Constantia widow of Hugh, count of Champagne. Cecilia, her younger sister, became the wife of Tancred. L'Art de vérifier les Dates, i. 571, and p. 171, ante.

† Fulcher (p. 420) says that no women were allowed to go on this crusade, lest they should be expensive and troublesome. "Feminam autem nullam tunc secum transfretare permisit, ne exercitantibus impedimento et oneri essent." Anna (p. 292) mentions some soldiers in Bohemond's army from Thule; which place, in this instance, many writers suppose meant England. But it is singular, that directly Bohemond's return to Italy was known in Europe, the prudent Henry the First, who was at that time employed in the subjugation of Normandy, forbad his soldiers from entering into the service of the Italian. Ord. Vit. p. 816.

‡ Archb. of Tyre, 799. Daimbert died, however, in Sicily.

tine swore on holy relics that he would ever protect the European pilgrims by sea and land. The largest part of Bohemond's army then took the road for Jerusalem, and the remainder, with the Italian prince himself, returned to Apulia.*

After the death of Tancred, the state was in the hands of his kinsman, Roger, to whom he had bequeathed it. In the year 1119, the regent perished by the swords of the Damascene Saracens; and Baldwin II. annexed Antioch to Jerusalem. But Bohemond, the son of Bohemond and Constantia, arriving in Palestine about the year 1126, claimed his inheritance, was acknowledged lawful prince of Antioch, under the title of Bohemond the Second, and sealed his friendship for the king by marrying his daughter Alice.† He lived only five years in the enjoyment of his principality, and at his death his widow aspired to the throne, and not the mere regency of the state. Baldwin repressed the ambition of his daughter; but it appeared again in the reign of his successor, Fulk, and the king of Jerusalem was compelled to march to Antioch. On his road he scattered the army of her friend Pontius, count of Tripoli, and with the aid of the knights of St. John and the Temple, restored peace to Antioch. Fulk gave the principality in charge to the lord of Margat. But dreading the re-appearance of the ambition of Alice, he resolved that the child of Bohemond should have a protector, and as there was no unmarried prince in Palestine remarkably eminent for the greatness of his fortune and family, he offered the hand of Constantia, the heiress of Antioch, to Raymond of Poitiers, youngest son of William VII. duke of Aquitain. The friend of Fulk was at the court of Henry the First of England when the ambassadors arrived. So noble a prospect seldom presented itself to the eyes of a young cavalier. He accepted the other with transport: but as he knew that he had evil to dread from the rivalry of Roger, duke of Apulia, he travelled through Italy on foot, and embarked for Antioch as a simple pilgrim. The patriarch of tha city had espoused the side of Alice; but he deserted her when the new lord pledged to him an oath of obedience, and the faithless churchman celebrated the marriage in the cathedral of Antioch.*

In the year 1137, the emperor John Comnenus pursued without opposition his road to Antioch, and drew from Raymond an acknowledgment of the dependance of his principality upon Constantinople. The Greeks, the count of Edessa and Raymond, laid siege to Cesarea; but they failed, in consequence of the indolence† and indifference of the Latin princes. The emperor travelled from Cilicia to Antioch, in order to punish the cowards, and entered the city in triumph, with the reins of his horse held by the offenders. Lord of the town, he aspired to the absolute possession of the citadel, but Raymond fomented a disturbance, and the emperor was glad to quit the place, and to retreat to Constantinople. In 1142 he returned into Syria, at the pressing solicitation of the Franks, and drove back a stream of Turkish hostility. He demanded the complete sovereignty over Antioch. The prince sent to him the patriarch and lords, who declared, that even if Raymond and his wife were to resign their authority, the people would elect a new master. The emperor revenged himself by wasting the country, and retired to Cilicia for the winter. He died before he could renew his barbarities.‡

Joscelyn de Courtenay was a companion of the earl of Chartres in his second crusade; and, surviving the general misfortunes, he found safety and a principality in Edessa. The marriage

* Fulcher, 419, 420. Archb. of Tyre, 792, 798. Albert, 341, 354. De Guignes, ii. 29, Malmsbury, 472. Alexiad, 270, 329. Bohemond died the next year (A. D. 1109) while preparing to go to Antioch.

† Fulcher, 888. Ord. Vit. 825.

* Archb. of Tyre, 852. Indeed this Constantia was but a child for age; but "they never want years to marry who have a kingdom for their portion." Fuller, Hist. of the Holy War, book ii. ch. xx.

† According to the Arabic writers, Zenghi instilled the suspicion into the minds of the Franks, that if the emperor could take a single fortress, he would not be satisfied till he had subjugated all Palestine. Zenghi harassed the rear guard of the retreating army, and then went into Tripoli, and rased the castle of Arca. Ben. Latir, i. 551.

‡ Archb. of Tyre, 866. 869, 870. Cinnamus, 6. 9.

of his mother's sister with Baldwin's father made him and Baldwin du Bourg cousins,* and his relation gave him in sovereignty such part, as Samosat, of the Edessene country as laid on this side of the Euphrates.† After five years captivity, the consequence, as we have mentioned,‡ of the Turkish victory at Carra, Baldwin and Joscelyn were ransomed. Tancred had in the meanwhile administered the affairs of the Courtenay dominions; but was charged with needless delays in resigning his office, and Joscelyn resolved to chastise him. But the prince of Edessa did not scruple to call in Turkish auxiliaries, yet he could not subdue the regent of Antioch, and friends mediated a reconciliation.

The territories of Joscelyn were better cultivated, and more productive, than those of Baldwin du Bourg, because they were not so much exposed to Turkish inroads: the year 1113 was a period of scarcity on the other side of the Euphrates, and Joscelyn was accused not only of remissness in assisting his friend and cousin, but of a wish to arrogate additional power. At the request of the count of Edessa, Courtenay repaired to his palace; his benefactor reminded him of the duty of gratitude; had him put to the torture, and extorted a resignation of his territories. Joscelyn then repaired to Jerusalem, and expressed to the king his purpose of returning to Europe; but the monarch was glad of the service of a celebrated general, and secured his allegiance by giving him the lordship of the Tiberiad.* On the accession of Baldwin du Bourg, friendship was restored between the cousins, and Courtenay became sole lord of Edessa. He was inferior to none of the brave warriors of his age in repressing the Turks, who were frequently quelled, but never entirely subdued. The mode of his death corresponded with the tenor of his life. He had been wounded in the siege of a castle near Aleppo, and soon after his return to Edessa, he heard that the sultan of Iconium was again in arms. The son of Joscelyn declined to cope with the Moslems, and the ancient hero was carried in a horse litter to the field. The report of his presence terrified the enemy into a retreat, and he expired while giving thanks to God that his very name, the shadow of his old achievements, had produced an effect as powerful as his former valour.†

The inability of Egypt and Syria to drive back the European invaders, made the Moslems tremble for the existence of their empire and religion, and both fear and policy anxiously looked for the appearance of one of those master spirits who so often in the east have collected the elements of war, and created the mightiest revolutions. Some years before the Crusades, the Seljukian prince, Malek Shah, bestowed upon a brave and faithful officer the city of Aleppo, and other valuable gifts.‡ On the death of Malek, and the consequent dissolution of the great Tartarian monarchy, Ac-sancar rebelled against the family of his benefactor, and was distinguished as one of his most powerful opponents. His death was premature. His son, Zenghi, was educated in the field, and the annals of the Latins in Palestine abound with confessions of his martial prowess.§ Mosul was an appendage to the throne of the Seljuks, and it was the universal cry of the Muselmans that Zenghi was the only

* The Courtenay family was of pure French extraction: that is, it came from the Isle of France. A French gentleman, named Athon, about the year 1000, fortified the town of Courtenay. His descendants took their surname from that town. The crussding Courtenay was grandson of Athon, and nephew of Milo de Courtenay, the ancestor of the English branch of the family: his mother was Isabel or Elizabeth, daughter of Guy de Montlheri. Ligusge d'Outremer, p. 230. Bouchet, Hist. Généal. de la Maison de Courtenay, p. 8. Melesinda, the other daughter of Guy, married Hugh, the first earl of Rethel, father of Baldwin du Bourg. This Baldwin and the grandson of Athon were, therefore, cousins. L'Art de vérifier les Dates, ii. 631. Pharamond, the founder of the French monarchy, was the common patriarch of all the kings of France, of the earls of Boulogne, and of the house of Courtenay. The armorial bearings of the kings of Jerusalem, and of the viscounts Courtenay, are therefore the same, *viz.* three torteaux, gules, in a field, or. Collins's Peerage, vol. vi. p. 214, new ed.

† Bouchet, p. 8. Cleaveland, Hist. of the Courtenay family, p. 5.

‡ P. 97, ante.

* Archb. of Tyre, 808.

† Archb. of Tyre, 853.

‡ De Guignes, vol. ii. p. 148.

§ Under the name of Sanguin, a corruption of his real title.

man who was capable of discharging the functions of emir, and of repelling the aggressors of the west. He was accordingly invested with titles and command, and by a skilful combination of valour and political skill he justified the distinction. The feuds between the count of Edessa and the younger Bohemond, prince of Antioch, were favourable to his grand design of clearing Palestine of Christians. Joscelyn permitted his troops to pass the Euphrates. In the last year of the life of Joscelyn de Courtenay, the power of Zenghi was at a sufficient height to enable him to attempt the destruction of the Edessene principality. He watched the occasion of the departure of the prince into the territories of Iconium, and pressed forwards to Edessa. As we have already seen, the son of Joscelyn did not inherit his father's military virtues: he abandoned himself to pleasure in the town of Turbessel, and tarnished his princely dignity by the dissipation of amusement and the allurements of passion. Though the time was critical, polical rancour held the Antiochians in a cold and disgraceful neutrality. The kingdom of Palestine, indeed, furnished some squadrons, but they were too few, or too tardy, to be of avail. Zenghi surrounded Edessa, his moveable wooden towers overhung the walls, and his soldiers incessantly worked both the battering-ram and the mine. For seventeen days the hope of succour from the Latins, the expectation of legions of angels headed by the tutelar saint, and the disgrace of falling into the hands of the infidels, sustained the courage of the besieged. But on the eighteenth day the city's walls presented many dreadful breaches, and the Saracens entered. Their heralds proclaimed through the ranks that pillage and conquest went hand in hand. Among the Christian population, there appeared the edifying spectacle of the bishops blessing and encouraging the people, and of the inferior clergy fighting with the troops. But all was lost. The Muselmans prevailed in every quarter, and the slaughter of men, women and children, which they made, was as direful as the resistance of the Christian soldiers had been firm. At the altars, in the houses as well as in the streets, the Saracens plunged their swords into the hearts of the young and the old, the clergy and the laity. Sometimes the cruelty of the conquerors took a new character, and appeared in acts of insult. The priests were condemned to slavery, and an Armenian bishop, stripped of his robes, was dragged through the public streets, and beaten with rods. The churches were plundered, and it seemed difficult to determine whether from love and pillage, or of profanation.*

In a war with a Muselman prince, Zenghi was assassinated. His sons, Saphadin and Noureddin, divided the empire; the former became emir of Mosul, the latter lord of the more powerful state of Aleppo. The death of the old warrior inspired his foes with the hope of recovering the valuable province of Edessa. While Noureddin was fixing his power in Aleppo, the Christians in Edessa and Joscelyn in Turbessel held communications. The count collected some troops, passed the Euphrates, and presented himself in the middle of the night at the foot of the city's wall; when his friends admitted the band, and the Muselman garrison took refuge in the citadel. While the fate of Edessa was in suspense, Noureddin heard the news, and flew to turn the scale. The Latin soldiers, surrounded by the foe, had only the forlorn hope of fighting their way. The citizens accompanied them, and after their departure from the city, the garrison quitted the fortress, and the soldiers of Noureddin their camp. The miserable fugitives were attacked in front and rear, and but few of them escaped the Moslem sabre. Edessa was recovered by the Turks,† and Noureddin immediately raised the fortifications and demolished the churches.

* De Guignes, livre 13. Archb. of Tyre, 891—3. By the command of the caliph of Bagdad, thanksgivings to Heaven were offered in all the mosques of Islamism for this great victory; and Zenghi was prayed for on Friday.

† De Guignes, livre 13. Archb. of Tyre, 893—899. Ben. Latir, I. 555.

CHAPTER VIII.

CONSTITUTION AND LAWS OF JERUSALEM, AND OF THE CHIVALRIC INSTITUTIONS IN PALESTINE.

Principles of the constitution of Jerusalem.—The government monarchical.—Coronation forms.—Officers of State.—Church establishment.—Territorial division, and military strength of the kingdom.—Tenure of land.—Relation of a lord and his man.—State of women.—Debtor and creditor.—Courts of justice.—Trial by battle.—Villains and slaves.—Religious and military orders.—The knights of St. John.—The Templars.—The knights of St. Lazarus.

On the civil history of the kingdom of Jerusalem the mind reposes itself with pleasure, after the contemplation of those scenes of misery and horror which the first holy war exhibited. Of themselves too, the constitution and laws of the great European state in Palestine form a rich and important subject, inasmuch as they reflect life and manners,* and are a part of those feudal institutions which have been the basis of the public reason and civil jurisprudence of the modern kingdoms of Europe.†

Godfrey was an elected king; and we have seen that his two immediate successors owed their crowns rather to personal merit and intrigue than to principles of hereditary succession. But after the death of Baldwin du Bourg, the foundation of the constitution appears to have been settled; and the Latin state of Jerusalem may be regarded as a feudal hereditary monarchy. There were two chief lords of the kingdom, namely, the patriarch and the king, whose cognizance extended over spiritual and temporal affairs.‡ The king's becoming qualities were justice, sagacity, courage, generosity, eloquence, and courtesy; all knit together in the virtues of truth and honour. His subjects were to obey and love him, rather on account of his actions than of his rank.* The salic institutions influenced the laws of succession; and accordingly males were preferred to females, though the consanguinity of the latter might be nearer than that of the former.† The monarch was ordinarily crowned by the patriarchs at Jerusalem; but at Tyre, when the Holy City was in the hands of the infidels. In the church of the sepulchre the king swore to protect religion, to do justice, and to govern the people agreeably to the laws and customs of the realm. The patriarch exclaimed, "and I will assist you;" and placed the crown on his head. He then thrice called on the prelates, knights, and other liegemen and burgesses, to declare whether the person whom they were assembled to enthrone was the true heir of the kingdom. On the giving of answers in the affirmative, the hymn 'Te Deum laudamus' was sung; and, having entered the choir with his barons, who bore the crown and the apple, the seneschal with the sceptre, and the constable with the standard, the king was clad in the royal robe. The patriarch poured many blessings on his head; the king seated himself on the throne, and mass began. In the course of the service, he was anointed. Two prelates then presented him with a ring, denoting royalty; a sword, representing justice, for the defence of himself and the holy church; a crown, the sign of dignity; a sceptre, the mark of power; and an apple, the emblem of the land of the kingdom itself; repeating at the same time, say the Assises, the usual form of words. The prelates and barons cried aloud, 'long live the king;' and the king kissed the churchmen. The sacrament of the holy communion was administered, and the patriarch blessed the royal standard. The monarch offered his crown on the altar where our Lord had been offered by Si-

* Mens et animus et consilium et sententia civitatis posita est in legibus. Cicero pro Cluentio.

† The code of laws of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem has not been much studied by legal writers. Even Montesquieu rarely refers to it. But it is difficult to conceive that a knowledge, complete in all its parts, of the feudal law can be gained, without the study of a system which certainly must be considered as one of its branches.

‡ Assises, ch. 315, 287. For an account of the assizes of Jurusalem, see note K.

* Assises, ch. 282. "Nus n'est tenus a prodhome par sa dignité, mais par ses ouvres." There is "nothing barbarous" in this doctrine. It makes subjects loyal and kings virtuous.

† Assises, ch. 282, 286, 308.

meon; and afterwards went to the temple of Solomon, which was the house of the knights Templars, and took refreshment; and the burgesses of Jerusalem paid homage, and attended upon the king.*

The great officers of the crown were the seneschal, the constable, the marshal, and the chamberlain. The general duties of the first of these ministers were the superintendence of the fortresses, and the regulation of the estates and the household of the crown. On the day of the coronation he held the sceptre, while the standard was borne at different times by the constable and the marshal. The constable had the management of all matters respecting judicial combats. The marshal did the duties of the constable in his absence. On the morning of the coronation, the chamberlain laid the robes of state in the chamber of the king. During the ceremony, he carried the sword; and at the repast, he presented water to the king when commanded by the seneschal. The presenting of a person, also, who wished to pay homage was another part of his duty; and the robes of the vassal were his reward.†

The patriarch of Jerusalem had five suffragan archbishops, namely, those of Tyre, Cesarea, Nazareth, Beiksereth, and Philadelphia: the last of these prelacies, in the time of Almeric, was given up, and Karac, or Montreal, was established in its stead. The patriarch had also three suffragan bishops, Lidda, Bethlehem, and Bron; one prior, and six suffragan abbots, five of whom bore the mitre, cross, and ring, the remaining abbot carried the cross only, and the prior had the mitre and the ring. There were also three suffragan abbesses. The archbishops of Tyre, Cesarea, and Nazareth, had suffragan bishops; but Philadelphia and Beiksereth had none, because those places were but for a short time in the hands of the Latins.‡ The archbishop of Montreal had a suffragan bishop, called the bishop of Mount Sinai. The bishop of Lidda had five suffragan bishops, and the bishop of Acre two.§

There were four chief baronies of the kingdom, and many other lordships which had the privilege of administering justice, coining money, and, in short, most of those powers and prerogatives which the great and independent nobility of Europe possessed. The first chief barony comprised the counties of Jaffa and Ascalon, and the lordships of Ramula, Mirabel, and Ibelin. The second was the principality of Galilee. The third included the lordships of Sajetta, Cesarea, and Nazareth: and the fourth was the county of Tripoli.* The court of each of these four eminent baronies had its constable and marshal, and the barons could not, like other freemen, be judged by the supreme court of the kingdom; but each baron, for any offence touching his life, his estate, or honour, was to be judged by his peers, namely, the other three barons.† This last privilege gave them such power and liberty, that if it had not been for the obligation of military service, the aristocracy would have overshadowed the monarchy. But the dignity of these four great barons is shown by the number of knights which they were obliged to furnish, compared with the contributions of other nobles. Each of the three first barons was compelled to aid the king with five hundred knights. The service of Tripoli was performed by two hundred knights; that of the other baronies by one hundred and eighty-three knights.‡ Six hundred and sixty-six

* Assises, ch. 287, 288.

† Assises, 289—292. The four great official honours were hereditary, as in most feudal countries of Europe ‡ Assises, chap. 320, 316.

§ Assises, 316, 323. Like the clergy of the west, the clergy of Palestine were supported by tithes. The reader must be astonished at what Fuller pleasantly calls, "the numerosity of Palestine bishops." The same quaint writer observes, "Bishops were too thickly set for all to grow great; and Palestine fed too many cathedral churches to have them generally fat." "Surely many of these bishops," to use bishop Langham's expression, "had high racks, but poor mangers." Fuller's Holy War, book ii. ch. ii.

* Some people contended that Karac or Montreal was the fourth barony; but the editor of the Assises denies it. Edessa and Antioch are never mentioned as being, in any manner, dependent on the kingdom.

† Ibelin refutes the idea that the constable and marshal of the kingdom could judge these four great lords. Assises, c. 324.

‡ The compiler of the Assises appears to labour under some want of information respecting the services of most of the baronies. He gives a list of the baronies which had the privilege of

knights were the total number furnished by the cities of Jerusalem, Naplousa, Acre, and Tyre.* The churches and the commercial communities of every part of the kingdom provided five thousand and seventy-five serjeants or serving men.†

The king could grant both proper and improper fiefs out of the kingdom of Jerusalem, with or without service, to clergy and to laity. The tenants of the crown might sell their fiefs, and create new tenants for themselves, subject to feudal services. But subinfeudation was checked by the law forbidding the dismemberment of a fief which owed only the service of one knight: and if any alienation were made without the consent of the lord, and against the customs of the country, then the land became forfeited to the lord. Fiefs could be given to heirs special as well as heirs general; to heirs male or female. In every instance of equality of claim in respect of heirship, the heir male was preferred to the female. In case of total failure of issue, the land reverted to the lord.‡ Fiefs were of rents, of pensions of money, as well as of land. In cases where a man bought or acquired land from a lord, he could not swear fealty without a reservation of the claims and services to his first lord: and, consequently, when a man was tenant of several lords, he was obliged, in the event of war between those lords, to aid the first lord against the others. No unmarried woman, no son of a knight under the age of fifteen years, could purchase a fee, because women were incapable of performing feudal services, and minors were not competent witnesses in courts of justice.*

When a man did homage to the chief lord of the kingdom of Jerusalem, or any other lord, he knelt before him, and put his hands between the lord's knees, and said, "Sire, I become your liegeman for such a fief, and I promise to guard and defend you against all people." The lord answered, "I receive you, and your lands I will defend as my own:" and he then kissed his tenant on the mouth, as a pledge of faith. This homage could not be made to a lord who was not a member of the kingdom of Jerusalem, without the man reserving the allegiance which he owed to his former lord; but this exception was implied, and not expressed, when the second lord was a baron of Jerusalem, because all the barons and their tenants were liegemen of the king, according to the principles of the constitution, and were obliged to take to him the oath of allegiance;† and consequently the arriére vassals were bound to the lord.‡ If in the day of battle the man

high courts of justice, but he mentions only a few of them when he comes to speak of the state of military service.

* Sanutus (p. 173) mentions these four cities as forming the property of the king.

† Assises, ch. 324, 331. The military serjeants fought both on horseback and on foot, under some chief, and they were distinguished from the soldier or stipendiary warrior, because they served in consequence of feudal tenure. Bearing in mind the fact, that, according to the custom of the age, each knight must have had at least three men at arms, the military strength of the country was nominally about twelve thousand men. But, according to Sanutus, it only consisted of five hundred and eighteen knights, and four thousand seven hundred and seventy-five serjeants. The authority of Sanutus cannot be put in competition with that of the Assises. It is probable, however, that he speaks of some actual muster when the kingdom was reduced by perpetual wars. In the battle of Tiberias there were twelve hundred cavaliers, and twenty thousand men on foot, armed with the long and cross bow. On that occasion there was a sort of levy *en masse* in the country. The military friars and the red-cross knights were also included in the review.

‡ In the Assises, fees in rents, &c. are called fié en besans, or fief de sodoier: the last title on account of pecuniary remuneration for military services. The possessors of these fiefs were called soldarii, to distinguish them from the milites.

* Assises, c. 145, 147, 155, 152, 153, 183, 185, 192, 195, 222, 198. Plebeians could not purchase fiefs, because such people were incapable of performing military services. This regulation was common in all countries subject to the feudal law. The first instance of a departure from it was in the year 1289, when king Phillip granted to the viscount of Turenne the privilege of rendering the *ignobiles* capable of holding fiefs. Thaumassiere's note on ch. 198 of the Assises.

† The difference between homage to the sovereign and homage to the baron, that is, between liege homage and simple homage, seems to have been, that the former obliged the man to personal service in war, and the latter might be paid by deputy.

‡ This fact accords with the genuine and early principles of feudalism. But it is certain, that during the existence of the kingdom of Jerusalem a different practice prevailed through Europe, and the *arriére* vassals held only of the immediate lord, and owed no homage or

gave his horse and arms to his dismounted lord; if he became his hostage, and sold his fief for the ransom of his lord; then the lord was bound to the reciprocal duty of assisting and redeeming his man. Both the lord and his man were obliged to be each other's securities, as far as the value of the tenants fief, and the lord was compelled to compensate his man for any injury which he might have sustained in consequence of having been bound for him. If the ransom of the lord were so great that the tenant could not collect a sufficient sum of money, they were obliged to tax their fiefs one besant, or one piece of gold per cent. As a last resource, in case of there being in the lordship any woman who had no presumptive heir, but whose fief would revert to the lord, then her husband was obliged to sell the property, in order to complete the ransom; and the lord, at his return, was bound to give to the husband and wife an equivalent during their lives.*

In case of an altercation between the chief lord of the kingdom and a baron, the men of the baron were to advise the latter to have the cause decided by the supreme court; and threaten to make war upon him if he did not. If the chief lord promised him personal safety, he went to court with his men, who supported and counselled him on the hearing of his cause. But if the lord persisted in not having his cause adjudged by the supreme court, then the men might leave him, and go on horseback, and armed, to the chief lord, or by such other service as they owed him.† If a vassal had been imprisoned without the sentence of the court, the tenants should demand his person from the lord, and request that he might be tried by his peers. If the lord did not deliver him, or give such a reason for his detention as might be satisfactory to the court, then the court might go to the prison, and deliver him by force or otherwise, so that the lord himself was not hurt, for against him they could not carry arms. If the lord persisted in keeping him in prison, then the chief lord should interfere, and do justice. If the lord dispossessed a tenant without the judgment of the court, or did a wrong of any description, the men of the court were to demand that the cause should be legally decided; and if the lord refused such demand, then the noble principles of natural equity declared, that the men of the court were not obliged to do him service, until he had done justice.* The life and property of a tenant were, after sentence of the court, at the mercy of the lord, if the tenant failed in his duty, of protecting and redeeming his master, or if he violated the person of his lord's daughter, or of his sister while she lived unmarried in his house. If the tenant attainted his lord in court of breach of the oath of fealty, the court would decide, that the tenant should, for the remainder of his life, hold his fee free from service.† At the summons of the lord, the tenant, armed, and on horseback, should attend him, or should go without him, both in and beyond the kingdom, for the term of a year, on the occasions either of the marriage of the lord,‡ or the lord's daughter; or to defend the honour of the lord, or for the general good of the kingdom. The man was obliged to attend the court of his lord, to assist him

oath to the lord paramount. The lord of Joinville personally respected St. Louis, yet refused to take an oath to him, on account of the dependency of the lordship of Joinville on the county of Champagne.

* Assises, ch. 273.

† Assises, ch. 205—209. The circumstance mentioned in the text is another proof of the personal connexion between the sovereign and the arriére vassal, and of the monarchical nature of the government. Thus in chapter 222, it is said, "Se un home a plusiors seigneurs il peut sans mesprendre de sa foy aider son premier seigneur, pourceque il est devenu home des atres sauve sa loiauté, et aussi peut il aider à chascun des autres, sauf le premier, et sauf ceaus à qui il a fait homage avant que à celuyaque il vodra aider." There is no provision in the assises for the case of a lord paramount refusing to do justice. By the ordonnances of St. Louis an arriére vassal was not obliged to aid his immediate lord if the lord paramount offered to do justice; but if the lord paramount refused to do justice, then the arriére vassal was compelled to aid his immediate lord: and we know that the subjects of the English kings in France constantly aided their immediate lords in the national wars between England and France.

* Assises, ch. 211, 214, 219, 253.

† Assises, ch. 217.

‡ Lord Coke mentions the liability of tenants by knight's service, "to go with the king's daughter beyond sea to be married." "There is a voyage royall of peace and amity, as well as a voyage royall of war." Co. Litt. lib. ii. c. iii. s. 95, 69. b.

with opinions and to be counsel for any body, according to the lord's appointment, if he were not previously the adversaries' counsel; and should make such inquests into private wrongs and events, as the lord should direct. Thus the duties of warriors and judges were the duties of the men of the lord. Every man should be summoned to court by people of his own rank.* Default of service was punished by the loss of the fee for life. But cavaliers above the age of sixty, or evidently incapable of battle, were exempt: the lord took their arms and horse instead.† In cases of wrong doing, the lord and court of the wrong doer should decide, and where the wrong doer was the man of a lord that did not hold a court, then the king was the judge.‡

If a man were vassal to another by gift, he could resign to his lord possession of the fief, and that action absolved him from his feudal duties; but were he in possession of a fief by inheritance, the consent of the lord to the resignation was required. But it does not appear that in any case he could rid himself of his duty of allegiance to his sovereign.§

As on the one hand the rights of women were preserved, and on the other the kingdom was in need of a military force, so the law required that every heiress should marry, and that her husband should perform the feudal duties.‖ If she did not marry, or show some satisfactory reason for refusal, the lord might enjoy her property as that of a tenant who neglected his duty. A damsel forfeited her inheritance if she married without the consent of the lord; but if he did not provide her with a husband, she might in open court¶ require him to present to her three men, for her selection of one; and if the lord did not comply with the requisition, her subsequent choice in marriage was uncontrollable by the will of the lord. The widow's dowry was a moiety of her husband's estate for life, and also a moiety of his chattels; but if those chattels were not sufficient to pay his debts, the widow and the heir were obliged to contribute to the necessity in equal moieties.*

If a debtor were not a knight, he might be imprisoned till the debt was paid, unless he swore that all his property consisted of his garment, and the curtains to his bed; and in that case the creditor might keep him as a slave. Knights could not be put in prison, or sold to slavery; but their goods belonged to their creditors, and, contrary to the original principles of feudal law, their lands also were the property of the creditors. If the lands of a person not a knight were insufficient for the payment of his debts, and if no gage were given for the payment of the remainder within a year and a day, the lord was obliged, at the request of the creditor, to imprison the debtor.†

Reason and justice attempted to soften the military spirit of the age, and to pre-

* Assises, ch. 230. When the tenant went out of the kingdom on his lord's affairs, the lord furnished him with necessaries.

† Assises, ch. 233, 241.

‡ Assises, ch. 259.

§ Assises, ch. 272.

‖ Sanutus (p. 174) is very unwilling to allow that women should succeed to fiefs in Palestine. He adds, "deberent etiam in terra hostibus circumdata cuncta esse virilia et virtuosa: cum vero femina dominatur, tota curia quasi effeminata efficitur."

¶ The age when the young lady might make this modest demand was twelve. That too was the age (as fifteen was that of males) when she might require from her guardian the uncontrolled management of her estate. Assises, ch. 167, 170, 190. The mother was guardian of the person and estate of the infant, and, if there was no mother, then the next heir supplied her place, ch. 188. "Le pere ou la mere doit avoir le baillage de l'escheete de ses enfans, et que nul autre que pere ou mere ne doit avoir ne tenir baillage de fié se le fié ne li peut eschier se il mesavient de l'enfant merme d'aage à qui le fié est escheu, et parquoi l'ont requiert le baillage; et le plus droit heir doit avoir le bailliage de celui fié devant tous les autres heirs se il le requiert." If the heiress was more than sixty years of age, she was not obliged to marry: for as the Assises gravely say, "il est bien sure chose et verable que mariage ne fut establi pour multuplier le siecle sans pechié, et le est bien chose au tens que Court orés, et qui a correu lonc tems a, que feme qui a passé soixante ans se a perdu sa porure selone nature, si seroit bien contre Dieu et contre raison de contreindre la de prendre baron contre son gré."

* Assises, ch. 180, 187, 247, 248, 271, 242, 244. A moiety of the inheritance was also the widow's dower, by the Coutumes de Beauvosis, p. 85. This was the general custom in France; but, in Guienne and Angouleme, and other countries which had commercial and various connexions with England, the dowry was a third.

† Assises, ch. 118, 119, 199.

Turks menaced the Latins of Syria. Those who were on the Orontes implored a union of the Christian princes. The union was made, the enemy were defeated; and by magnanimity, not retaliation, Bertrand was revenged on Tancred. But with that quick versatility which distinguished the politics of the states of Palestine, the count of Tripoli soon afterwards assisted the emperor Alexius in his never-ceasing wish of stamping the mark of feudal tenure on the principality of Antioch. But he died while the negotiations were pending, and his death rendered them abortive. His son Pontius, whose mother was Alice, daughter of Eudes I. duke of Burgundy, was his successor in the county of Tripoli, and the lordship of Tholouse in France was given to Alphonsus Jordan, son of the celebrated Raymond.*

Before the close of the year 1112, the Christians mourned the death of Tancred. His end was that of a warrior, for he died of a wound which he had received from an enemy. In his last moments, with more disinterestedness than delicacy, he called his wife, and Pontius of Tripoli, before him, and recommended their marriage. As he had no children to emulate his virtues and chivalry, he confided the government of Antioch to his kinsman, Roger, son of Richard, count of Capua, and seneschal of Apulia.†

Some years after these events, Pontius, count of Tripoli, turned his arms against the Muselmans; but if the entreaties of the countess for assistance had not prevailed with the king of Jerusalem, the friend of Tancred would have been conquered by Zenghi, sultan of Aleppo, who besieged him in the castle of Barin, or Montferrat. He was doomed, however, to perish by the swords of the Muselmans. The Syrians of Mount Libanus betrayed him into their hands, and he suffered a cruel death. Raymond his successor explored the recesses of Mount Libanus, dragged the treacherous Syrians to Antioch, and massacred them in the view and for the gratification of the people, who had long known and loved Pontius. Palestine again was in arms, for the sultan of Aleppo had attacked Raphania. The king of Jerusalem, and the count of Tripoli, joined their levies, but were defeated; Raymond was taken prisoner, and the king with difficulty saved himself in the neighbouring castle of Barin. All the Latins in Syria united for the defence of Fulk, and even the prince of Antioch quitted his city, though it was menaced by the Greeks. He arrived with the count of Edessa near the castle, but the politic Turk had been apprised of his approach, and had extorted from the exhausted monarch a treaty of peace, whereby the castle was to be delivered to Zenghi, and the safety of the king, the liberty of the count of Tripoli, and the restoration of Paneas, or Cesarea Philippi, were to be purchased for fifty thousand pieces of gold.*

By splendid offers of favour and treasure to the Armenian prince, Alexius endeavoured to gain the person of Bohemond; but the superior cunning of the Italian prevailed, and Danischmend thought that the alliance of the conquering Latins would be more powerful and useful than that of the inert and feeble Greeks. After two years captivity, Bohemond returned to Antioch, and found that his faithful Tancred had enlarged the estate by the addition of the two important cities of Laodicea and Apamea.† Foiled in his endeavours to procure the cession of Antioch, as the terms of the liberation of its prince, Alexius demanded at the point of the sword feudal submission from Bohemond. But the Italian answered, that the treaty of Constantinople was reciprocal in its obligations, and that one party who had neglected and despised its stipulations had no claim on the performance of them by the other. War was then waged between the Greeks and Latins: the imperial arms triumphed by land; but the Pisans, the friends of Bohemond, by their maritime victories, saved the infant state.‡ Foreign hostility

* Archb. of Tyre, 806, 807. L'Art de vérifier les Dates, ii. 296.

† Archb. of Tyre, 807.

* Archb. of Tyre, 852, 888. Ben. Latir, i. 550, 558. Paneas appears, more than once, to have belonged to the Christians several years previous to these events. At the time of the treaty it was in the hands of a rebellious emir; but the united Latins and Muselmans soon made him sue for mercy.

† Rad. Cad. p. 329, 330.

‡ The important services which the Pisans

often diverted the Christians from internal tumults, and the princes of Antioch and Edessa would have subjugated the city of Carra,* in Mesopotamia, if the question of lordship over it had not occupied their attention when the moment for victory was arrived. But the Turks of Aleppo and Mosul were on the spot before the dispute was closed, and in the battle which ensued, the Muselmans were completely victorious. The prince of Edessa, the archbishop, and Joscelyn de Courtenay were made prisoners, and Tancred and Bohemond with difficulty escaped to Antioch.† The disorder of the Christians in the east was fomented by discord between the king of Jerusalem and the patriarch. It was sacrilegiously thought by Baldwin the First, that the treasures of the church should support the soldiers as well as the monks and the poor. On one occasion, Daimbert was forced to yield; but, on a reiteration of the request, he openly charged the king with profanation; and Baldwin was not backward in his sarcasms against the personal licentiousness of Daimbert. The patriarch was driven from Jerusalem, and fled for redress and revenge to the court of Bohemond. But the prince of Antioch was unable, without European succour, to defend himself or others, and Daimbert resolved to fly to the protection of the Vatican. The government was once more confided to the skilful charge of Tancred, and the potentate and churchman sailed from Syria, and soon landed on the Italian shores.‡ The news of the object of Bohemond's arrival quickly spread, and he was invited to the court of Philip, king of France. The fame of his valour had passed from the east to the west, and his presence inspired the adventurous Frenchmen with a generous emulation. The king was proud of marrying one of his daughters to the prince of Antioch, and of betrothing another to the gallant Tancred.* Spain, Italy, and France sent forth their choicest knights, and the favourite of the French monarch sailed from Apulia at the head of five thousand horsemen and forty thousand foot.† He was accompanied by Daimbert, who, after a long sojourn at Rome for Baldwin's accusation of him before the Holy See, departed with the orders of the Pope for the recovery of the patriarchate.‡ Bohemond landed at Durazzo, and immediately waged war with Alexius; but the injuries of the Latin cause were terminated by treaty, not by arms. Famine had commenced its work of havoc among the Italians, and the officers were suspected of having received the gold of Alexius. Bohemond preserved his dignity, and would not as an inferior meet the emperor. He insisted, and it was granted, that he might be accompanied into the presence chamber by two knights, and that he should not be compelled to bend the knee or incline the head. He did not, however, require that the emperor should rise on his approaching the throne. The hypocrites vowed perpetual peace, and the Byzan-

rendered to the Italians in Antioch, are acknowledged in a treaty between Tancred and the republic, A.D. 1108. By that instrument Tancred conceded to his friends a street in Laodicea, and another in Antioch. Muratori, Antiquitates Italiæ Med. Ævi Dissert. xxx. vol. i. p. 906, and p. 97, ante, note.

* Called Haran, in the book of Genesis, and celebrated also as the place near which Crassus was defeated by the Parthians, about half a century before Christ. Dio, lib. iv. c. xxviii. Carra was situated about fourteen miles from Edessa, on the other side of the Euphrates.

† Archb. of Tyre, 792, 3.

‡ There is a ridiculous story in the Alexiad, that Bohemond caused a report to be spread that he was dead, and that he escaped the Greeks in a coffin. Du Cange very rationally refutes this story, on the arguments of the total silence of the Latin writers, the want of proof that Antioch was surrounded, and that Bohemond could escape by no other means. Alexiad, p. 270, notes, 94.

* The wife of Bohemond was Constantia widow of Hugh, count of Champagne. Cecilia, her younger sister, became the wife of Tancred. L'Art de vérifier les Dates, i. 571, and p. 171, ante.

† Fulcher (p. 420) says that no women were allowed to go on this crusade, lest they should be expensive and troublesome. "Feminam autem nullam tunc secum transfretare permisit, ne exercitantibus impedimento et oneri essent." Anna (p. 292) mentions some soldiers in Bohemond's army from Thule; which place, in this instance, many writers suppose meant England. But it is singular, that directly Bohemond's return to Italy was known in Europe, the prudent Henry the First, who was at that time employed in the subjugation of Normandy, forbad his soldiers from entering into the service of the Italian. Ord. Vit. p. 816.

‡ Archb. of Tyre, 799. Daimbert died, however, in Sicily.

couraged by the clergy; while the proud nobility were equally zealous in their wish of maintaining their rights by the sword. Among military nations the trial by battle prevailed over the ordeal, and other appeals to heavenly interposition; and the Franks carried the warlike custom into Palestine. The causes which were to be tried by battle, and which could not be decided by the court without it, were murder, treason, apparent homicide, quarrels respecting a mark of silver or more, improper language from a feudatory to his lord, and of all other things which concerned life, members, and right honour.* In civil cases, if the defendant could not invalidate the testimony of the plaintiff's witnesses, he might openly declare him to be false and perjured, and that he would prove him a dead man or recreant in some hour of the day.† He then exclaimed, "behold my gage," and delivered it on his knees to the lord: the other party did the like; and the lord, on his mutual charge of falsehood,‡ appointed a day for the battle.* In cases of the pledge being offered by a knight to a common person, the battle was to be fought on foot; because the appellant ought to follow the defendant in his law; and it would be unjust for a cavalier to fight on horseback a man who was on foot.† The council for the parties then informed the lord, that the several witnesses would be ready at the appointed day to prove the rights of their respective friends.

The appeal of murder, that is to say, the call to battle, must have been answered when made by husband or wife, persons connected in consanguinity and affinity, godsons and daughters, godfathers and mothers, the countrymen of the murdered person if he were a new pilgrim, all his fellow passengers in the ship, all those who had been in his company within a year and a day before the murder, all his feudatories, and if he were a member of any society, then all his brethren. But the lord could not receive a gage of battle from a father against a son, or a son against a father; or from one brother against another brother.‡ Murder was defined to be the slaying of a man by night, or in his sleep; whether within or without a town; and he who wished to make an appeal of murder, should carry the dead body before the house of his lord, or to the place appointed for such purposes; and the lord, at the request of his counsel, should send three men, one as his representative, and two in the name of the court, to view the body. If they brought in a verdict that the dead man had been murdered, the lord, at the request of him who had appealed, confined the suspected murderer and his accessaries. If the accused per-

* Assises, ch. 81: "les choses de que il y a battaille par l'assise ou l'usage dou royaume de Jerusalem dequoi l'on ne se peut deffendre par esgart ou par connoisance de court sans bataille.—" According to the customs of the Beauvoisis, the judge often decided from the notoriety of the fact, and without witnesses or battle. Beaumanoir, p. 308, 239, 322, 324. "It would be a hard thing," says Beaumanoir, "that if any one had killed my near relation in open day, before many credible persons, I should be compelled to fight in order to prove his death." "This reflection," as Mr. Hallam remarks, "is the dictate of common sense, and shows that the prejudice in favour of judicial combats was dying away." Middle Ages, vol. i., p. 109. The Christians in Palestine seem to have been more barbarous than their brethren in the west. We do not read in the Assises of the liberty of paying a fine as a compensation for injuries. The satisfying of resentment by money instead of blood, is the first step which a rude people make to the formation of an equitable judicial system.

† "En une oure dou jour." Mr. Kendall (p. 94. n. of his learned tract on the Appeal of Murder) inquires, whether this expression means "forthwith," or "at any time," or "in the twinkling of an eye." The expression is similar to that of Bracton, "unâ hora diei." The challenged person was declared conqueror if the battle lasted until night.

‡ "This done, the honour of each party is at stake; and the principle that a brave man utters nothing which he is not able to defend with his body, is that upon which the weapons are raised." Kendall, p. 91. In chivalric encounters, as well as in judicial combats, one great object of battle was the support of truth and honour.

Soggiunse poi Rinaldo: Ciò ch'io provo
Col testimonio, in vo' che l'arme sieno,
Che ora, e in ogni tempo che ti piace,
Te n'abbiano a far provu più verace.
Orlando Furioso, canto 31, st. 102.

* In an appeal of murder or of homicide, the battle was fought on the third day; in all other cases on the fortieth.

† Assises, ch. 73.

‡ It is not expressed, but it is most probable that a gage might be accepted between two brothers of the half-blood. Relations in that degree of affinity might wage private war against each other, though brothers of the full blood might not. Beaumanoir, p. 299.

son owned the murder, he was hanged; but if he denied the murder, the lord confined him; and if no appeal were made in a year and a day, he was released. He who wished to make an appeal of murder of any person who had been murdered, and shown to the court, should proclaim in court by his counsel, "Sire (addressing himself to the lord), such a man declares that such a man (both parties being in court) is a murderer; and if he denies it, he (the appellant) is ready to prove it, his own body against his; he will either slay him or make him call for mercy, in some hour of the day." He then on his knees presented his gage to the lord. The same ceremony took place when the appeal was made by a champion. In that case the appellant was in the unhappy predicament, that if he did not bring his champion at the appointed day, he himself was attainted of murder. If in an appeal the appellant charged the appellee with murdering a man, and of giving him blows which caused his death, the appellee's counsel might object that this was joining two charges, *viz.* murder and homicide; and the appellee should be dismissed.

Gages were delivered in homicide. But before the battle the appellant must have proved his charge by two witnesses. Until their appearance in court, the appellee was imprisoned. After their appearance, and having sworn to the fact, they, together with the appellant and appellee, were confined. On the day of battle the ceremonies were nearly the same as in a case of murder. But it was almost impossible to conclude an appeal of homicide, because the appellee might object to the person of any witness; which objections might be repeated against the witnesses who were brought in defence of the first witness; and thus the cause could never be decided. Though the law encouraged battle in cases of murder, but not in those of homicide, yet a seeming facility was given to duels for the latter crime, because if the deceased fell by many wounds, the persons entitled to make appeal, might appeal for as many battles as there were wounds.* In cases where treason was not apparent, the lord was not obliged to accept the gage of the appellant. The tenant might have battle with his lord if his statement that his lord had failed in giving him protection, or in the performance of any other feudal obligation, was unopposed;* and if any man appealed against a tenant for any wrong done to the lord, the appellant was to declare the charge and offer the gage. The tenant denied the offence, and then gave his gage to the lord, who appointed a day of battle. The knights in appeals of murder and homicide were to fight on foot.† The heads, both of the appellant and appellee were to be shaven; their coif, or skull-cap, was to be taken off; they were to have red buskins, and a red coat of arms, or garment, reaching to the knees. Their bucklers were to be large, with eyelet holes. The weapons of each combatant were one lance, and also two swords, one of which should be attached to his side, and the other to the shield. On the morning of the day of combat, between six and nine o'clock,‡ the parties repaired to the house of the lord and presented their arms, which the lord examined,§ and then sent into the place of combat. The knights were sworn that they carried with them no charms or sorceries, and that they had not been instrumental in injuring their adversaries by similar means.‖ In the place of combat the defendant knelt, and, placing his right hand on the Testament, swore before God and the holy evangelists, that he did not commit the mur-

* Assises, ch. 87, 88, 91, 93, 94, 110.

* Ibid. 95–99.

† In an appeal to battle for other crimes than murder, the parties, if knights, fought on horseback. The general ceremonies in France respecting battle strongly resemble those in Palestine. See Houard, Anciennes loix des François, vol. i. p. 265–267.

‡ Entre prime et tierce, c. 102.

§ Particularly whether the lances were of the same length.

‖ An oath similar to this was among "the sacred laws of arms" in all countries. Thus in the time of Richard II., the duke of Hereford, the appellant against the duke of Norfolk, swore that he dealt with no witchcraft, nor art magic, whereby he might obtain the victory of his adversary; nor had about him any herb or stone, or other kind of experiment with which magicians use to triumph over their enemies. Hollingshead, p. 1100. See, too, the laws of the Lombards, book 2, tit. 55, sec. 11, cited in Montesquieu, L'Esprit des Lois, livre 28, c. 22.

der of which he was accused. The appellant said that he lied; and then swore on the Gospels that the appellee did commit the murder. The combatants were placed in their stations, and proclamation was made that no one should assist them. If the body of the murdered person were brought into court, it was placed in one part of the field all naked; and if the battle was to be fought by champion, the appellant should stand near the body; but in such a manner that nothing which he said or did could be heard or seen by the combatants. The keepers of the court watched the battle. If either party uttered the word 'recreant,' the other was called upon to pause; the recreant knight was taken to the lord and immediately hanged. If death, and not the call for mercy, was the consequence of the combat, still the punishment of hanging was inflicted.*

The trial by battle was allowed in cases of larceny, or highway robbery, or personal violence; but charges of these offences must have been proved by two witnesses; the appellee was compelled to fight either of these witnesses, and if the witness were conquered, he and the appellant should be hanged. An additional subject for execution was made when the witness fought by his champion, and the champion was vanquished. When a woman was an appellant, and her witness and his champion lost her cause, then the fate of the woman was burning; and hanging was that of the other persons. Champions were allowed both to appellants and appellees when they were women, and men decrepit, or more than sixty years of age. In the case of other persons, the battle was deferred.† If a knight charged another knight with striking or wounding him, the accused person might by oath deny the charge; but if he did not take the oath of purgation; he forfeited one thousand besants to the lord, and the equipments of a war horse to the knight. But if a plebeian dared to strike a knight, the offender was to lose his right hand, on account of the superiority of knighthood over all other classes. If a knight struck an inferior person, or an inferior person struck his equal, one hundred besants to the lord, and the same sum to the injured man, formed the penalty. Domestic altercations were to be regulated by religion and manners, for personal injuries between husbands, wives, children, and slaves, were not actionable.*

But it was not for the decision of private wrongs only† that the trial by battle was allowed. A man who had been proved guilty by witnesses, or general notoriety, might impeach the proceedings and decision of the court, and the singular spectacle was exhibited of a criminal fighting with his judges. If any man were so rash as to offer his gage against the court, he was obliged to fight all the members of the court one by one, as well those who had cognizance and decided his cause, as those who had not; for the man impeached the court, and all the members of it were concerned in preserving its honour: besides a man who had been attainted, conquered, or proved guilty of falsehood, could never afterwards be a witness, and a court which had been impeached could have no valid jurisdiction in future. On the day of battle the appellant appeared on one side of the field, and all the members of the court on the other. The appellant selected his antagonists in what order he chose, but the halter awaited him, unless he vanquished them all in one day. All those whom he conquered, that is, made recreant, were to be hanged also.‡

* Assises, ch. 100—102.

† Assises, ch. 104, 108, 105, 107. The allowance of champions to appellees is mentioned in ch. 107, and other places. It appears from ch. 244, that they were allowed also to appellants. "Plusiers fois est avenu que se un home qui a soixante ans passés appellé au est appellé de chose ou il offere bataille, que il s'en deffent ou mostre par champion de son bon gré ne le veaut faire de son cors, &c." The context shows that women who were appellants might also fight by champion.

* Assises, ch. 116, 117.

† There is no prohibition of public wrongs in the Assises. A council of barons and prelates at Naplousa, in 1120, formed an imperfect criminal code. But little useful knowledge can be gained from it. The learned reader knows where to find it, and as its description of offences and punishments is very disgusting, I shall not open the subject to the general student.

‡ Assises, ch. 111. It is evident that an appeal of false judgment was not likely to have been made under the law of the Assises: but in the Beauvoisis the accused asked the lord to

The villains and slaves were out of the jurisdiction of both courts of justice; they had no rights; no possessions; but were in every respect considered as cattle. If any person should harbour the villains of another lord, and refuse to render them, the injured lord ought forcibly to enter the lands of the wrong doer and seize the villains. If any male villain married a female villain without the consent of her lord, the lord of the male villain was compelled to give to the other lord a villain of equal age with her who had been married: but if the parties had been united with the consent of the lord of the female villain, then no return could be demanded.* Such were the laws as practised in Palestine respecting villains. In the year 1350 some new regulations were made at Cyprus, which still further show the degraded state of a useful class of people. He who harboured a runaway male villain, paid as the price of the fugitive two hundred golden besants. One hundred pieces of the same coin was the value of a female villian: and this last-mentioned sum was fixed as the pecuniary worth of a slave, whether male or female. It is curious that a female falcon was valued at one hundred besants, and a male at fifty. But the war-horse (la chevaucheur) was worth three hundred besants.†

Before we return to the general history of Palestine some account should be given of those military and religious orders which were formed in the interval of the first and second crusades. The kingdom of Jerusalem attained its zenith of power by the valour of its barons, and of the fresh bodies of heroical votaries who arrived after the capture of the city; and it was supported through all its succeeding revolutions by several of those societies which marked the days of chivalry. One great object of the Christians in Syria was the permanent possession of Jerusalem, and for this purpose the extension of the Latin power in Asia was indispensably necessary. Holy and military ardour had given rise to the Crusades; the same veneration for the sulpulchre, and hatred of the infidels, kept the flame alive, and the principle varied in its appearance according to the different circumstances of affairs. It gave energy and life to one association which was formed for the protection of the unarmed palmer. In other cases military virtues were engrafted upon a foundation of benevolence.

The great charitable establishment* for Christians in Jerusalem felt every gale of the political storm which convulsed Palestine in the last half of the eleventh century; and the oppressed and persecuted members had only the hope of better times for their consolation and support. New vigour was given to their virtue when the Crusaders were triumphant; the hospital received the wounded soldiers, and so self-denying were the administrators of charity, that the bread which they ate was made from the coarsest flour mixed with bran, while that which was given to the sick was formed from the purest meal. The benevolence of the Latin residents was beheld with affectionate respect by the Crusaders. Godfrey enriched the hospital by the gift of an estate in Brabant, and many of his companions devoted themselves to the perpetual service of the way-worn pilgrims. The association gradually acquired importance, and, feeling the weight of the charge, Gerard, the abbot, proposed to his brethren to renounce the world, and to take a religious habit. The lay members separated themselves from the church of St. John, the almoner, and became a congregation under the more august tutelage of St. John the Baptist. The patriarch of Jerusalem accepted their vows of chastity, poverty, and obedience, and invested them with a plain black robe, having a white linen

make the peers give judgment out aloud: then on the first person giving it, the party called him liar, and the battle was only between those two persons. If the judge were defeated, the court did not lose jurisdiction: but if the criminal waited till all the peers had decided, then he must fight all; and if he conquered them all, the court lost jurisdiction for ever. Beaum. 314. But it seems to have been a general law that an appeal of false judgment could not have been made in the king's court, because an appeal supposed an equality between the parties, and no one was equal to the king. Consequently, where the lord dreaded an appeal against his proceedings, he removed the cause into the king's court, or got some of the king's officers into his. Defontaines, c. 22. act. 14.

* Assises, ch. 277, 278.

† Assises, 310, 312.

* See p. 16, ante.

cross of eight points on the left breast.* By a bull of pope Paschal II. (A. D. 1113) the hospital was put under the protection of the Holy See, and had the valuable privileges of electing its own superintendent, and of exemption from payment of tithes. The government was of an aristocratical constitution; but in the deliberations of the council, the voice of the master was equal to two suffrages. In the time of Raymond du Puy,† the friars became soldiers.‡ Their revenues were more ample than the largest demands of charity; and, as hostility to the Muselmans was equally virtuous with benevolence to Christians, the fraternity of St. John resolved that the sword should be drawn against the enemies of the Latin kingdom. The hospitallers were accordingly divided into three classes—nobility, clergy, and serving brothers.§ The preservation of the unity of religious opinions, the practice of every Christian virtue, and the destruction of the Muselmans,* were the professed objects of the association.† Personal chastity, and absolute resignation to the will of the council, were vowed by the members; and their attachment to the order was preserved by their incapacity of holding estates except in common with their brother knights. Like all other cavaliers, they were taught that the greatest service which they could render to the Christian world, was the endangering and sacrificing of their lives in battle with the infidels;‡ but he who deserted the ranks, or sent or accepted a challenge to a private combat, was deprived of the habit and cross of

* Between the years 1278 and 1289 an alteration was made in the dress of the knights. The grand master and his council enacted, that while the brethren of the hospital were engaged in military duties they should wear over their clothes a red military cassock, with a white cross strait. The long black mantle or habit could never be dispensed with in the house. The statutes of the order are full of regulations respecting dress. One of them is worthy of being extracted. "It becomes a religious man to be polite in body as well as in mind, and therefore we enjoin our brothers to dress themselves decently and handsomely, forbidding them expressly, for the future, to wear any dress that is not fit for their condition, particularly short clothes, unless they are on a journey, or on shipboard, or on guard."

† Raymond du Puy was grand master from 1121 to 1160.

‡ The exact year when the order took a military character is not settled. Vertot argues, that it must have occurred before the year 1130, for the services of the hospitallers to the king of Jerusalem are mentioned in a papal bull of that date. True: but the distinction of knights and serving brothers was not known till the year 1153, in the short pontificate of Anastasius IV. The bull which authorized this distinction also confirmed the society in its exemptions from ecclesiastical jurisdiction and the payment of tithes. These exemptions were of great importance on events, as we shall see in the course of this history.

§ These serving brothers did the ordinary duties of the hospital, and also fought in the ranks. Serjiens or serjens is the old French word for a servant or inferior person of any description. It is derived from the Latin serviens, and the change from the V to the G was a common circumstance in the formation of the French language from the Latin. The word was also used figuratively, in ages, when, in the close disguise of the heart, ideas of love were mixed with ideas of religion. The phrases, serjens de Dieu and serjens d'amour, are common in old authors. (We remember Shakspeare's phrase, "affection's men at arms.") The word serjens became used in courts of justice, from the circumstance, that anciently the seneschals and bailiffs employed their domestic servants to execute the commands of the judges. The titles of beadle and serjeant were generally synonymous, but, in the old Coustumier of Normandy, it seems that the serjeants were those who executed malefactors, and the beadle did the inferior duties of the court. See Pasquier's Recherches, liv. viii. cap. xix., and Menage, Dict. Etymol. ed. Jault, article Serjent. The phrase, chevaliers en loix, is to be found in the prologue to Beaumanoir: so that, even in the thirteenth century, chivalric names were applied to legal dignities. The occasion of the title, serjens en loix, superseding the appellation, chevaliers en loix, does not appear.

* The modern knights of Malta vowed never to make peace with the infidels. The knights might defer their vows, and they seldom made them till sure of a commandery.

† Among the laws of internal discipline there are a few worthy of notice. In opposition to the general practice of the middle ages, the knights were not permitted to sleep naked; but were to be dressed in woollen, linen, &c. They were not to talk at dinner or in bed. He who struck his companion was to fast during forty days: and the parties to a quarrel were for seven days to dine on the ground, without the luxury of a table-cloth, and to undergo a rigorous fast on Wednesday and Friday.

‡ "Chevaliers en ce monde cy
Ne peuvent vivre sans soucy:
Ils doivent le peuple défendre,
Et leur sang pour la foy espandre."

the order.* When not engaged in war, the various duties of the hospital occupied the knights; and even the heroes of Greece were not more zealous than the heroes of Palestine in healing the wounded soldier or pilgrim. The king of Jerusalem willingly accepted the military succours of the new society. The admirers of piety and valour either joined their standard, or enriched their coffers; every country† of Europe had preceptories,‡ and the great men sent their sons to the hospital of St. John, in order that they might practise religion, and be trained up in knightly discipline and feats of arms.§

For more than two centuries after the institution of the order, a postulant for the first class or grand cross presented proofs of the gentility of his father and mother.* But the order became scrupulous with respect to the admission of participators of the highest distinctions, when wealth and letters changed the face of society, and the aristocracy of birth became alarmed for the existence of its exclusive privileges. In France, the postulant was required to show that his father, his paternal and maternal grandfathers, and great grandfathers, too, were gentlemen by name as well as by arms. A proof of this description formed eight quarters of gentility. In Italy, the blazon and arms of the father and mother, and of the paternal and maternal grandmothers, were required. Each of these families must have had a known gentility for two hundred years past. In Genoa, Lucca, and Florence, however, the commercial spirit of the people softened aristocratical haughtiness, and the *sons* of merchants, bankers, and tradesmen might be candidates for the honour of knights grand crosses. In Spain† and

* The putting of the habit on the candidate was the mode of initiation; and it was torn off when he was banished from the society. Thus, when an esquire was admitted into the order of knighthood, the buckling on of the spurs was the first ceremony of the investment; and the hacking them off was the mark of degradation.

† The Hospitallers came into England in the reign of Henry the First. Their first priory was established at Clerkenwell, by Jordan Briset, of Wellinghall, in Kent. The *original* edifice was set fire to and destroyed by the rebels in the year 1381. The new building was not perfectly finished till 1504. Bucklands, in Somersetshire, was the principal house in England for the nuns or sisters of the order of St. John. Dugdale, Mon. Angl. ii. 505. Stow's London, book iv. p. 62, ed. 1720. Pref. to Tanner, Not. Mon.

‡ Cowel, and a thousand writers after him, have given the word preceptory, as the name for the estates of the Templars, and commandery for those of the Hospitallers. But, in truth, until the year 1260, the estates of the Hospitallers were called preceptories. From the year they were called commanderies (the letters from the hospital to their colonies beginning with the word commendamus). It was then that the finances of the order were put on a new footing, and as the wars in Palestine were expensive, and the officers in distant countries selfish and corrupt, the knights at Jerusalem resorted to the experiment of constraining their agents to send to Palestine every year a specific sum, without regard to circumstances or difference of seasons.

§ Jacob. de Vit. cap. lxiv. Archb. of Tyre, lib. xviii. c. 3, 4. The Bulles of Paschal the Second and Boniface, and the Statutes of the Order in the Appendix to Vertot's History of the Knights of St. John. From Heylot, Hist. des Ordres, vol. iii. c. xii. little or nothing additional to the common accounts can be gained.

* Considering that the cavaliers were to be as pure as vestals, it is singular that the chastity of their mothers were not looked to. Legitimacy does not seem to have been a matter of moment. No regulation on the subject was made till the time of Hugh de Revel, who was grand master from 1262 till 1268. The order then enacted, that no person could be admitted to profession, if either himself or his father had not been born in lawful wedlock, except, however, the sons of counts and persons of high rank and quality. In after times it was decreed, that the postulant must be born likewise of a mother that was a gentlewoman by birth. In the mastership of Adolphe de Vignacour (A. D. 1601—1622) the exception concerning illegitimacy was still further limited, to the case of sons of kings and other sovereign princes. Some years afterwards it was abolished altogether.

† As the Spaniards carried their notions of nobility higher than the Germans, it is singular that they should not have been more pure in their fancies on the necessary gentility for a knight grand cross. "When the nobility of Arragon appeared before their king, for the purpose of swearing allegiance, the justiza exclaimed, 'We, who are each of us as good as your majesty, and who are altogether more powerful than you, promise obedience to your government, if you maintain our rights and liberties; if not, not.' When the duke of Vendôme made the Spanish nobility sign a declaration of allegiance to Philip the Fifth, some of them added to their names the words, 'Noble as the king.' The duke bore this with tolerable patience, but could not contain himself, when one of them, after these words, added, 'and a little more.' 'Heavens!' exclaimed the duke, 'you do not call in ques-

Portugal, four quarters of gentility were required. But in Germany, sixteen was the number, and they must have been of families, the individuals of which were capable of being members of collegiate bodies; and it was necessary that all their alliances should have been perfectly pure. The order of St. John was further divided into those who spoke the seven great languages of Europe, the English, the German, the Italian, that of Arragon, and the three great dialects of the French, namely, the Provençal, the Auvergne, and the common French. When, in the days of Henry VIII., the English branch of the order was broken, and, in consequence of the Reformation, no protestant Englishman could become a member of a catholic society, the languages of Castile and Portugal were introduced.

It was not until the time of John de Valette, grand master of Malta in the sixteenth century, that any statutes were made respecting the qualifications for brother chaplains and serjeants at arms. It was then decreed, that men of these classes of the order should be born of respectable parents, who had not been engaged in any servile art or business.

Italy gave birth to the fraternity of the military friars. Some French gentlemen founded the equally honourable institution of the Red Cross knights. The first and simple object of the former of these orders was the relief of the poor pilgrim; the original design of the latter was to watch the roads, and keep open the communication between Europe and the Holy Land. After the Christian world had been blessed with the news that Jerusalem was in the hands of Godfrey of Bouillon, the old and the young, the rich and the poor, took the road for Palestine as pilgrims, and too confidently expected that the angel of heaven would guard them from the predatory Turks. Their distresses excited the friendly sympathy of Hugh de Payens, and Geoffrey de Saint Omer, and a few other knights. The example of humanity was imitated, and the new defenders of holy interests vowed to shed their blood in defence of the pious itinerants. As the object of the association was a religious one, the society imitated the Hospitallers by taking a religious character.* The members bound themselves to the three great monastic virtues of chastity, community of possessions, and absolute submission to the commands of the order. The masters of the chapter warned a candidate of the pains and dangers to which he would be exposed. He must rise when he wished to sleep; he must endure fatigue when he required repose; he must suffer hunger and thirst when he wished to eat and drink; and he must go into one country when he was anxious to remain in another. The objects of the union were agreeable to an age when all was military violence or cloistered austerity. The soldiers of the pilgrims were enriched and honoured by the king and nobles, and assumed the title of Templars, or knights of the Temple, when Baldwin I. gave them for a residence part of the royal palace adjacent to the temple of Solomon.† The

tion the nobility of the house of France, the most ancient in Europe?' 'By no means,' replied the Spaniard, 'but, my lord duke, please to consider, that, after all, Philip the Fifth is a Frenchman, and I am a Castilian.'" Butler's Notes on the Revolutions of the Germanic Empire, Proofs and Illustrations, p. 276, 279, first edition.

* The Templars, in their first beginnings were fed and clothed by the Hospitallers.

† Brompton, col. 1008. Knighton, col. 2382, ap. decem Script. The knights originally called themselves "milites Christi," and then "pauperes commilitionis Christi et templi Solomonis." In memory of their primitive poverty, and in order that they might be mindful of humility, Hugh and Geoffrey had engraven on their seal the figures of two men on one horse. A rude cut of this seal is in the Historia Minor of Matthew Paris. It does not appear how long this singular stamp was used by the Templars. In the course of time it was changed for a device of a field argent, charged with a cross gules, and upon the nombril thereof a holy lamb, with its nimbus and banner. In England when lawyers became Templars, this device was assumed by the Society of the Middle Temple, about fifty years after the figure of the Pegasus had been taken by the Society of the Inner Temple. To return, for a moment, to the subject of the first seal. What, in the case before us, was the consequence of poverty, had not always so low an origin. In chivalry, the horse of a knight was almost as distinguished a being as the knight himself; and the strength of the one was in proportion to the valour of the other. It was so common, in works of romance, to multiply the duties and power of the steed, that Cervantes ridicules it. "And pray," said San-

council of Troyes, in the year 1128, approved of the order. Like their compeers of St. John, the new friars added military duties to their religious character. They received from Pope Honorious a white mantle without a cross, as their regular habit. Pope Eugenius III. commanded them to wear red crosses,* and they were taught that the white garment was symbolical of the purity of their lives and professions, and the red crosses were emblematical of the martyrdom which they would willingly undergo in defending the Holy Land from the hostile inroads of the infidels. They feared neither the number nor the power of their foes: because conquest stands not in the multitude of a host, but strength comes from heaven. They were more desirous of victory than of glory, more anxious to be dreaded than admired. All their confidence was placed in the God of battles, and in fighting for his cause they sought either a certain victory, or a holy and honourable death.† The order soon rose into power and dignity.‡ Its eminent services to the great concern of Christendom were cheerfully repaid by a general exemption from the control of, as well as from contributions to the clergy. In most countries the privileges of the Templars and those of the Hospitallers were commensurate. The nobility of Europe* were divided in their regard to the military friars and the Red Cross knights. Personal purity, submission, and community of possessions, were the qualities of each order: and it would have been false and invidious to have asserted that one was more distinguished than the other, as "the nurse of manly sentiment and heroic enterprise." The former was a religious as well as a military institution; but the latter was not occupied by the specific duties of the hospital; and therefore while some people admired the union of piety and valour in the cavaliers of St. John, others, more absolutely fond of war, embraced the discipline of the knights of the Temple.

So often are ideas of merit associated with those of antiquity, that some historians of the order of St. Lazarus have

cho, "how many persons will this horse carry?" "Two," replied the afflicted; "one upon the saddle, and the other upon the crupper, and these are commonly the knight and the squire, when there is no damsel to be stolen." Don Quixote, book iii. ch. viii.

* The Templars wore linen coifs and red caps close over them; shirts and stockings of twisted mail, a sopra vest, and broad belts, with swords inserted. Over the whole was a white cloak touching the ground. In opposition to the practice of most religious orders, the Templars wore long beards. Dugdale's Warwickshire, p. 704.

A Templar somewhat resembled, in appearance, Spenser's red cross-knight.

And on his breast a bloodie crosse he bore,
The deare remembrance of his dying Lord,
For whose sweete sake that glorious badge he wore,
And dead, as living, ever him ador'd;
Upon his shield the like was also scor'd,
For soveraine hope, which in his helpe he had.
Right, faithful, true he was in deede and word;
But of his cheere did seeme too *solemne sad*,
Yet nothing did he dread, but ever was ydrad.
Fairy Queen, book i. canto i. st. 2.

St. Bernard decribes the Templars as grave of countenance and deportment.

† Exhortatio ad milites Templi. S. Bernardi, Opera, v. i. ed. Mabillon, 1690.

‡ The office of master of the Templars was so well known everywhere, that there is an expression for it in the Greek of the lower empire: — τεμπλις μαιστωρ. Du Cange, Glossariam ad Scrip. med. et. inf. Græcitatis. The French origin of the Templars was preserved in the phrase Φρηροι τις τεμπλις. This phrase is a proof of the universality of the French language. A historian of Catalonia, who wrote at the commencement of the fourteenth century, observes that the French tongue was as well known at Athens and in the Morea as at Paris.

* The knights Templars came into England in the beginning of Stephen's reign. Their principal station was in Holborn, on the south side, near Southampton Buildings. "For their more conveniency," in the time of Henry II., they built and removed into their house in Fleet Street. Dugdale, Origines Juridiciales, cap. 57, ed. 1671. The great benefactor to the English Templars was a Roger de Mowbray, who accompanied Louis VII., to the Holy Land in 1148. He granted to the order various manors in Leicestershire. The knights, as an honourable return, gave him the privilege of pardoning any Templar who was doing penance. But they did him the more valuable service of ransoming him from the Saracens after the battle of Tiberias: for one journey to Palestine did not satisfy this pious chieftain. In the days of Edward III., the Hospitallers, as possessors of the lands of the Templars, conferred the privilege of pardoning offending knights upon John Lord Mowbray, the lineal heir of Roger. Dugdale, Baronage, I. 122, 123.

traced its origin to a supposed association of Christians in the first century against the persecution of their Jewish and Pagan enemies. This account is fabulous. It appears certain, however, that in very early times Christian charity founded establishments for the sick. In the year 370 St. Basil built a large hospital in the suburbs of Cesarea, and lepers were the peculiar objects of its care. Those poor men were by the laws and customs of the East interdicted from intercourse with their relations and the world, and their case was so deplorable, that, according to unexceptionable testimony,* the emperor Valens, Arian as he was, enriched the hospital of Cesarea with all the lands which he possessed in that part of the world. Christian charity formed similar institutions in various places of the east. Lazarus became their tutelary saint, and the buildings were styled Lazarettos. One of these hospitals was in existence at Jerusalem at the time of the first crusade. It was a religious order, as well as a charitable institution, and followed the rule of St. Augustin. For purposes of defence against the Muselman tyrants, the members of the society became soldiers, and insensibly they formed themselves into distinct bodies of those who attended the sick, and those who mingled with the world. The cure of lepers was their first object, and they not only received lepers into their order, for the benefit of charity, but their grand master was always to be a man who was afflicted with the disorder,† the removal whereof formed the purpose of their institution. The cavaliers who were not lepers, and were in a condition to bear arms, were the allies of the Christian kings of Palestine.‡ The order was taken under royal protection, and the Jerusalem monarchs conferred upon it various privileges.§

* Theodoret, lib. 4. cap. 16.

† This singular rule was abrogated about the year 1253, because the infidels had slain all the lepers in Jerusalem. The Pope thereupon permitted the order to elect a man for its master who was not a leper.

‡ The habit of those knights is not known: it only appears that the crosses on their breasts were always green, in opposition to those of the knights of St. John, which were white, and the red crosses of the Templars.

§ But neither the names, nor the exploits of the knights of St. Lazarus, often appear in the history of the Crusades.

CHAPTER IX.

THE SECOND CRUSADE.

The aspect of France favourable for a new Crusade.—A Crusade necessary in consequence of the loss of Edessa.—Character of St. Bernard.—Crusade embraced by Lous VII. king of France, and the emperor Conrad III. of Germany.—Their military array.—March of the Germans.—Conrad passes into Asia, disregarding the Byzantine emperor.—Louis halts at Constantinople.—Distresses of the Germans.—Bravery of the French, and their subsequent disasters.—Arrival of the French at Antioch.—Eleanora.—Firmness of Louis.—The Crusaders reach Jerusalem.—They depart from their original object.—Siege of Damascus.—Disgraceful failure.—Return to Europe of Conrad and Louis.

When the hour of battle arrived, the few valiant knights in the Holy Land wished for no participators in the glory of vanquishing their numerous foes; but the timorous and prudent clergy continually solicited the co-operation of Europe: and in the consternation throughout Palestine which the fall of Edessa occasioned, all classes of people beckoned their compatriots in the west. The news of the loss of the eastern frontier of the Latin kingdom reached France at a time peculiarly favourable for foreign war. After having reduced his vassal, the count of Champagne, to obedience, Louis VII. the French king, exceeded the usual cruelty of conquerors, and instead of sheathing his sword, when the inhabitants of Vetri submitted, he set fire to a church in which more than thirteen hundred of them had fled for refuge. His sacrilegious barbarity excited the indignation of the clergy and laity. A fit of sickness calmed his passions; his conscience accused and condemned him, and he resolved to expiate his sins by a pilgrimage to Jerusalem.* Louis VII. was the first sovereign prince who engaged himself to fight under the banner of the cross. The news of the calamities in Palestine quickened his holy resolution, and like other men he was impetuously moved by the eloquence of St.

* Il fit vœu de faire égorger des millions d'hommes pour expier la mort de quatre ou cinq cents Champenois. Voltaire, Essai sur les Mœurs des Nations, chap. 55.

Bernard, the great oracle of the age. By the superiority of his talents, and also of his consideration in the eyes of Europe, this new apostle of a holy war was far more capable than Peter the Hermit,* of exciting the tumultuous emotions of enthusiasm. From his ancestors, the counts of Chatillon and Montbart, Bernard inherited nobility; but he felt not its usual accompaniment, the love of military honour. His ardent and religious soul soon disdained the light follies of youth: and, casting off the desire of celebrity as the writer of poetry and songs,† he wandered in the fanciful regions of sanctified beatitude, or the rough and craggy paths of polemical theology. At the age of twenty-three he embraced the monastic life‡ at Citeaux; and soon afterwards, with the co-operation of about thirty other enthusiasts, many of whom were his relations, he founded the monastery of Clairvaux in Champagne. His miraculous eloquence severed the connexions in social life: sons separated themselves from their fathers, and husbands dissolved the nuptial ties. Genuine fanaticism only could have followed a man who sternly told his admirers, that if they wished to enter his convent, they must dismiss their bodies, for their souls alone could dwell in a place which was sacred to contemplation and devotion. His self-denial and his earnestness for religion gained him the reverence of his contemporaries, and in the altercations between rival authorities, his decision was appealed to as that of an inflexible and incorruptible judge. When the clergy of Louis the Gross asserted the clerical prerogatives of exemption from taxes, and from submission to secular authority, Bernard supported the selfish and rebellious prelates, and treated the king as the enemy of God. In the war for the pontificate between Anaclet and Innocent II. he supported the cause of the latter; and by the display of his zeal and ability in France and Germany, he placed his friend in the chair of St. Peter. He reconciled the conflicting interests of Pisa and Genoa; and the Genoese thought that the disinterestedness was angelical, when he refused their offer of a bishoprick. He was celebrated as a writer as well as a preacher, but he was far inferior both in genius and erudition to his distinguished contemporary, and he opposed him more successfully by authority than by argument. Abelard was the great supporter of the scholastic philosophy; and his love of disputation, unchecked by reverend and holy discretion, led him into strange and absurd errors in theology. He was vain of the graces of his person, and proud of his intellectual powers. He presumptuously thought that his accomplishments were irresistible by the opposite sex;* and that it was by genius alone he had mastered those sciences which mortals, framed in nature's common mould, can only obtain by mute abstraction and solitary labour. Bernard exposed the corruption and licentiousness† of the bishops and monks of

* Bernard says it was entirely owing to the bad generalship of Peter, that in the first Crusade the populace were destroyed. It is amusing to observe the contempt with which the saint speaks of the hermit. "Fuit in priori expeditione antequam Jerosolyma caperetur, vir quidam, Petrus nomine, cujus et vos (nisi fallor) sæpe mentionem, audistis," &c. Epist. 363, p. 328, vol. i. Opera, S. Bernardi, edit. Mabillon, 1690.

† Imo magis mirandum esset, te eloquii urgeri siccitate, quoniam audivimus a primis fere adolescentiæ rudimentis cantiunculas mimicas et urbanos fictitasse. Neque certe in incerto loquimur opinionis, sed testis est alumna tui patria nostri sermonis. Berengarius' Letter to Bernard, in Opera Abelardi, p. 302. This passage I first met with in Mr. Turner's History of England, vol. i. p. 498, note 31.

‡ A Hindu or Muhammedan Faquir might envy Bernard his power of abstraction. After a year's noviciate, he did not know whether the top of his cell was covered with a ceiling, nor whether the church had more than one window, though it had three. See Butler's Lives of the Saints, vol viii. p. 231, edit. 1812.

* Bayle, Art. Abelard, note G. Abelard's confidence in his powers of persuasion was not ill judged; for Eloisa tells us that he possessed two qualities which other philosophers had not, by which he could conquer the hearts of women. He wrote well, and he sung well. He made such elegant verses, and composed such beautiful airs, that all the world was delighted, and could speak of nobody but the author. Bayle, Art. Heloise, note F.

Now singing sweetly to surprise her sprights,
Now making layes of love and lovers' paine.
Spencer.

† He declared, with pious concern, that he knew several abbots, each of whom had more than sixty horses in his stable, and such a prodigious variety of wines in his cellar, that it was scarcely possible to taste the half of them at a

his age. The austerity of his life* fortified him against the seductions of the heart, and while he stood up to his neck in water for the purpose of cooling an amorous flame,† Abelard threw himself into the arms of his pupil Eloisa.

The wish of Louis for a Crusade was applauded by Pope Eugenius the third. His intention was pronounced to be holy; and Bernard was ordered to travel through France and Germany, and preach a plenary indulgence to those who followed the royal example. Eugenius wrote to the faithful sons of the church, urging them to cross the seas to Palestine. The first Crusaders had provoked the wrath of Heaven by their dissoluteness and folly; but the new soldiers of Christ ought to travel simple in dress, and disdaining the luxury of falcons and dogs of the chace.‡ As Peter had represented the scandal of suffering the sacred places to remain in the hands of the infidels, the eloquent Bernard thundered from the pulpit the disgrace of allowing a land which had been recovered from pollution again to sink into it.* He was admitted to the thrones of princes, as well as to the pulpits of their churches; to public assemblies and to private meetings. In a parliament held at Vezelai, in the season of Easter, 1146, Louis was confirmed in his pious resolve: and having on his knees received the holy symbol, he joined with Bernard in moving the barons and knights to save the sanctuary of David from the hands of the Philistines. No house could contain the multitude; they assembled in the fields, and Bernard addressed them from a lofty pulpit. As at the council of Clermont, so on this occasion, shouts of Deus id vult rent the skies; the crosses which the man of God had brought with him to the meeting fell far short of the number of enthusiasts; and he therefore tore his simple monkish garment into small pieces, and affixed them to the shoulders of his kneeling converts.† The successful incendiary then crossed the Rhine; and every city and village from Constance to Carinthia echoed the call to war. The dukes of Bohemia and Turin, the count of Carinthia, the marquis of Styria and Montferrat, sanctified their military energies. Wherever Bernard moved, the credulous religionists conceived that celestial favour was with him; and they who could not understand his language,‡ were converted by his

single entertainment. Fleury, Hist. Ecc. 173, cited by Maclaine, note to Mosheim, Ecc. Hist. Cent. 12, part 2, chap. 2. St. Bernard complained of the want of pecuniary charity in the clergy. "You may imagine," he says to them, "that what belongs to the church belongs to you while you officiate there. But you are mistaken: for, though it be reasonable that one who serves the altar should live by the altar, yet must it not be to promote his luxury or his pride. Whatever goes beyond bare nourishment and simple plain clothing, is sacrilege and rapine. Butler's Lives of the Saints, vol. viii. p. 240.

* This austerity nearly killed him. His language concerning his physician shows the pride of his mind. "I, who have governed reasonable men, am now forced to obey this animal."

† St. Bernard happened once to fix his eyes on the face of a woman, but immediately reflecting that this was a temptation, he ran to a pond, and leaped up to the neck into the water, which was then as cold as ice, to punish himself, and to vanquish the enemy. Butler's Lives of the Saints, vol. viii. p. 229.

‡ Otho Frising, lib. 1. c. 34, in Muratori, vol. vi. Rer. Scrip. Ital. The Pope also said that if a debtor were moved by the spirit of grace, the Holy See absolved him from his obligations to man. But I doubt whether this acquittance were equal to a receipt in full; for the general practice in the days of the Crusade respecting debt was, that indemnity from the claims of creditors lasted only during the time of the holy journey, or for a certain number of years.

* On this oft repeated argument Fleury well remarks: "It was said that the disgrace of Jesus Christ ought to avenged. But what he accounts an injury, and what truly dishonours him, is the debauched life of wicked Christians, and such were most of the Croises, which is far more odious to him than the profanation of things inanimate, of buildings consecrated to his name, and of places which bring to our minds what he suffered for us. What respect soever may be due to holy places, his religion is not connected with them. He hath declared this himself, when he said that the time was coming when God should be worshipped neither in Samaria nor in Jerusalem, but in all and in any places, in spirit and in truth." Fleury, cited in Jortin, Remarks on Ecclesiastical History, vol. iii., p. 336.

† Labbe, Concilia, vol. x. p. 1100. Odo de Diagolo, in the twelfth volume of Bouquet, p. 91—94.

‡ The favourite text of Bernard seems to have been Romans, xiv. 8. The preacher argued, that if those persons are happy who die *unto* the Lord; then *à fortiori*, those are happier who die *for* the Lord. S. Bernardi, Opera, vol. i. p. 544, edit. Mabillon.

miracles. But the emperor Conrad III. made a long and firm denial. As politics prevented the exercise of religious fervour, the preacher endeavoured to impress him with the belief, that were he in arms for the kingdom of God, Heaven would protect his kingdom in Europe. Still the emperor wanted faith; but when the holy orator, in a moment of peculiar energy, drew an animated picture of the proceedings of the day of judgment, of the punishments which would be inflicted on the idle, and the rewards which would be showered upon the Christians militant, then it was that conviction flashed across the mind of the royal auditor; and the profession was made that the lord of the Germans knew and would perform his duty to the church. Encouraged by this example, the barons and people flew to arms.* The apostolical eloquence of the successor of the Hermit raised armies and depopulated cities. According to his own expression, "the towns were deserted, or the only people that were in them were widows and orphans, whose husbands and fathers were yet living." But though his zeal was ardent, his humanity was equally alive, and was superior to the age in which he flourished. By his own authority he silenced the preaching of a German monk, who had commanded his flock to massacre the Jews.† On his return to France, he recounted to the king and barons, assembled at Etampes, all that he had seen and done in Germany. In his absence the holy design had spread; and all inferior views, sentiments, and purposes, were drawn into the vortex of one grand project.*

Mayence was the rendezvous of the French Crusaders, and Ratisbon of those from Germany. After the people of France had fasted for the benefit of the sacred cause, and their monarch had received the scrip and staff from the hands of the Pope, Louis and his queen repaired to Mayence. He was soon joined by the counts of Dreux, Soissons, Ponthieu, Nevers, Tholouse, Flanders, and Henry, a son of the rebellious count of Champagne. Their levies were of priests, of people, and of soldiers; and of the last class, the number of men armed with the helmet and coat of mail, was seventy thousand.† The civil wars of England

* Germany was not affected by the first Crusade in an equal degree with Lorraine, Flanders, France and Italy. Saxo Grammaticus (apud Eccard, Corp. Hist. Med. Ævi, tom. i. p. 579,) says, that when the Germans saw the troops of men, women, and children, on horseback and on foot, passing through their country in their road to Greece, they laughed at them as mad, for quitting their homes to run after imaginary good, in the midst of certain dangers; renouncing their own property in search of that of other people. Ekhard (Martenne, Vet. Scrip. Amp. Coll. V. 517) mentions the same circumstance, and adds, that the cause of the want of enthusiasm in Germany was, that the divisions between the emperor and the pope prevented the preaching of the Crusade in that country. Signs, however, in the Heavens, and other wonderful things, made many Germans take the cross, and join the armies in the course of their march.

† Voltaire and Gibbon have said, that Bernard was induced by envy of a rival monk, to forbid the massacre mentioned in the text. The maxim, in omnibus caritas, is in no case more necessary than when the ascription of motives to actions is the subject of inquiry. The barbarous treatment of the Jews by the first Crusaders was, as we have seen, reprobated by many pious people; and there is no reason to think that, in the case before us, Bernard joined in popular brutality. In various passages of his sermons, preached at different times, he recommends his auditors to treat the children of Israel with mercy. In the case before us he failed. He could guide, but was unable to quell the fury of the people. The Jews would have been quite extirminated unless they had taken refuge in the imperial domain. Pfeffel, Hist. d'Allemagne, vol. i. p. 309.

* Labbe, Concilia, vol. x. p. 1104. Otho Frising, cap. 37. Bouquet, XV. 605. Except a few references, which will be mentioned in the order of their occurrence, my materials for the history of the Crusades of Louis and Conrad are as follows: — The Chronicle of Otho Frisingen; this writer was in the army of the German emperor, and an eye-witness of most of the events of this holy war. Odo de Diagolo, successor of Suger in the abbey of St. Denys, and therefore a contemporary, has left us an account of the expedition of Louis, which I have read in the twelfth volume of the Benedictine's Collection of the French historians. Gesta Ludovici regis VII. in Duchesne, vol. iv. the work of a contemporary. Between this writer and William of Tyre there is often a verbal conformity; nevertheless, the former contains many things not included in the latter. I have gained some hints from the Greek contemporary historian Cinnamus, and Nicetas, the next succeeding Byzantine Chronicler. The Arabic Ben Latir, as inserted in the Notice des MSS. du Roi, authenticates most of the European narrative; and I still find the archbishop of Tyre my sure and faithful guide.

* Archb. of Tyre, 902. Some English soldiers

had been closed by the weakness of all parties; but some of the nobility, restless when not engaged in deeds of blood, joined themselves to the force of Louis. Conrad had an army quite as large and formidable,* with a due proportion of light armed men, and simple pilgrims. The enthusiasm of the Crusade realized the dreams of romancers, and heroines, as well as heroes, had prepared themselves to make war upon the Paynim brethren. A considerable troop of women rode among the Germans; they were arrayed with the spear and shield, but (like Virgil's Camilla) some love of usual delights had mingled itself with the desire of great exploits, for they were remarkable by the splendour of their dress, and the bold leader was called "the golden-footed dame."† The emperor marched through Hungary, and solicited the friendship of the Grecian court.* Manuel, the grandson of Alexius, was on the throne; and, although like his ancestor, he beheld with secret dread the armaments of Europe, yet, for the protection of his subjects, he‡ entered into a treaty with Conrad for the regular purchase and sale of provisions.‡ There was frequent matter of charge and recrimination between the Greeks and the Germans, in the march of the latter to Constantinople; and circumstances occasioned many negotiations between the two emperors.§ The storms of nature were as unsparing as the cruelty of the Greeks. The Germans were encamped

must have accompanied Louis. Innumerabilis exercitus de universo Franciæ regno et *multi de gente Anglorum*, crucibus assumptis iter Hierosolymitanum arripuerunt. Henry of Huntingdon, p. 394. Cinnamus (p. 29) says that Crusaders went from the British isles. In the continuation of Simeon of Durham (Twysden, p. 275) mention is made of a Roger de Mowbray, and of the earl of Warren and Surrey, who went to the Holy Land in 1148. The latter was killed by the Muselmans. The earls of Warren, in Normandy, were nearly allied to the family of William the Conqueror. The grandfather of the crusading earl came to England at the time of the conquest; was a faithful servant both of William the First and of William Rufus; and was created, by the latter, earl of Surry. Alice, the daughter of the eighth and last earl of Warren and Surry (tempore Edward III.) married Edmund, earl of Arundel, said by Dugdale to have been his next heir in blood.

* Many of the Saxon nation had taken the cross; but they acquitted themselves of their vow, by making war on the Slavi and other pagan nations. Pfeffel, Hist. d'Allemagne, vol. i. p. 309.

† The ladies of the twelfth century did not merely thread pearls, and amuse themselves with other employments equally delicate and elegant. The sword, and not merely the tongue, decided their disputes. Of this practice Ordericus Vitalis, p. 687, has given a remarkable instance. The love of "brave gestes" was the passion of the ladies as well as of the knights of chivalry. When poets wished to mark the degeneracy of the times in which they lived, the decline of the ardour for martial fame in women was always stated as one sign.

Where is the antique glory now become,
That whylome wont in wemen to appeare?
Where be the brave atchievements doen by some,
Where be the battailles, where the shield and speare,
And all the conquests which them high did reare.
That matter made for famous poets' verse,
And boastful men so oft abasht to heare?
Been they all dead, and laide in doleful herse?
Or doen they onely sleepe, and shall againe, reverse?

Spenser's Fairy Queen, iii. 4, 1.

* Archb. of Tyre, 902. Nicetas, p. 31, edit. Basil, 1557. After the fashion of the Greek writers, Cinnamus compares the Latin hosts to the sand of the sea, p. 31, (Venice edition,) and he adds, that the emperor's lieutenant, after counting nine hundred thousand, could count no longer. Nearly the same number is mentioned by Odo de Diagolo; and Godfrey of Viterbo (cited by Du Cange,) speaking of the imperial and royal armies, says,

—— Numerum si noscere quæras
Millia millina millitis agmen erat.

If these statements be true, the number of votaries of the second crusade equalled that of the first.

† Manuel had always ambitious designs upon the kingdom of Jerusalem; and the same policy which made him dislike the approach of new swarms of Crusaders, urged him to conciliate the Latins in Palestine. He grievously offended the prejudices of the Greeks, when he gave the cavaliers of St. John a station and a church in Constantinople.

‡ Cinnamus, p. 30, and Du Cange, note, p. 144.

§ Cinnamus is outrageous against the barbarians, p. 32, &c. The archbishop of Tyre dismisses, very hastily, the march to Constantinople. A relation of Conrad remained in a monastery at Adrianople for the recovery of his health. Some Greeks entered it, killed and robbed him. The duke of Suabia burnt the monastery, and all who were in it. The Latin writers account this action of the Greek soldiers as a national affair, but Cinnamus declares (p. 31) that these men were unauthorized robbers. Nicetas (p. 33) reprobates the Greeks.

on a field towards the south of Thrace, and while they were busied in celebrating the feast of the Assumption, a river, swollen by mountain torrents, inundated the plain. The water swept away men, baggage, and horses, and festivity was changed for desolation. When the distressed soldiers arrived under the walls of Constantinople, like former bands of Europeans, they were lost in admiration of the exterior beauty of the city. But Conrad apprehended the duplicity of Manuel, and, in indignation at the Grecian's infraction of the treaty relating to intercourse, he crossed the Bosphorus without meeting or conferring with the emperor.*

Manuel received the king of France as an equal. He met him in the court of his palace, and, after mutual embraces, conducted him into an apartment, where they sat with equal dignity.† In the midst of feasts and public rejoicings, the French monarch learned that the emperor and the sultan of Iconium were in correspondence. The impatience of the barons and knights to visit Jerusalem overcame every suggestion to revenge, and made them think that the defence of the Holy Land, and not the destruction of the Greek empire, was the object for which they had taken up arms; that they must expiate their own sins, and not punish the crimes of the Greeks. But there were not wanting men who urged that the time was arrived for removing the barrier between Europe and Asia. By the negligence of the Greeks,‡ the sepulchre of Jesus Christ had fallen into the hands of the Turks. The emperors had always impeded the efforts of the Crusaders, and yet had demanded their conquests. The traitors, then, should be destroyed, rather than the new soldiers of God: for, if the Greeks should accomplish their perfidious designs, Europe would demand from the French that army which a mistaken humanity had ruined. God himself had called them to the city of Constantine, and he would open to them its gates as he had opened to their precursors those of Edessa, Antioch, and Jerusalem.

The passage through Bithynia completed, Conrad entered Licaonia, the heart of the dominions of the Seljuk Turks. The Sultan had assembled from every quarter of his states all the troops that could possibly be brought into the field, and the number was so great, that the rivers could not satisfy their thirst, or the country furnish provisions. The imperial guides conducted the objects of their care either through deserts where the soldiers perished from hunger, or led them into the jaws of the Muselmans. In their occasional transactions, the bread which the Croises purchased was mixed with chalk, and various other cruel frauds were practised by the Greeks.* The assaults of the Turks

* Cinnamus, p. 33, and Odo de Diagolo, cited in Du Cange's note.

† There is no doubt that no feudal superiority was claimed by Manuel over Louis. Without any violation of good manners, there might have been some distinction between the host and the guest. A great deal of learning has been squandered on the useless question, in what this distinction consisted; or whether the emperor sat on a high stool, and the king on a low one.

‡ This was the general opinion of the world; but when the Popes became unpopular, all the odium was cast on them. Dante makes a Crusader, in the second holy war, say,

Poi seguitai lo 'mperador Currado,
Et ei mi cinse della sua milizia;
Tanto per bene oprar gli venni in grado.
Dietro gli andai incontro alla nequizia
Di quella legge, il cui popolo usurpa
Per colpa del pastor vostra giustizia.
Quivi fu' io da quella gente turpa,
Disviluppato dal mondo fallace,
Il cui amor molte anime deturpa,
E venni del martirio a questa pace.
Del Paradiso, canto 15.

——— I follow'd then
The emperor Conrad; and his knighthood he
Did gird on me; in such good part he took
My valiant service. After him several
To testify against that evil law,
Whose people, by the shepherd's fault possess
Your right, usurping. There by that foul crew
Was I released from the deceitful world,
Whose base affection many a spirit soils,
And from the martyrdom came to this peace.
Carey's Translation.

* That the guides were treacherous was a palpable fact. Whether they acted under secret orders of Manuel, or were seduced from their duty by the Turks, is a question. Archb. of Tyre, 903. Gesta, 895. Nicetas is unsparing in his censure of the emperor. G. Villani, a careful writer, casts all the blame on the Greeks, lib. iv, cap. iv. p. 126.

were incessant. The staff of the pilgrim was a poor defence from a scimitar, and the heavily armed Germans could not retreat from the activity of the Tartars. Only a tenth part of the soldiers and palmers that had left the banks of the Danube and the Rhine, escaped the arrows of the Moslems, and with their commander secure their retreat to the French army. Louis had been lulled into security by the flattering assurances of Manuel, that Conrad, so far from standing in need of succour, had even defeated the Turks, and taken Iconium. The French king was lying in camp on the borders of the lake near Nice, when some wretched German fugitives arrived with news of the perfidy of the Greeks, and the triumph of the Muselmans.* The allied monarchs soon met, and consulted on the road which the champions of the cross should take. They united their Crusaders, turned aside from the path which had been trodden by the feudal princes of Europe, and marched in concert as far as Philadelphia in Lydia: but the Germans had lost their baggage, and on a prospect of new calamities, many returned to Constantinople, and near Ephesus (to which place the army directed its course) the emperor himself embarked, and courted that friendship which formerly he had despised. The French recruited themselves on the shores of the Egean sea, and pursued their march in an easterly direction. They rejected with disdain an offer of Manuel of a protection from Moslem fury, and they gallantly kept up their course with the usual portion of suffering, till they arrived at the banks of the Meander. They found there the Turks, who, having safely deposited their spoils, came to dispute with the Latins the passage of the river. The Muselmans on the mountains exhausted their quivers, and then rushed to close combat. But if the Asiatics were exalted by confidence, the heroes of the west were inspirited by the desire to wipe away the disgrace of their precursors' defeat. The battle was not of long duration; the French made so great a slaughter of their foe, that the bones of the Muselmans were conspicuous for years, and the consequences of the valour of the French were so appalling, that the trembling Greeks confessed that great praise should be given to the moderation and patience of men in not having levelled Constantinople with the ground. The Crusaders proceeded in good order and discipline through the town of Loadicea, into the barrier mountains between Phrygia and Pisidia. The vanguard of the army advanced beyond the appointed rendezvous. The rearguard, in which was the king, being ignorant that their companions had passed the place, which was now nigh at hand, were in haste to march. They moved forwards with perfect confidence that the heights before them were in possession of their friends. Their ravenous enemy, who always hovered round them, seized the moment when the ranks of the Christians were divided, and casting aside their bows and arrows, fell upon them with tumultuous rapidity sword in hand. It was in a defile of the mountains that the Turkish tempest burst on the Latin troops. Rocks ascending to the clouds were above the Croises, and fathomless precipices beneath them. The French could not recover from the shock and horror of the surprise. Men, horses, and baggage were cast into the abyss. The Turks were innumerable, and irresistible. The life of the king was saved more by fortune than by skill. He escaped to an eminence with a few soldiers, and in the deep obscurity of the night made his way to the advanced guard.* The snows of winter, deficiency of stores, and the refusal of the Greeks to trade with them, were the evils with which the French had to contend. They marched, or rather wandered, for they knew not the roads, and the discipline of the army was broken. They arrived at Attalia, the metropolis of Pamphilia, seated on the sea shore near the mouth of the Cestrus. But the unchristian Greeks refused hospitality to the enemies of the infidel name. The country round the city, though beautiful by nature, was not much cultivated, for it was perpetually devastated by the Muselmans. The French were therefore obliged to repose

* Archb. of Tyre, 901, 903. M. Paris, 68. De Guignes, livre xi.

* Nicetas, 35, 37. De Guignes, livre xi. Archb. of Tyre, 905, 6. Gesta Ludov. 398, 400.

in the fields, protected only by their tents from the inclemency of the season.

Famine had so dreadfully thinned the ranks of the army, and so many horses and other beasts of burthen had perished, that the most sage and prudent among the Crusaders advised their companions to turn aside from scenes of desolation, and proceed by sea to Antioch. But when the king offered to share with his barons all the vicissitudes of plenty and poverty, and incited them to follow the route of the conquerors of Jerusalem, the brave peers of France were touched by honourable pride, and it was agreed that the simple pilgrims, women and children alone, should make the proposed passage. The city of Attalia was saved by the governor, who averted the vengeance of the French by offering them ships. But when, after five weeks had passed, and the vessels arrived, it was found that they were not sufficient for the purpose, and the order of things was changed. The king and his soldiers embarked for Antioch. The way-worn pilgrims and the sick were committed to the charge of Thierri count of Flanders, who was to march with them to Cilicia, and the king distributed among them all the money which his necessities could spare. But when Louis quitted the harbour, the Turks fell upon the Christians who were left behind, and the escort was found to be feeble and ineffective. The people of Attalia not only declined to open their gates, but even murdered the sick. Every day the Turks killed hundreds of the pilgrims, and as it was evident that flight alone could save the remainder, Thierri escaped by sea. Seven thousand wretched votaries of the cross attempted to surmount the higher difficulties of the land journey to Jerusalem; but the Holy City never opened to their view, and in perishing under Moslem vengeance, they thought that the loss of the completion of the pilgrimage was compensated by the glories of martyrdom.

The nobility, the clergy, and people of Antioch, received the French king with every demonstration of respect; and prince Raymond, observing the alarm of the Turks in Aleppo and Cesarea, at this arrival of fresh succour to the Christians, wished that some new enterprise should be undertaken while the panic continued. The gaiety of the court of Antioch had more charms for the queen than a journey over the sandy plains of Syria. Devoted to gallantry and pleasure, Eleanora urged her own and her uncle's* wishes upon the king, but no blandishments of persuasion, or petulant threats of divorce, could remove Louis from his purpose of marching into Palestine. He received with joy some ambassadors of the king of Jerusalem; he repaired to the Holy City, entered it in religious procession, while crowds of ecclesiastics and laymen were singing the psalm, "blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord." His arrival had been preceded by that of the emperor of Germany, the dukes of Saxony and Bavaria, and the ruined German band. Conrad had requested, and received the hospitality of his relation, and Manuel was more ready to assist him forwards to Jerusalem, where new perils awaited him, than to see him return to his hereditary dominions without further loss.†

A council was held at Ptolemais, composed of the princes, barons, and prelates of Syria and Palestine, and the new commanders from Europe. The misfortunes of the Edessenes were forgotten, or yielded to higher feelings, for though the recapture of the principality of the Courtenays was the great object of the crusade, yet there were Muselman cities in Syria far more dangerous to Jerusalem than the remote city of Edessa. The decree for a march to Damascus was passed, and the emperor of Germany, and the kings of France and Jerusalem, brought their troops into the field; but the best disciplined parts of the army were the knights of the Temple and St. John. Eager to relieve Damascus from the yoke under which she had groaned for nearly five centuries, the champions of Christianity soon arrived under her walls. The eastern and southern quarters of the city were seemingly impregnable, and the other sides, faced by fields and gardens, having towers and ditches

* Eleanora was the grand-daughter of William VII., duke of Aquitain, (the Crusades, p. 97, ante,) who was the father of Raymond, prince of Antioch.

† Gesta Lud. 401—403. Bouquet, XIII. 274, 661. O. Frising, c. 45, 47. Archb. of Tyre, 907, 8.

at frequent intervals, were not apparently so formidable as solid and lofty battlements. Against the west and the north, therefore, the Latins directed their attacks. As the post of danger was the post of honour, the king of Jerusalem claimed and received it for his soldiers and the military orders. The king of France was in the rear, and on the account of the smallness of his force, the emperor of Germany fought without the concert of his allies. Numerous and of long continuance were the engagements between the Latins and the Syrians. The French fought with their wonted bravery, but the German cavaliers were peculiarly useful, for they contended equally well on foot and on horse. The king of Jerusalem pressed his foes to the river which runs round the city; but they rallied, and his ranks were fainting for want of support. The emperor and his soldiers rushed through the bands of Frenchmen, supported the first line of the army, and compelled the Syrians to take refuge in Damascus.* The city was apparently in the power of the Croises, and the people abandoned themselves to despair. Arms were thrown aside; round the examplar of the Koran, written by Omar, some invoked the aid of the prophet, while others prepared for flight. But instead of taking possession of Damascus, the Latins anticipated the event, and thought only to whom the prize should be given. Much time was wasted in intrigues, and the imaginary conquest was at last bestowed upon Thierri count of Flanders, whose claims to distinction were principally founded on the fact, that the present was his second journey to the Holy Land. The barons of Palestine were indignant at this assumption of power and violation of right: they even negotiated with the Muselmans, and received their bribes and promises.† They persuaded the council that the attack should be made on the other sides of the city, and prophesied that the walls would yield to the first assault. Deserting the places which they had gained with so much labour and bloodshed, the commanders removed their camp: but when they found themselves on a sandy, sterile land, and contemplated the loftiness and strength of the towers which were before them, they repented of their haste and imprudence, and suspected the treachery of the advice that they had followed. They were no longer indulging in the gardens of the city, and with their usual want of caution they had not husbanded thir camp stores. A return to their old station would be useless, for the Saracens had repaired the fortifications, and those scourges of the Franks, Noureddin and Saphadin, had strengthened the garrison. After sustaining for a short time the sallies of new troops, and rejecting in a council of war the advice of some unsubdued spirits for an attack on Ascalon, the Christian army raised the siege of Damascus, and retrograded to Jerusalem in sorrow and in shame. Conrad soon returned to Europe, with the shattered relics of the German host, and his steps were a year afterwards traced by the French king,*

* Archb. of Tyre, 910--912. Gesta, 405--407. It was on this occasion that Conrad celebrated his personal prowess as much as Godfrey of Bouillon had done at the siege of Antioch. Namely, with one stroke of his sword he cut a Saracen (completely armed) in twain, from the shoulder through the body to the hip!

† Archb. of Tyre, 912, 913. Gesta, 407, 409. The archbishop of Tyre made sedulous inquiries with respect to the cause of the failure on Damascus, and found that the story in the text was the general as well as the best opinion. Gervas (X. Script. col. 1365,) relates a tale that the Damascenes, knowing the cupidity of the Templars, promised them three casks full of besants, if they would persuade the king to raise the siege. The object was effected, but the casks which were sent to the Templars contained only pieces of brass, and no gold. The Arabic account of the matter is that the emir of Damascus played off the common trick of making the Franks of Syria believe that if the new Crusaders took the city, they would also capture Jerusalem and other places. He even offered to the resident Christians the town of Cesarea Philippi, which was at that time a Muselman town. The Syrian Franks then terrified their comrades with a report of the march of Saphadin, emir of Mosul, and the emperor of Germany raised the siege. Ben Latir, Not. des MSS. du Roi, vol. I. p. 558.

* Louis was not ignorant of his wife's gallantries in the Holy Land. About a year after his return to France, he got himself divorced from her, on the decent pretence of consanguinity. This was a great sacrifice of interest to the point of honour, for she separated the duchy of Aquitain from France. Henry, duke of Normandy, (afterwards Henry II., king of England,) loved her person, or her dowry, and married her only two months after her divorce. M. Paris,

the queen, and most of the French lords.*

Among the few men whose virtues and abilities spread some rays of moral and intellectual light over the twelfth century was Suger, the abbot of the celebrated religious fraternity of St. Denys, in France. Strongly imbued with the superstition of his time, his fondest wish was for the overthrow of the Moslems. As minister of Louis VII., however, he had exposed to his royal master the embarrassment of the state finances, the fierce and menacing aspect of the crown vassals, and other circumstances of a political nature, sufficient to deter him from quitting his dominions. But the spirit of romantic devotion in the heir of Charlemagne could not be quenched, and Louis well consulted the interests of his kingdom in delivering the sceptre to the charge of the abbot of St. Denys. After his return from Palestine, the king ardently wished to re-cross the seas, and by martial achievements to obliterate the memory of former disasters. But the sense of generous shame was not so strong in the minds of the French cavaliers as in that of the monarch, and the royal wish was not espoused. When all thoughts of a crusade had apparently died away, France was astonished at the appearance of a martial missionary in the person of him who had opposed the second holy war. Yet Suger could not be justly charged with an inconsiderate versatility of opinion. He had endeavoured to preserve in the royal mind the idea of the preponderance of royal duties, and he did not now urge the king to fight the Moslems. The abbot, too, might perform actions which were inconsistent with the qualities, of a regent or sovereign. The clergy of the east implored Suger to restore the fortunes of the Holy Land, knowing that he possessed more credit in France than all the other princes and prelates, and that his piety equalled his authority. Papal benediction was bestowed upon him, though the Pope was at first amazed at the enthusiasm of a man nearly seventy years of age: but his influence was exerted in vain. Angry at the timidity of his countrymen, his own courage rose; he resolved to conduct a small army to Palestine himself, and his reliance on the favour of Heaven made him hope that the vassals of St. Denys alone would be more powerful than the congregated myriads of Europe. To assure himself in the possession of that favour, he repaired in religious humility to the church of St. Martin, at Tours, a place next in sanctity of St. Denys; accepted the signs of a Christian militant, and, in full confidence that he would not survive the perilous journey, he offered to God the sacrifice of his life. But he was not destined to fall like a religious hero. All aspirations for glory were humbled by a fever; he died at St. Denys, and his successor in the abbacy pursued the usual duties of his station, without superadding those of a martial description.*

70. Eleanora was most likely perfectly easy on the subject of separation, for, in her judicial office in the Provençal courts of love, she had decided (in an appeal cause) that true love could not exist between married people. Raynouard, Choix des Poésies Originales des Troubadours, vol. ii. p. 107. "Nous n'osons contredire l'arrêt de la comtesse de Champagne, qui, par un jugement solennel, a prononcé que la véritable amour ne peut exister, entre époux," p. 110. It was indeed a maxim in the courts of love in Provence, that, "le mariage n'est pas une excuse légitime contre l'amour.

Archb. of Tyre, 910, 914.

* Gervaise, Hist. de Suger, lib. 6, Hist. Lit de la France, tome 12, art. Suger. I have inserted

CHAPTER X.

STATE OF THE HOLY LAND BETWEEN THE SECOND AND THIRD CRUSADES.

Continuation and close of the Edessene history.—Siege and capture of Ascalon.—Death of Baldwin III.—His successor Almeric.—Politics of Egypt.—Saladin.—The Turks and the Franks contend for lordship over Egypt.—Final defeat of the Latins.—Termination of the Fatimite government.—Saladin becomes lord of Egypt.—Death of Almeric.—Baldwin IV. his successor.—His disposition of his kingdom.—His death.—Civil strife.—Guy de Lusignan king.—Saladin resolves upon the destruction of the Latins.—Eventful battle of Tiberias.—Cruelty of Saladin.—Consequences of the battle of Tiberias.—Jerusalem is recaptured by Saladin.—Humanity of the conqueror.—Tripoli.—Antioch.—Retrospect.

THE soldiers who marched under the

standards of the emperor of Germany and the king of France, possessed all the bravery and resignation which characterized the early champions of the cross. Valour had lost nothing of its daring, enthusiasm no portion of its confidence. But their tactics were more erroneous, and their ambition more selfish and disastrous than those of their precursors. Edessa, for the rescue of which Bernard had preached and worked miracles, was still in Muselman subjection; and the infidels of Asia found that the Christians of Europe were not invincible. The happy result of a battle with Noureddin threw the fortunes of the family of Courtenay into the hands of Joscelyn. But, incapable of estimating the benefits of mingling conciliation with dignity, he abandoned himself to passion, and sent one of his prisoners to the sultan of Iconium, with the insulting message, that he now saw the squire of his daughter's husband, and that a more afflicting sight would soon be before him.* Noureddin burned to revenge this affront, and exhorted his Turcomans, by every argument of loyalty and patriotism, to destroy or capture the most terrible of demons, and the great scourge of the Muselmans. They met Joscelyn on the road to Antioch, separated from his troops. For awhile he was safe, because his bribes seduced them from their allegiance; but one of the Turcomans fled and disclosed the matter to the governor of Aleppo, who served his master's interests by sending a squadron, that captured both the faithless soldiers and Courtenay. The unfortunate prince was conducted as a captive to Aleppo, where he was cast into prison, and soon afterwards put to death.† Noureddin and the sultan of Iconium held in command almost all the country of Edessa; and the king of Jerusalem went to Antioch, to stop if possible the progress of the storm. The emperor of Constantinople, informed of the success of the Muselmans, made the widow of Joscelyn large offers of money for the surrender of Turbessel, and such places as were remaining in her power. The acceptance or rejection of this offer was a serious question of politics; but Baldwin, knowing both the difficulty of driving the Turks from the Edessene country, and the charge of maintaining a Christian force in it, consented that the lordship of the Courtenays should aggrandize the Greek empire. He and the count of Tripoli, and the principal men of Antioch, conducted the officers of the emperor into the towns of Turbessel, Ravendel, Samosat, and others of inferior note. The countess, with the French and Armenians who had inhabited Edessa, he led to Antioch. The vigilant Noureddin was incessant in his attacks. He poured clouds of arrows into the moving mass of soldiers, old men, women, and children; but the military friars and Red Cross knights, headed by the king and the count of Tripoli, were equally vigilant, and secured the passage of the poor Edessenes. The Greek emperor had not estimated the difficulty of preserving a state in the heart of the Muselman countries: for in less than a year from its cession, Noureddin made the county of Edessa a mere titular honour. While the disposable forces of the Latin kingdom were occupied in saving their frontiers, a body of the Turks, headed by two princes of the family of Ortok, passed through Damascus, and advanced without opposition even to the Mount of Olives. If they had attacked the affrighted city immediately on their arrival, conquest must have crowned their efforts. But confidence gave birth to indolence; and they suffered sufficient time to elapse for the people to recover from the panic which the presence of the infidels had occasioned. The few knights of the military orders who were in the city, excited the inhabitants to arm; and as their numbers were unequal to a regular defence of the walls, they rushed, under the close covert of the night, into the enemy's camp, set fire to the tents, and carried death and destruction into every quarter. The infidels fled towards Jericho: the king, who had heard of their inroad, met them on his return to Jerusalem, and killed five thousand. The garrison of Naplousa increased their distress by fresh attacks; and their misery was consummated by

the above account of the abbot of St. Denys at the recommendation of a judicious writer in the British Critic for May, 1820.

* Ben Latir, p. 559.

† De Guignes, livre 13. Archb. of Tyre, 914, 916.

their casting themselves into the waters of the Jordan.*

These successes stimulated the king to revenge and glory. Ascalon was a strong and important city; its inhabitants were numerous, brave and rich, and its adjacency to Gaza, the frontier fortress of the Christians, made it an object of anxiety and terror. Gerard, lord of Sidon, with fifteen small ships, guarded the sea from all passage of provisions to the city; while Baldwin, with an army increased beyond its usual force by some new pilgrims, and the most full co-operation possible of the military orders, attacked it by land. The siege continued for five months without any approach to a decision, and at the end of that time a strong fleet from Egypt drove away the ships of Gerard, and relieved Ascalon. The nobility, and they who had suffered most, declared the propriety of raising the siege; but the clergy and military orders were of a contrary advice, and the opinion of the knights of St. John prevailed with the council that, in the event of their abandoning the city, ambition, nourished by success, would urge the Turks to march to Jerusalem. In every view of politics, therefore, a firm pursuit of the contest was necessary; and so vigorous in consequence were the hostilities of the besiegers, that breaches in the walls were soon made, the Moslems were repulsed in every sally, and the city capitulated to the king.†

For the next eight years, the remainder of the reign of Baldwin, Palestine seldom respired from the miseries of war; but the king preserved the state. Lamentations more general and sincere for the death‡ of any prince, says the archbishop of Tyre, history has not mentioned, than for the loss of Baldwin. In an eight days' march from Beritus to Jerusalem, his obsequies were followed in mute and solemn sorrow, not only by the people of the various towns, but from the fastnesses of Mount Libanus.§

Baldwin III. had many of the accomplishments of chivalry. He was a knight without fear and without reproach. He was eloquent, compassionate, and affable. His attention to religion, and the interests of the church, were praised by his contemporaries. The vivacity, which in early youth led him to gaming and amatory follies, precipitated him afterwards into political imprudence. His conduct was inferior to his courage, but his general chivalric qualities were so much admired and respected by his foe, that when Noureddin was advised by his friends to seize the moment of universal distress at the death of Baldwin, and invade Palestine, the generous Turk replied, "God forbid that I should take advantage of the Christians' misfortune. Now that Baldwin is dead, who is there that I need fear?"

Baldwin III. died childless, and, according to the usage of the kingdom, the right to the crown devolved upon his brother Almeric. But some ambitious spirits attempted to shake the foundations of legitimacy. They who had acquired honours in the late wars, contended that the throne should be the reward of valour, for on that principle it had been bestowed upon Godfrey. But the friends of the Bouillon family and the lovers of hereditary succession, were numerous, and Almeric's own counties of Jaffa* and Ascalon made him personally a powerful prince. The knights of St. John did not account as a fault his enterprising and ambitious spirit. The grand master exerted himself to appease the contest, and in the exaggerated expressions which fanaticism and interest use, he assured the barons, that, if the laws of the kingdom were not observed, the crown would soon be an appendage to the honours of Noureddin: "the people of Jerusalem will become slaves of the infidels, and, like the traitor Judas, you will deliver the Saviour into the hands of his enemies." By degrees the faction was dissolved,

* De Guignes, livre 12. Archb. of Tyre, 919, 922.

† Archb. of Tyre, 923, 930.

‡ He died under the hands of a Syrian physician. The Latins did not understand the art of chemical analysis; and, in order to discover whether the medicine of Baldwin was poisonous, they gave a quantity of it to some puppies.

§ Archb. of Tyre, 909, 954. Saphadin, a brother of Noureddin, died a few years before Baldwin III.; and, although there was after him a nominal emir of Mosul, yet Noureddin appears to have been a great gainer by his death.

* The county of Jaffa seems always to have been considered as the appanage of the heir apparent. Ascalon had been given to Almeric by his brother Baldwin.

and some unimportant concessions of jurisdiction by Almeric to the lords recalled their patriotism.*

Six months after his accession to the throne, the king commenced a war with the Egyptians, on occasion of their failure in an annual payment of a tribute which they had promised on the surrender of Ascalon. The progress of the Christians in Egypt was only stopped by the measure which was always ruinous to the natives, of breaking down the banks of the Nile, and overflowing the country. The political feuds in Cairo were favourable to hostile inroads. The power of the Fatimite caliphs had been usurped by their ministers, who dared to take the name and enjoy the prerogatives of Sultan. While the vizirs commanded the armies, and swayed the government, the caliph was shut up in the mosque or in the seraglio; a devotee or a sybarite. The only mark of power which was left him, was a right to issue the patent for the installation of the vizirs, but he had no choice of persons, and was obliged to confirm in his usurpation every successful rebel. At the time of the Francic invasion, the grand vizir Shawer, who had been a slave, was deposed by a soldier named Dargham, and the unfortunate prince fled to the court of Noureddin. The Turks, the friends of the caliphs of Bagdad, had long wished to destroy the heretical government, and religion of the Fatimites. The Sultan of Aleppo, therefore, ever ready to embrace an occasion of interfering in Egyptain politics, treated the stranger with magnificence and courtesy, and promised him alliance and friendship. Among the generals of Noureddin were Shiracouch, and his nephew Saladin, men of the pastoral tribe of the Curds, a ferocious and hardy race, that dwelt in the hilly regions behind the Tigris.† These valiant leaders of the Syrian force were sent into Egypt. In apprehension of their coming, Dargham had despatched ambassadors to the Franks, with splendid offers of tribute, if they would give him succour. But before the treaty was concluded, Dargham was vanquished and slain by Shiracouch. Shawer had entered Cairo, and had been re-invested in his dignities. The vizir knew well the sinister designs of the Turks, and not only commanded them to quit Egypt, but imprudently and unjustly refused to acquit himself of the promises which he had made to Noureddin. By the advice of Saladin, Shiracouch sent some troops, who took Pelusium; and so much did this measure intimidate Shawer, that he hastened to complete the treaty which had been opened between Dargham and the Latins. Almeric put himself at the head of an army, and joined his troops to those of the vizir. For several months the allied Christians and Egyptians besieged Shiracouch in Palusium; but their immediate presence in the Holy Land was requisite, for they learned that a Tartarian storm had gathered. Shiracouch, ignorant of this event, accepted the offer of his enemies, that he should leave Egypt, on giving up his prisoners. The treaty was signed, Pelusium was evacuated, and the Turkish general returned into Syria. The Christians recrossed the deserts into Palestine, and then hastened to Harenc, in the Antiochian territory, whose walls had already been battered by the machines of Noureddin. The skilful Turk retired towards Artesia, and the Latins, with their usual presumption and ignorance, fell upon his right wing. No order was preserved, no precautions were taken against surprise, and when the other battalions of Noureddin charged their foe, the Franks, were dismayed and vanquished. No one remembered the bravery of his ancestors, or thought of the honour of fighting for liberty or his country. All laid down their arms, and prostrate on the ground implored the clemency of the conqueror. Some thousand men were slain, and among the prisoners were Bohemond and Raymond, the young princes of Antioch and Tripoli,* the imperial lieutenant of Cilicia,

* Archb. of Tyre, 956.

† Sallah-u-deen, or Saladin, was the son of Nizan-u-deen Aiyvub, (a Curd from the village of Dewun,) who had been commander of a fort, which he was obliged to leave, because his brother Shiracouch had slain a man of high family who had insulted an unprotected female. See the Persian MSS. History of the Curds, as cited in Malcolm's History of Persia, vol. i. chap. x.

* Bohemond III. was the son of Raymond and Constantia, and succeeded his mother in 1162. Bernardus, 770. Raymond II. of Tri-

and Joscelyn de Courtenay.* Harenc yielded, and we may admire Noureddin for his prudence in not pushing his success, by laying siege to Antioch, lest the emperor of Constantinople should be roused to the defence of that important barrier against Turkish inroads.†

Notwithstanding the rapidity of Almeric's march into Syria subsequently to the siege of Pelusium, yet the town of Paneas, which for several years had belonged to the Latins, now fell under the dominion of Noureddin. Almeric exerted himself with becoming diligence to recover the Christian affairs from their apparent wreck near Artesia, and surprised and gratified the Franks by redeeming the young prince of Antioch: for Noureddin had in most instances preferred the possession of his captives to the acceptance of the largest ransoms.‡ After destroying two castles of the French on the borders of Arabia,§ Shiracouch wished to execute those ambitious designs into Egypt which his view of its weak state had formed in his mind. Noureddin concerted with him plans for the execution of his projects. Their preparations were extensive, and they disdained not to try the influence of superstition, and, at their request, the caliph of Bagdad summoned the Muselmans of all Syria to chastise the schismatical Fatimites. The Latin States were equally vigorous in completing their military equipments. The cavaliers were fired with the hopes of glory and of conquest, and such persons as could not share the dangers, largely contributed to assist the wants of their warlike compatriots. The views of Almeric were not less ambitious than were those of Noureddin; but the selfishness of the Latin prince was masked by policy, for the augmentation of the general Muselman power, by the junction of the crowns of Aleppo and Egypt, would have been deeply injurious to the Christian interest. The king of Jerusalem marched to Gaza, and reached Pelusium before the army of Shiracouch. The timid and vacillating Shawer heard of his arrival with dread; but when news was brought to him that the Turks had passed the frontier, he treated his nominal allies with friendship, and conducted them to Cairo. Shiracouch soon arrived within ten miles of the camp of the Christians, but in his course over the Syrian desert a storm of tremendous violence had unexpectedly arisen. Most of his camels, and hundreds of his men, were enveloped in an agitated sea of sand, and the feeble remains of his army were therefore unable to cope with the healthy and vigorous Christian troops. Shiracouch re-crossed the Nile, directly Almeric proposed to march against him; but as his retiring only suspended, without finally removing, the danger, the Egyptians wished to renew their former treaties with the Franks, and even to augment the tribute. Two hundred thousand pieces of gold were accordingly paid to the king, and he was promised a similar largess upon the condition of his remaining in Egypt till he had annihilated the Turkish force. For the ratification of the treaty on the part of the caliph, Almeric sent the wise Hugh of Cesarea, and Geoffrey Fulk, a knight Templar, to Cairo. Preceded by a band of royal attendants, armed with sabres, the ambassadors walked through several dark passages, at the entrance of each of which stood a troop of Moorish guards prepared to salute the grand vizir. They

poli was son of Raymond I. and Hodierna, daughter of Baldwin II. king of Jerusalem.

* This Joscelyn de Courtenay, son of the Joscelyn de Courtenay who died in prison, was the third and last count of Edessa. After nine years' captivity, he was ransomed by his sister Agnes, widow of Almeric, and mother or Baldwin IV. His history was mingled with that of Jerusalem, as we shall soon see. He married Agnes, daughter of Henry le Bufle, and had two daughters, who united themselves in marriage to French and German gentlemen of undistinguished families. Le Lignage d'Outremer, p. 239. The Asiatic branch of the Courtenays expired with Joscelyn III.

† The Egyptian expedition and its consequences are mentioned by the archbishop of Tyre, 958, 961. Bernardus, 772, &c.: but most fully in the Arabic writers, Ben Latir, Abulfeda, Abulfaragius, Benscounah, Bohadin, and Abulmahasen, collected by De Guignes, in the thirteenth book of his history. I have also used the more ample extracts from Ben Latir, in the first volume of the Notices des MMS. du Roi.

‡ But Raymond, count of Tripoli, was not released till 1171. His ransom was 80,000 pieces of gold.

§ So little satisfied was Almeric with the Templars who guarded one of these castles, that he hanged a dozen of them.

then entered into a suite of rooms and colonnades open to the day, exhibiting in a thousand forms and combinations Asiatic elegance and Egyptian magnificence. They beheld with astonishment and rapture marble porticos, carved and gilded ceilings, and tesselated pavements. Their ears were saluted with the warbling of rare birds, and the murmur of fountains, and they beheld animals which were only known to the people of the west by the description of poets. At length they reached the saloon of the caliph. The vizir prostrated himself three times, in outward respect for a power which he did not acknowledge, and a veil, richly ornamented with pearls and precious stones, was withdrawn from the throne. He approached and kissed the hands of the royal slave, acquainted him with the purpose of the Christian's visit, and informed him that he must give his hand to the ambassadors, in pledge of his solemn intention to preserve peace. The ceremonious courtiers, ignorant of the nature of real dignity, implored him not to descend to so humiliating a proceeding. The caliph stretched forth his hand, covered with a glove: but the envoys, not participating in the surrounding civility, refused to take it, alleging as their reason, that their master had given his naked hand to the Fatimite deputy, in token of his assent to the treaty, and that the Muselman prince ought to ratify it by the same forms. The caliph smiled, and yielded to the noble pride of the knight.

In the meanwhile the Turks encamped on the western bank of the Nile opposite Cairo. Almeric endeavoured to cross the river: Shiracouch, however, not only prevented him, but made himself master of the little island of Mahalla, which is the commencement of the Delta. The Franks regained the island, and then effected their passage. Their enemy went southward, and marched incessantly for five days. He was overtaken by Almeric, and the greater part of his forces: with the remainder his generals had garrisoned the fortifications of Cairo, and even the seraglio itself. When the Turks heard of the approach of the Franks, most of the emirs advised an immediate flight into Syria: their force, they said, was small, and if defeated, the scattered soldiers would be murdered by the Egyptian peasants. But a mameluke of Noureddin exclaimed, that he who feared the swords of the enemy, ought to quit the service of kings, and be immured in the harem. "Gratitude to Noureddin requires the sacrifice of our lives, when he commands us to prevent the infidels from possessing themselves of Egypt." The courage of the emirs revived, and the cry for battle resounded through the hall of council. A contemporary Arabian writer numbers the Syrian force at only one thousand: but William of Tyre, also a contemporary, says that there were twelve thousand Turks, most of whom were heavily armed, and eleven thousand Arabs who used the lance. The same historian estimates the force of the Franks at a few more than three thousand, with a crowd of cowardly, useless Egyptians, and some lightly-armed Turcople cavalry. The command of the Moslems was given by Shiracouch to his valiant nephew. The ground was uneven, by reason of several hills of sand, which it was the first care of the Syrians to get possession of. Saladin then formed his line of battle, and placed the baggage in the centre, lest it should be pillaged by the peasants. Shiracouch, thinking that the Latins would press upon the centre with all their force, in the expectation of his being at his usual station, gave orders that it should yield; and he placed himself at the right with the bravest part of his army. The prescience of Shiracouch was soon apparent. The attack was made, and succeeded, and the Franks, disappointed that the right wing was not equally penetrable, fell into a brief, but fatal confusion. Hugh of Cesarea, who commanded them, was taken prisoner. Night and darkness separated the combatants. To the surprise of the Muselmans, the next morning the Latins marched in quiet order through a little valley between two hills, whereon the Turks were posted, and went to Lamonia; and shortly afterwards returned to Cairo, defeated but not disgraced.

With that promptitude of decision, and rapidity of march, which so frequently aided the Turks more than their evolutions in battle, Shiracouch proceeded to Alexandria, and his boldness

terrified the people into a surrender of the city. Almeric, on his part, was equally vigorous. He followed the Curdite prince, and encamped within eight miles of him, intercepted the purveyors of provisions to the people, and stationed a sufficient naval force on the Nile, to prevent the usual communication between Upper and Lower Egypt. Famine began to appear in Alexandria, and leaving Saladin to defend it against the Franks, Shiracouch, with one thousand soldiers, passed into the higher provinces; but Almeric, thinking that his intentions were to surprise Cairo, immediately took the road to that city: his march was arrested by a message from an Egyptian emir that the people of Alexandria were prepared to assist him, if he would endeavour to relieve them from Tartarian subjection. Almeric returned, and placed his battering engines against the walls. The Egyptians, seeing the destructive effects of the immense stones which were cast from the military machines of the Latins, thought of driving the soldiers from the city. In the midst of his endeavours, by entreaties and by threats, to quiet the tumult, Shiracouch, laden with booty, arrived in the vicinity. By the medium of his captive, Hugh of Cesarea, the Turk proposed to Almeric that there should be a mutual exchange of prisoners, and that on condition of the road into Syria being opened to the Turks, they would quit Egypt. Accordingly in a few days the standards of Almeric and of Shawer were hoisted on the walls of Alexandria; Saladin and his uncle took the road for Damascus; a Christian was put into Cairo, and the king went to Ascalon.*

Peace was never desired by the Turkish powers, except with the view of making additional preparations for war. The treaty between Almeric and Shiracouch was a mere political artifice, and when they returned to their several countries, the subjugation of Egypt alike occupied the mind of each. The natural bounties, and the defenceless state of that land, presented to the eye of ambition an object both worthy and easy of conquest. The Turks and the Christians concealed their selfishness; the one party by censuring the Egyptians for entering into friendship with the enemies of the prophet, and the other party, by pretending that the Egyptians had secretly treated with Noureddin since the departure of the Latins. Manuel Comnenus, the Greek emperor, had lately given his niece in marriage to the king of Jerusalem, and in the intercourse between the monarchs which this festive event occasioned, it was agreed that the imperial navy should aid the land forces of Almeric. The grand master of the Hospitallers had wasted such treasures as were at his command in folly and crime, and therefore urged the war. The majority of his order had as little principle as himself: yet some contended that peace was the object of religion, and that the sword should never be drawn by a religious order for purposes of conquest. The Templars refused assistance: we will hope from motives of conscience, and not from jealousy of the superiority of the forces of the knights of St. John. Their reasoning was just, if not sincere, that no act of hostility had been committed by the caliph, and that therefore there was no ground for a hostile course. Almeric had the advantage of Noureddin in point of time, and, heading one of the most numerous armies that had ever been raised in Palestine, he left Jerusalem avowedly for the purpose of taking Hems in Syria. But he suddenly turned to the Egyptian side, crossed the desert, and in ten days arrived at Pelusium. The city was soon stormed and sacked, and so furious were the Christians, that they seemed to be jealous of the Oriental character to inhumanity. Some of the Egyptians sunk into despair, others rose into courage at the cruelty of the Franks. The caliph implored the protection of Noureddin; and so completely had horror triumphed over Asiatic delicacy, that in his letters he enclosed the hair of the women of his seraglio. Shawer raised soldiers in every quarter, and burnt the old town of Foskat between Pelusium and Cairo, in order to prevent its falling into the hands of the enemy. On the road from Pelusium to the capital of Egypt, the Christians were met by the envoys of the

* Archb. of Tyre, 961, 974, and the Arabic writers in the 13th book of De Guignes, are my authorities for the interesting events in Syria, in 1167.

vizir, who, knowing the avariciousness of Almeric, requested peace, and offered a million pieces of gold as the price of it. The soldiers anticipated nothing but the pillage of Cairo; but Almeric, blinded by his favourite passion, acquiesced in the proposition, accepted one hundred thousand pieces, and even consented to a cessation of arms, in order that the remainder might be collected from the Provincials. By blandishments and artful persuasions, Shawer kept his allies at rest till the armies of Aleppo reached the frontier of Egypt. Enraged at the successful cunning of the vizir, Almeric shook off the demon of avarice; but the moment for action had passed, and he was compelled to make a disgraceful retreat into Syria. His navy also had not received the promised co-operation of imperial ships, and after watching for a short time the entrance of the Nile, it returned to the harbours of Palestine. All the odium of defeat was cast upon the grand master of the Hospitalians. The friends of the king condemned the man against whom indignation had arisen as the squanderer of the treasures of St. John; and the knights partook of the general feeling, and deprived him of his titles and honours.*

Shiracouch, the deliverer of Egypt, received such distinguished marks of gratitude from the caliph Adhed, that Shawer was alarmed for the existence of his own authority. In his dark ferocious bosom he revolved the means of securing the person of the successful stranger; but before he could attempt to execute his purposes, he himself was seized by Saladin and his friends, and at the command of the caliph his head was struck off. Shiracouch was then invested with the dignities of grand vizir of Egypt. But he lived only two months in the enjoyment of them. He always styled himself the subject of Noureddin, and his lieutenant in Egypt. Noureddin himself was detained in Syria by a war with some rebellious subjects, and he was too good a politician to throw all his strength on foreign expeditions, while perils surrounded his own dominions. On the death of Shiracouch the emirs of his army pressed their several claims to the caliph for the lofty and dangerous station. Never had there been so bright an opportunity of reducing the power of the vizir, and the caliph therefore resolved to nominate some individual, whose pretensions were not founded on rank or great success in arms. Saladin had unwillingly followed his uncle to the wars: he was devoted to love and pleasure, and he was almost devoid of authority in the army. Adhed consequently named him grand vizir. For a while the caliph appeared to be a real sovereign, and the emirs of Shiracouch's army deserted their successful compeer. But some chiefs, and particularly the Curds, were recalled, and Saladin was so bountiful and judicious in his distribution of the treasures which as chief minister he commanded, that he laid the foundation of permanent power. Egypt was now in the hands of the Syrians, and the people of Jerusalem apprehended that the fleets of Damietta would ravage their coasts, and hinder the passage of the pilgrims. They resorted again to their usual resource, when they were no longer able to assist themselves, and despatched ambassadors to the princes of the west, and to the emperor of Constantinople. The tale of woe was heard in Europe with cold commiseration, and produced no active assistance; but Manuel prepared a considerable navy for the succour of the Franks. The united forces of the Greeks and Latins laid siege to Damietta: but famine, the rains of winter, and, above all, the negligence, and even treason of some of the holy warriors, rendered a fifty days' siege ineffectual. They were alarmed too by the news that Noureddin was hastening into Egypt, to check a rebellion which some of the nobility of the country had raised against the vizir. The march of the sultan would have been as destructive to the Franks, as serviceable to Saladin; but it was stopped by the general desolation which an earthquake occasioned. Most of the cities in Syria were destroyed, the wretched people of Aleppo took up their abode in the fields, round the ruins of their town, and even the solid walls and towers of Antioch were levelled with the ground. Yet Saladin not only recovered his authority over Egypt, but took from the Christians the towns of Gaza and Darum: two places which

* Archb. of Tyre, 978–80. De Guignes, ii, p. 201–204.

were regarded as the keys of the kingdom of Palestine on its Egyptian frontier. On one occasion the Latins violated a treaty of peace, and robbed some merchants; and although Saladin compelled them to renew the treaty, yet they did not return the whole of the plunder. Noureddin thought that the time was arrived for taking from the Fatimite caliphs the vestige of their spiritual dignity: but his cautious lieutenant dreaded lest a popular insurrection should be excited at so bold a revolution. However, one of his council ascended the oratory before the khatib or general reader, and offered the public prayer in the name of the caliph of Bagdad. No cry of astonishment, no burst of rage and indignation, at this offence to national principles, broke the solemn tranquillity of devotion. In a few days the will of the court spread through the country, and the people silently submitted to the subversion of their altars. Adhed was stretched on the bed of sickness during these transactions; and he died in ignorance of the revolution.* Saladin seized the immense stores of gold and precious stones which the luxurious and magnificent spirit of the Fatimites had amassed. He kept in the seraglio the children of Adhed, and sold his slaves. The important change was soon communicated to Bagdad. The grateful caliph Mosthadi sent a robe of linen and two swords to Saladin, and confirmed him in the title of Noureddin's lieutenant in Egypt. The green silk on the pulpits in Egypt gave way to the black ensigns of the Abassides; and the schism of two hundred years' duration in the Moslem church was healed.

Elated and arrogant, Saladin began to murmur at his obligation of acknowledging the lordship of Noureddin: and when summoned on some occasion of war to join his standard, he declined attendance; and his ambitious spirit appeared in the frivolity of his excuse. Noureddin, in anger at his lieutenant, threatened to march into Egypt and chastise his insubordination. In a council of the emirs, Saladin declared that arms should be taken up if Noureddin attempted to execute his threat. But the father of Saladin stopped the haughty and impetuous youth, and solemnly protested, that so absolute did he consider the power of Noureddin to be, that were he to command the head of Saladin to be cut off, he would not hesitate to sacrifice his own paternal feelings. In moments of privacy, however, Nodgemeddin unfolded his breast to his son. He reproached him for permitting his designs even to be surmised by men who were jealous of his pre-eminence, and ready to betray him. "Noureddin will know all immediately. Write to him straight, and prevent his coming by the humility of your submission." As the old politician apprehended, the Syrian lord was informed of the emirs' deliberations; for, by the means of carrying pigeons, he was quickly made acquainted with every transaction in his vast empire. But an humble letter of Saladin, and the daily hostilities between the Syrians and the Latins, checked his suspicions.

War continued to rage between the Christians and the infidels, but with no decisive issues. Noureddin was also occupied in chastising rebellious princes; and as the design of Saladin to render himself independent became every day more visible, Noureddin resolved to go into Egypt, and take from him the government. But he was seized by a quinsey, and died at Damascus. The strong expression of Abulfeda, that a volume could not contain an enumeration of his virtues, receives some countenance from the manner in which he was spoken of by Christians. The archbishop of Tyre celebrates his justice, his clemency, and religious disposition.* Though the greatest Muselman prince of his age, he was as simple in his dress as the meanest pheasant. In his reign the laws were so well

* There is no foundation for the archbishop of Tyre's assertion that Saladin put him to death.

* Noureddin had occasion to reduce into good obedience Kilidge Arslan II. the sultan of Iconium; and the first condition in the treaty was, that he should make a new profession of faith; for he was suspected of being attached to the sect of philosophers. Ben Latir, I. 574. I may add, some people thought that he wished to become a Christian: and the Pope wrote him a long letter on the subject, which, if any person be troubled with insomnium, he may read M. Paris, p. 94, 97. The good Catholics thought, that in consequence of this letter, the sultan was baptized in secret.

administered, that Damascus was crowded with strangers. The public revenues were never distributed by the king except in the presence of the doctors of the law; and so small a portion did he reserve for the support of his dignity, that his queen complained of his parsimony. But he replied, "I fear God, and am no more than the treasurer of the Moslems. Their property I cannot alienate; but I still possess three shops in the city of Hems; these you may take, and these alone I can bestow." In every part of his dominions he built mosques and hospitals, and places of refreshment for travellers. The ascetic, too, might find a convent, and the studious a school. But the most beneficial of all his institutions was a tribunal for the redress of wrongs which emirs and governors had committed on their subjects. Power acknowledged the dignity of genius; for men of learning were so much the objects of his attention, that he arose to meet them, and never required them to observe the Asiatic custom of standing in the presence of their sovereign.*

The death of the Syrian lord was heard of with joy by the Franks. Almeric suddenly marched an army to Paneas. The widow of Noureddin commanded the fortress, and endeavoured to purchase peace from the king. But, in order to extort a larger sum, he laid vigorous siege to the place. After fifteen days, however, of incessant attacks, he abandoned the country, having first accepted the money which the garrison had offered at the commencement. This was the last event of the feeble reign of Almeric. He died on his return to Jerusalem. Avarice had for years been in him a far more powerful passion than ambition. He was cold, selfish, mean, and degenerate. He was less learned than his brother, though his disposition to taciturnity and seriousness was favourable to the acquisition of knowledge. Both kings studied, and, to some extent, practised religion; but as Baldwin was the greater friend of the clergy, his character has descended to posterity in a more lofty strain of panegyric.†

The marriage of Almeric with Agnes de Courtenay gave birth to the seventh monarch of Jerusalem. But Baldwin IV. was a leper: after many struggles with disease, he found that his corporeal infirmities incapacitated him from performing the royal functions; and he committed the government to a French cavalier named Guy de Lusignan, who had married Sybilla, daughter of Almeric, and widow of a lord of the Montferrat family. But the regent had neither talents nor courage for the difficult office: the kingdom was torn with the dissensions of the royal family; and Baldwin summoned his brother-in-law to court, for the purpose of annulling a marriage, which the proud barons declared ought never to have been contracted between a royal heiress and a simple gentleman. But Lusignan failed to appear: the patriarchs and the grand masters interceded for him; but the king would not receive him again to favour; and by a new act of state he gave the crown to the infant son of his sister Sybilla and her Italian lord. Raymond II. count of Tripoli, was nominated regent; and, in order to avoid any suspicion of selfishness, he insisted that the custody of the

* D'Herbelot, art Noureddin.

† Archb. of Tyre, 956—7, 981, 995. De Guignes, ii. 205, 211. My "faithful chronicler," William of Tyre, now fails me. A continuation of him to the year 1275 was written in old French, by Hugh Plagon, a man who lived at Rome in the thirteenth century. It is contained in the fifth volume of Martenne, Vet. Scrip. Amp. Coll. I have found it of the highest value. I have had great aid from the work on the holy wars of Bernard the treasurer. The author flourished in the middle of the thirteenth century; and his book closes with the events of the year 1230. He evidently took a great deal from William of Tyre and other respectable authorities: but he is occasionally original, and never was an abject copyist. The work was originally written in French, and was then translated into Latin by some Italian writer, and in this versification it is contained in the seventh volume of Muratori's Collection of Italian Historians. Another work of a compiler, which, in the dearth of original writers, I have found of use, is that of Marin Sanudo, detto Torsello, a noble Venetian, who lived in the fourteenth century. He made five journeys into Armenia, Syria, Egypt, &c. He was a man of large inquiry, and has given the history, and described the natural, social, and political condition of the countries which he visited. He was fanatically bent on the necessity and advantages of a new crusade: he pressed Pope John XXII. to second him; he travelled through Europe; visited the great; explained to them the state of the East; but he could not obtain any assistance.

young monarch should be with Joscelyn de Courtenay; that the castles and fortresses of the kingdom should be kept by the two military orders, except the town of Beritus, the revenues of which ought to support the dignity of the regency. The important clause was added, that if Baldwin V. should die in his minority, Raymond was to continue regent till the Pope, the emperor of Germany, and the kings of England and France had decided between the rival claims of Sybilla and of Isabella the daughter of Almeric by Mary his second wife.* Baldwin IV. died within three years after this wise disposition of his kingdom had been made; and his death was quickly followed by that of the infant monarch. The resolutions of the council were forgotten in the suggestions of ambition; Joscelyn de Courtenay seized Beritus; the patriarch was the friend of Sybilla; the grand master of the Templars hated the count of Tripoli; and with this co-operation of interests, Sybilla and her husband, Guy de Lusignan, became queen and king of Jerusalem.† The injustice and suddenness of this measure filled the country with amazement. The barons were indignant at this defiance of their power; and as Guy de Lusignan had more of the courtly than the martial virtues, they despised their new sovereign.‡ They placed their hopes on Humphrey de Thoron; but he pusillanimously declined the honour of the crown of Jerusalem, and Sybilla's genius awed him into submission. Most of the barons then yielded to circumstances, and took the oath of fealty to the new king and queen.* The count of Tripoli still withheld his allegiance; Guy de Lusignan, as violent as he was weak, besieged him in Tiberias; Raymond allied himself with Saladin, and nobly declared that he would not make peace with the usurper till the town of Beritus was restored to himself as regent.† His Muselman allies craved his permission to pass into the royal territories. The count of Tripoli was divided in his good disposition to the Christians, and his fear of the anger of Saladin; and he endeavoured to reconcile his duties by allowing the Muselmans to cross the Jordan in the morning, and to repass it in the evening. He warned the Christians against quitting their homes during this singular incursion of the Moslems; but the imprudence of the grand Master of the Templars broke the peace. One hundred and forty knights fearlessly attacked seven thousand Muselmans; but only two of the cavaliers survived to repent of their rashness.

At this period the power of Saladin had attained its height, and the hour was come when the Latins were to feel the dreadful effects of the consolidation of the Muselman strength. By the reputation of his talents and military virtues,

* Archb. of Tyre, 1040–1043. Cont. of William of Tyre, in Martenne, vol. v. p. 585, &c. Bernardus, c. 145, p. 781. Isabella was at that time married to Humphrey, lord of Thoron.

† Bernardus, a. 147, p. 782.

‡ So despicable was Guy de Lusignan, that his brother Geoffrey was right in saying, "those who made my brother a king, would have made me a god if they had known me." Guy de Lusignan was despicable for his crimes as well as for his weakness. He had murdered Patric, earl of Salisbury. Henry II. banished him from the English dominions in France, the scene of the murder; the exile assumed the cross, and went to the Holy Land. Hoveden, p. 514. Dugdale, Baronage, vol. i. p. 175. Voltaire, in his tragedy of Zara, has made Lusignan a brave and noble personage; with the same poetical license as Rowe used, when he adorned Tamerlane with every virtue under heaven.

* Hoveden and some other English writers have recorded a story, that the count of Tripoli and his friends proffered their allegiance to the queen, upon the reasonable condition that she should be divorced from Lusignan, and should choose such a person for the partner of her throne as would be able to defend the kingdom. To this proposal the queen expressed a ready assent, requiring from the barons in return their oaths that they would acknowledge for sovereign whomsoever she elected. In full expectation that the choice would fall on the powerful count of Tripoli, they subscribed to the terms. A sentence of divorce from Lusignan was easily obtained by the queen; and the ceremony of her coronation took place. After she had been crowned, she put the diadem on the head of Lusignan: she saluted him as her husband, bent the knee to him as king, and cried aloud in a commanding voice and gesture, "those whom God has joined, man must not separate." The people were imposed upon by the grandeur of the spectacle; and the astonished lords were obliged to submit. But much credit cannot be given to this entertaining story; for it is at total variance with the narratives of Plagon and Coggeshall, who are far better witnesses than Hoveden.

† Bernardus, c. 140, 141.

by policy, by artifice, and also by the dagger (for in those days people saw what was passing, and kept a profound silence), by all these means, Saladin became lord of Syria and Egypt; the names of the sons of Noureddin were obliterated from the coins of the kingdom, and the books of the mosque, and the atabeks of Syria sunk into oblivion. In his rise to supreme dominion, he was often obliged to check his master-passion, hatred of the Christians; and though, from the death of Almeric to the accession of Guy, the Latin kingdom could not boast perfect peace,* yet the balance of power remained in its usual state, for Saladin's wars in Syria did not allow him to overwhelm the Franks. His love of religious hostilities wanted no stimulus, but the conduct of one of the barons of the kingdom of Jerusalem would have driven the most peaceable monarch to war. In the vicissitudes of fortune, Reginald,† lord of Antioch, had recovered his liberty, but he again found himself a soldier of chance, for Constantia was dead, and her son had taken the reins of government. His superficial accomplishments once more found their admirers; the lady of Karac and Montreal gave him her hand and barony; and thus by his first and his third marriage, he became a powerful lord on the Arabian frontiers of Palestine. But, in contempt of all existing treaties of peace between the nations, Reginald incessantly plundered and devastated the Moslem states. Saladin called for redress from the court of Jerusalem; but the government was too feeble to chastise a powerful ruffian: and in revenge, the Moslems seized as prisoners fifteen hundred pilgrims who had been shipwrecked on the Egyptian coast. But Reginald was unchanged; he intercepted the caravans between India and Egypt, and even advanced to the valley of Rabid, within ten miles from Medina.* The sacrilegious designs and ceaseless robberies of the lord of Karac inflamed the anger of Saladin to madness, and he swore by God and his prophet that he would retort the aggressions, and plunge his sword into the heart of the infidel dog. When tranquillity succeeded fierce civil discord, Saladin summoned his Turks to his standard, and fifty thousand horse, and a multitude of foot soldiers, heard with joy their leader's intention to capture Jerusalem itself. After some vicissitudes of war, he removed the seat of hostility to the castle of Tiberias, which was at that time the residence of the wife of the count of Tripoli. As soon as the Muselman storm began to blacken the horizon of the Christians, the magnanimous Raymond forgot the injustice of Lusignan, and devoted himself to the general good. When the news of the siege of Tiberias reached Jerusalem, the count of Tripoli declared that he would willingly suffer his city to become the prey of the Muselmans, and advised the king to adhere to the tactics of defensive war, and in time the Saracenian army would be dissolved by reason of the want of water and provisions. But the grand master of the Templars persuaded the feeble Lusignan that there was treachery veiled under this apparent disinterestedness; and, accordingly, it was resolved that arms should be opposed by arms. Many of the towns were drained of their soldiers, and popular impatience co-ope-

* The wars between Saladin and the Christians, in the reign of Baldwin IV., are not worthy of detail, for they led to no decisive issue. One circumstance, however, should be mentioned. A few hundred of the military orders fearlessly attacked some thousand Muselmans. Only two or three of the valiant band survived the battle. The bravery of the troop was so heroic as to receive the admiration of the enemy. Some of the knights, after having lost their swords, threw themselves on the foe, and fought with their fists. Others drew the Saracenian arrows from their bodies, and hurled them at the foe. One of the Templars, named James de Maille, mounted on a white horse, fought so nobly, that the Saracens called him St. George, and, after the battle, they hung over him with respect, and even drank his blood, thinking they could thereby acquire his courage. Coggeshall, p. 547, 552. Hist. Hieros. in Bongarsius, p. 1151. The last-quoted historian adds a circumstance, which, if Mr. Burke had known of, he certainly would have introduced into his opening speech on Hastings's impeachment, as a beautiful counterpart to a well-known delicate tale he told on that occasion.

† The previous history of Reginald will be found in a subsequent page, when the general history of Antioch is detailed. I have avoided much confusion and obscurity by arranging and classifying events: and the present case is almost the only one where that mode of writing has been attended with inconvenience.

* Albulfeda, iv. 53.

rated with the precipitancy of the monarch. Every breast beat high with the noble thought of exterminating the Muselmans, and prudence never whispered that there was danger in placing the fortunes of the kingdom on the event of a single battle. Saladin was encamped near the lake of Tiberias, and the Christians hastened to encounter him. But they soon experienced those evils, from heat and thirst, which the count of Tripoli had prophesied would be the fate of their foes if the Christians remained at rest. In the plain near Tiberias the two armies met in conflict. For a whole day the engagement was in suspense, and at night, the Latins retired to some rocks, whose desolation and want of water had compelled them to try the fortune of a battle. The heat of a Syrian summer's night was rendered doubly horrid, because the Saracens set fire to some woods which surrounded the Christian camp. In the morning, the two armies were for a while stationary, in seeming consciousness that the fate of the Moslem and the Christian worlds was in their hands. But when the sun arose, the Latins uttered their shout of war, the Turks answered by the clangor of their trumpets and atabals, and the sanguinary tumult began. The bishops and clergy were, according to custom, the nourishers of martial virtue. They ran through the ranks, cheering the soldiers of the church militant. The piece of the true cross was placed on a hillock, and the broken squadrons continually rallied round it. Piety was equally efficacious on the minds of the Muselmans; and the Saracenian hatred of infidels was enkindled by the religious enthusiasm of the Christians. The crescent had more numerous supporters than the cross, and for that reason triumphed. The battle ended in the massacre of the Latins. They who fell in the field were few in number when compared with those who were slain in the flight, or were hurled from the precipices. The fragment of holy wood was taken from the hands of the bishop of Acre. The king, the master of the Templars, and the marquis of Montferrat, were captured. The chief of the Hospitalians fled as far as Ascalon, and then died of his wounds.*

In the time of the Crusades, clemency to the vanquished was not the virtue of Christians, and it has in no age been the quality of the Moslems. The valour of the Templars and Hospitalians should have been respected by the brave and victorious Muselman; but he hated them because he had feared them, and death, or conversion to Islamism, was the only choice which he offered to such of the knights as had been made prisoners. On this dreadful occasion, no selfish and secular considerations obstructed the principles of virtue; the religious heroism of the cavaliers equalled their military firmness, and all of them showed by their manner of dying the sincerity of their professions.* The king and nobility anticipated the choice of apostacy or martyrdom; but Saladin presented a cup of ice water to Lusignan, and by that act of hospitality assured him of his life. The king wished to pass the vessel to Reginald, lord of Karac: but Saladin declared that the violator of truces deserved no mercy, and that, in retribution for the attack which he had meditated upon the holy cities in Arabia, he must die or renounce his religion. His death was more honourable than his life; virtue had been stifled, but not totally extinguished in the breast of Chatillon; and at this fatal moment he shone a religious hero, and avowed that no Christian should preserve his existence on base conditions. The scimetar of the Muselman severed his head from his body. No more blood was shed, but the vanquished king and nobility were detained as prisoners till their ransom should be agreed upon.†

* Herold, ch. vi. Neub. lib. iii. cap. xvi., xvii., and xviii. Bohadin, ch. xxxv. Matthew Paris, James de Vitry, and the anonymous author of the history of Jerusalem, at the end of the first volume of the Gesta Dei per Francos, speak in very general terms of this eventful battle. One of the Templars, in a letter which is preserved in Hoveden, p. 637, estimates the loss of the Christians at thirty thousand!! But there were only twelve hundred loricati and twenty thousand foot soldiers engaged. James de Vitry, p. 1118.

* It appears, from the letter cited in the last note, that two hundred and thirty Templars were killed by Saladin after the battle of Tiberias. The number of the Hospitalian heroes I cannot find.

† D'Herbelot, art. Salaheddin, vol. iii., p 177.

After having offered thanks to God and his prophet for the victory at Tiberias, Saladin began to reap the consequences. Acre, Jaffa, Cesarea, and Beritus, had been drained of their garrisons, and therefore yielded to him. Tiberias, the immediate occasion of the battle, also fell, and the heroes of Asia encompassed Tyre. The citizens were prepared to deliver the keys to Saladin; but the bravery of a young cavalier revived their noble spirit. Conrad,* a son of William III. marquis of Montferrat, was one of the most adventurous knights of the day. His services at Constantinople, in quelling a rebellion, had been rewarded by the hand of the emperor's sister; but he quickly left the palaces of luxury for the theatre of honour. Before his arrival in Palestine, the Muselmans had triumphed near Tiberias, and Conrad heard that in the general wreck of the Christian affairs his father had fallen into the hands of Saladin. He repaired to Tyre, and his bold attitude checked the Turks, who withdrew to the more important city of Ascalon. In the anxiety of doubt, Saladin was cruel; but when success was certain, he was generally merciful. He offered peace to the Ascalonians; but they cried that they cared not for their own lives: it was only the state of their children, and of the king of Jerusalem, that they regarded. Saladin was affected by their disinterestedness; he took them under his protection, and promised soon to set the king at liberty.

Jerusalem became the refuge for such of the Christians as had escaped the sword or the chains of the Turks. One hundred thousand people are said to have been in the place: but so few were the soldiers, and so feeble was the government of the queen, that the Holy City was no object of terror. Saladin declared his unwillingness to stain with human blood a spot which even the Turks held in reverence, as having been sanctified by the presence of many of God's messengers. He offered the people, on condition of the surrender of the city, money and settlements in Syria. Prudence suggested the acceptance of this offer, but, clinging to that feeling of superstition which had given birth to the holy wars, the Christians declared that they would not resign to the infidels the place where the Saviour had died. Saladin was indignant at this rejection of his kindness, and swore to enter the place sword in hand, and retaliate the dreadful carnage which the Franks had made in the days of Godfrey of Bouillon. The people cast their eyes on Balean of Ibelin as their commander. The veteran organized the forces, and put arms into the hands of the citizens. So great was the enthusiasm, that the clergy contributed the golden ornaments of the churches, which were all carried to the mint, and converted into money. Saladin attacked the western, and then the northern sides of the walls. During fourteen days there were various engagements; but the Christians, though brave to desperation, could never destroy the military engines of the Muselmans. The conflicts were dreadful; every one fearlessly exposed his life, because the Moslem fanatics were conscious that if they died they should instantly drink of the waters of Paradise, and because the Christians were happy in exchanging an earthly for a heavenly Jerusalem. At the end of fourteen days the Latins discovered that the walls near the gate of St. Stephen's were undermined. From that moment the defence of the city was abandoned; the clergy prayed for the miraculous protection of heaven, the soldiers threw down their arms, and crowded into the churches. The consternation was augmented by the discovery of a correspondence between some Greeks that were in the place and the Muselmans. The Latins then recollected the proffered clemency of Saladin, and a deputation of them implored a renewal of it. But he urged the force of the oath which he had taken, and that it was ridiculous to capitulate for a fallen town. But, said he, if you will surrender the city to me, I will behave to you with mercy, and allow you to redeem the inhabitants. After some deliberation, the Christians resolved to trust the generosity of the conqueror. Saladin stipulated that the military and nobles should be escorted to Tyre, and that the Latin population should become slaves, if they were not ransomed at the rate of ten crowns of

* Conrad and the husband of Sybilla, mentioned in p. 137, were brothers.

gold for a man, five for a woman, and one for a child.*

After four days had been consumed by the miserable inhabitants in weeping over and embracing the holy sepulchre and other sacred places, the Latins left the city, and passed through the enemy's camp. Children of all ages clung round their mothers, and the strength of the fathers was used in bearing away some little portion of their household furniture. In solemn procession, the clergy, the queen, and her retinue of ladies followed. Saladin advanced to meet them, and his heart melted with compassion, when they approached him in the attitude and with the air of suppliants. The softened warrior uttered some words of pity, and the women, encouraged by his sympathising tenderness, declared that one word of his would remove their distress. "Our fortunes and possessions," they continued, "you may freely enjoy; but restore to us our fathers, our husbands, and our brothers. With these dear objects we cannot be entirely miserable. They will take care of us, and that God whom we reverence, and who provides for the birds of the air, will not forget our children." It is the generous remark of an enemy, that Saladin was in nothing a barbarian but in name. With courteous clemency he released all the prisoners whom the women requested, and loaded them with presents. This action, worthy of a gentle and Christian knight, was not the consequence of a transient feeling of humanity; for when he entered the city of Jerusalem, and heard of the tender care with which the military friars of St. John treated the sick, he allowed ten of the order to remain in their hospital till they could complete the work of humanity.†

The infidels were once more established in Jerusalem. The great cross was taken down from the church of the sepulchre, and for two days dragged through the mire of the streets. The bells of the churches were melted, and the floors and walls of the mosque of Omar were purified with Damascene rose-water. Prayers and thanksgivings were offered to Heaven for the victory; all individual merit was forgotten, and the conquest of Jerusalem was attributed to the bounty of God, and his desire for the universal influence of Islamism.* Ascalon, Laodicea, Gabala, Sidon, Nazareth, Bethlehem, all those places, and their territories, fell when their great support was gone, and Tyre was almost the only town of consequence which remained to the Christians.† Though the metropolis of the Latin kingdom was lost, all was not lost, and the defence of Tyre presents some interesting scenes. Saladin again prepared to level that city with the ground, and was again opposed by the valiant Conrad. The Tyrians felt the indissoluble union subsisting between the reciprocal duties of allegiance and protection, and bound themselves, in the event of success, to acknowledge the young prince of Montferrat as their chief. A few military friars organized and disciplined the volunteers; all the inhabitants took arms, and even the women shot arrows from the walls, or assisted the operations of their husbands. Saladin cast immense stones into the town, and attacked it with all his efforts,‡ but the spirit of freedom triumphed over the thirst of conquest, and the Muselmans were necessitated to raise the siege. Some time after the capitulation of Ascalon, Guy de Lusignan, the grand master of the Templars, and others, obtained their liberty: and the husband of Sybilla solemnly renounced to Saladin his title to the kingdom of Jerusalem. The unprincipled Guy took the road for Tyre, and announced his resolve to enter the

* Bernardus, 795, &c. Continuation of William, 612, &c,

† Bernardus, p. 801. Contin. William of Tyre, p. 618, &c. Bened. p. 485. In consequence of pecuniary redemption, and Saladin's generosity to Ibelin and other barons, only a few thousand people remained prisoners. Many of the Christians who left Jerusalem went to Antioch; but Bohemond not only denied them hospitality, but even stripped them. They marched into the Saracenian country, and were well received.

* Bernardus, p. 801. Nubridge, lib. 3, c. 18. Bohadin, ch. 36, and two letters of the knights Templars in Palestine to their friends in Europe, in Hoveden, p. 637, 645.

† Coggeshall Chron. in Martenne, V. 812. Bohadin, cap. 42, &c.

‡ It is said that during the siege, Saladin caused Conrad's father to be drawn before the walls, and proclaimed that the old man's head should be taken off. But Conrad told the herald that Saladin could not, without the utmost danger to himself, put a prisoner of war to death who had surrendered on his parole.

city as sovereign lord. But the people, more indignant at his cowardice than his perfidy, declared that the prince of the town should be, — the man who had so nobly preserved its independence. The knights of St. John supported the young cavalier: and it was in vain that the grand master of the Templars, who adhered to his miserable friend, made a vehement resistance to the pretensions of Conrad.*

The valour of the citizens of Tripoli, checked the victorious Saladin, and the Moslem hero went to the more easy subjugation of the Antiochian states (whose history I shall presently relate), when he heard of the approach to the shores of Palestine of the king of Sicily, who was the first monarch of the west that flew to arms when the direful news reached Europe of the catastrophe at Tiberias. The count of Tripoli died, and with him ceased the dynasty in the east of Raymond, count of Tholouse. Raymond II. died childless, and he bestowed his county on his godson, Raymond III., son of Bohemond III., prince of Antioch.†

Antioch was the state which principally suffered in consequence of the fall of Edessa. The Turks could cross the Euphrates without opposition. The warlike Raymond of Poitiers lost his life in attempting to resist Noureddin; the strong fortress of Apamea yielded to the Muselman, and happily the rivalry of some Syrian Atabeks called him from his career of victory. Raymond's widow, Constantia, disdained for awhile the authoritative advice of the barons of Palestine, to associate with herself, in marriage, some potent lord, for the better government of Antioch during the minority of her son; but three years after the death of her first lord, she elected for her husband Reginald de Chatillon, lord of Karac and Montreal.‡ The new regent conciliated the Pisans by giving them a settlement in Laodicea, and renewing their privileges in Antioch.* In expectation of a liberal reward from Manuel, Reginald reduced Toros prince of Armenia and Cilicia to subjection. But as the emperor failed in his promises, the prince of Antioch, with more anger than wisdom, sailed to Cyprus, and plundered the imperial states. Manuel did not succomb with tameness to this insult: he led a large army into Antioch; Reginald was compelled to submit to the consequences of indiscretion, and with a halter round his neck he gave his sword to the emperor. Peace was granted to him, and the Grecian force returned to Constantinople. Reginald then directed his arms against the Turks, but after some successes his imprudence and cupidity made him fall into an ambuscade, and he was conducted prisoner to Aleppo. In 1163, Bohemond the third was acknowledged lord of Antioch; but his personal vices, and political profligacy, were deeply injurious to the Christians. He had strengthened his house by marrying his sister Mary to the emperor Manuel, whose wife Irene had died, and by marrying Irene or Theodora, the niece of his brother-in-law. But about the year 1181 (not more than a twelvemonth after the second marriage) he banished his wife and infant child, and married another woman, and his irregular conduct deserved and received the censures of the church. His own patriarch excommunicated him; in return he confiscated the estates of the prelate and his suffragans, and disgusted and alarmed at the war between church and state, the respectable inhabitants of Antioch emigrated. But by the wise and benevolent interposition of the different authorities of Jerusalem, peace was restored. The nobles of Antioch returned, and the dignity of the church was preserved by the agreement, that although the functions of the civil and ecclesiastical magistrates should be

* Bernardus, p. 801, &c. Neub. lib. 3, c. 19. Diceto, 642. The naval forces of the Tyrians and Pisans attacked Azotus in the year 1188. The Arabic emir was taken, and Conrad exchanged him for the old marquis, who died soon afterwards.

† See note L.

‡ The archbishop of Tyre (p. 926) is very severe on the pretensions of Reginald. He upbraids him with being a mere soldier of fortune: but he certainly was of the respectable family of the lords of Chatillon sur Marne. See l'Art de vérifier les Dates, &c. 1. 445.

* The Pisans seem always to have been the great supporters of the Antiochian and Tripolitan states; if any conclusions may be drawn from the great privileges which the princes of Antioch and Tripoli were continually making to them. See the charters in Muratori, Antiq. Italiæ Med. Ævi. Dissert. 30.

performed, yet the personal excommunication of Bohemond should continue till he recalled his second wife.*

After the fall of Jerusalem, Saladin carried his conquering army into the principality of Antioch. Five and twenty towns submitted, and Antioch itself became tributary to the Muselmans.†

The victories of Saladin, and the loss of Jerusalem, were melancholy contrasts to those hopes of the triumph of Christianity over Islamism which the council of Clermont had held out to Europe. In the eighty-eight years that the Crusaders possessed the Holy City, peace seldom dwelt about her walls: surrounded by numerous hostile nations, she was in a continual siege; and as great a number of wars were undertaken for the maintenance of her existence, as for the purposes of conquest. In the time of Godfrey of Bouillon, Asia was in a state of more than usual imbecility. The Arabian and Tartarian storms were spent, the caliphs were pontiffs rather than sovereign princes, and the great empire of their predecessors was dismembered and scattered. But states which are formed by arms, not by policy, are as quick in their rise as rapid in their decay, and ruin and disorder are the scenes of ambition. The passions and abilities of the enterprising lords of Syria raised several powerful governments; the hostile aspect of the Moslems increased in terror, when the imperial and royal crowns of Germany and France were broken; and the crescent triumphed over the cross when Saladin united and led the Muselman nations to the conquest of Jerusalem.‡ In strength of body, and personal and military prowess, the Turks and the Franks were equal;§ but the Turks were in multitudes; the Franks were few,* and as the twelfth century was an age of war rather than of policy, the Latins did not by intellectual superiority raise themselves above their enemies. The Christians scrupled not to break treaties† with

* Archb. of Tyre, 1019, &c.

† Sanutus, lib. 3, pars 9, cap. 9. Bohadin, cap. 46, &c.

‡ The archbishop of Tyre states the consolidation of the Muhammedan powers as a great cause of the overthrow of the Christians, p. 1001.

§ Among the causes of the superiority of the Turks over the Latins, in the decline of the kingdom, James de Vitry mentions the improvement of the Muselmans in military equipments. He says, that when the Latins first invaded Palestine, the Saracens were unskilful in battle, and knew only the use of the bow; but that, in the course of time, they acquired Latin discipline, and the Latin mode of fighting, with swords, lances, &c. p. 1115, 1116, in Bongarsius. These assertions are in direct contradiction to the statement of that excellent historian, Albert of Aix, who, in describing the preliminaries to the battle of Doryleum, mentions the armour and shields of the Turks, and, according to him, the archers preceded the heavily armed troops precisely in the Francic fashion. Lib. ii. c. xxvii. p. 206. It cannot, however, be supposed, that the weapons and modes of warfare of the Asiatic soldiers precisely assimilated to the European forms: though it is likely that offensive and defensive armour perpetually varied, and that each of the hostile nations adopted many of the ideas of the other. But a perusal of the historians of the crusades will leave an impression on the mind, that, however varied might have been the minute alterations, yet that the general character of the arms of the respective combatants was different; that the Latins were heavily armed, and chiefly trusted for success to the force and weight of their charge; and that the Turks had lighter arms, and confided in the celerity of their evolutions. The first Crusaders had more enthusiasm, but less discipline, than the last: for there is no doubt that the art of war improved among Christians as time advanced. The Atabeks Zenghi and Noureddin, Shiracouch and Saladin, were far greater generals than Kilidge Arslan and Kerboga, and their superiority had, of course, great weight in events.

* An account of the military force of the kingdom of Jerusalem has been already given, p. 83, ante. The state was occasionally assisted by new volunteers from Europe. "The vow which brought them to the Holy Land was generally for a limited time, at the conclusion of which they were always impatient to depart. Their armies broke up at the most critical conjunctures, as it was not the necessity of the service, but the extent of their vows which held them together. As soon, therefore, as they habituated themselves to the country, and attained some experience, they were gone, and new men supplied their places, to acquire experience by the same misfortunes, and to lose it by the same inconstancy." Burke's Abridgment of English History. Burke's Works, vol. x., p. 493, 8vo. edit.

† It was impossible that any respect could be entertained for people like the Latins, who were not only cruel invaders and sanguinary persecutors, but common robbers. At one time Baldwin III. gave the Muselmans liberty of pasturage round Paneas. As soon as the ground was covered with flocks of sheep, the Christians soldiers broke into the country, carried away the animals, and murdered their keepers. Archb.

the Muselmans; they never attempted to conciliate the foe, or to live in terms of large and liberal intercourse. Except in the case of Egypt, they allowed the Saracenian nations to unite, without making any endeavour to break their force, and they were too proud and too ignorant to win any members to their cause, from the great confederacy of Atabeks. Conciliation could only be the result of weakness; a tender, pitying forbearance of error was held a criminal indifference by armed saints. The Moslém contempt of infidels was not more sincere than was the hatred which the Christians felt for the supposed enemies of God. The mere possession by the Muselmans of the land where the Son of Heaven had lived and died, was a crime in the eyes of the faithful, and prescription, the soundest and most solid title that is known in public jurisprudence, was despised by fanaticism. The people of the east were Moslems, the people of the west were Christians; and the difference of religion blotted out and cancelled all the rights both of nature and society.

The early writers accounted for the evanescence of the Francic state in Palestine, on the false principle, that worldly prosperity is always the reward of virtue, and that vice is never triumphant. The wrath of Heaven, they say, visited the crimes of the Croises; and those crimes were so enormous, that a description of them would appear more like a satire than a history. Vice, both in her horrid and her alluring forms, it is affirmed, disgraced the kingdom, and we know not whether to admire most, the declaration of one author,* that the clergy were as depraved as the laity; or take as another test the singular assertion of an equally grave and eminent historian,* that there was not one chaste woman in Palestine. But whatever might have been the state of morals, although vice was perhaps more prevalent than virtue, although oriental luxury had spread its soft infection, still the history of the first Crusaders shows that the holy sepulchre was redeemed, notwithstanding its champions were utterly unworthy of vindicating its cause; and that, whether in excess or in famine, in profligacy or in holiness, the valour of the martial pilgrims was triumphant. Some other causes must be sought for. The greatness of the power of Saladin has been mentioned. It was the want of union rather than the want of moral virtue, that accelerated the ruin of the Christian kingdom. The evils of the aristocratical nature of the feudal system were experienced, and when the French barons returned to Europe after the failure before Damascus, they stated with truth that the division among the Latin princes were one great cause of the Muselmans' success. Civil dissensions among the lords of Palestine paralysed the Christian power.†

The turbulence and ambition of the barons frequently thwarted the general good; but the greatest evils resulted from the altercations of the Hospitallers with the priesthood, and from the mutual jealousy between the two chief military orders. On a former occasion it has been stated, that on account of their martial services, the Papal See granted various privileges to the knights of St. John.

of Tyre, lib. xviii. cap. cxii. The principle of not keeping faith with infidels, seems consequent on a dogma in the Decretals. "Juramentum contra utilitatem ecclesiasticam præstitum non tenet." Tancred and St. Louis were almost the only two eminent Crusaders who distinguished themselves for preferring honesty and truth to utility and convenience.

* Jacob de Vitry. Amidst the general declamations of this worthy author against vice, I observe some circumstances which made the state of crime peculiarly deplorable, Palestine was the refuge of the abandoned and profligate people of Europe. Justice appears to have been wretchedly administered in the Holy Land. After the commission of crimes, people fled from the Christian settlements into the Muhammedan states, and purchased impunity by apostacy. J. de Vitry, p. 1097. I do not think that the manners of the Christians were more corrupt at the close, than at the commencement of the kingdom. In the year 1120, the state was under the affliction of its granaries being devoured by locusts and rats. The political economists thought that this event was the judgment of God on the horrible sins of his people. A council was held at Naplousa, and if the state of morals can be judged of from the code of laws then promulgated, vice must have reached its maturity of corruption. See p. 112, note, ante.

* Archb. of Tyre.

† Bayle's observation on the failure of the crusade of Thibaud V. count of Champagne, is a good one: "Par les raisons ordinaires, c'est à dire par la mauvaise intelligence des princes croisés, cette expédition n'aboutit à rien." Bayle, art. Thibaut.

Considering that the Hospitallers employed their fortunes for the maintenance of the poor, and the entertainment of pilgrims, the Pope dispensed with their paying tithes to the church. He prohibited the patriarch from publishing any sentence of interdict or excommunication against them; and they were not to regard any general interdict on the countries wherein their preceptories might be situated. By these means the church of the Hospitallers was perfectly independent of the church of Jerusalem. Perpetual disputes occurred respecting the interference of jurisdiction, and it was the great complaint of the patriarch, that the Hospitallers received men into their communion whom the church had excommunicated.* Rome was made the court for the settlement of these altercations. Most of the bishops of Palestine appeared, and pleaded what they termed the cause of religion, and called upon the Pope to grant the tithes, and to restore the primitive discipline of the church. Only two of the cardinals were disposed to rescind the papal decrees, and it was clear to the rest that there was no sufficient reason for weakening the papal authority over the military knights, by putting them also under episcopal jurisdiction. The subject was indefinitely adjourned, and the disputants returned to Palestine.

We have marked as one sign of ruin in the kingdom of Jerusalem, the dissensions between the church and the knights of St. John. But much more pregnant with evil were the dissensions between those knights and the Templars. Every event in the military history of the Latin kingdom had shown, how valuable to the Christian cause had been the military friars and the red cross knights. Those warriors were the flower of Christendom, and the exactness of their discipline held in subordination the numerous mercenary troops whom their immense wealth enabled them to support. In the infancy of those societies, a generous emulation prompted them to deeds of heroism: but in the course of time the fine spirit of their institution became mingled with worldly views, and a noble jealousy of pre-eminence in danger degenerated into personal malice and hatred. As the knights were the allies, and not the subjects of the king, no war was undertaken, and no battle was fought, without their concurrence. But as each division of knights was independent of the other, there were endless altercations about precedency in council and situation in the field. The disputes became known, and were general throughout Christendom, for there was scarcely a noble family that had not some of its members in one of those societies. Every eye was turned to the papal court for the arbitration of their disputes. Alexander III. declared, that the bond of charity ought to unite Christians of every denomination. By his influence, a treaty of peace was signed between the two orders. But the Pope could not remove the great causes of dispute, ambition and avarice, and therefore dissatisfaction slept in the thin ashes of a seeming friendship.

* The archbishop of Tyre (p. 932, &c.) is the only original writer who mentions these disputes. As may be expected, he took the side of the church, and does not tell us the case of the Hospitallers. A detail of the disputes is not a desideratum. The marking of the existence of the *imperium in imperio* is the great matter.

CHAPTER XI.

THE THIRD CRUSADE.

Effects in Europe of the failure of the second Crusade.—Louis VII. of France, and Henry II. of England, encourage holy wars.—Envoys from Palestine visit France and England.—Sensation in Europe made by the battle of Tiberias.—The Troubadors.—Germany arms.—Philip Augustus and Henry II. take the cross.—Saladin tythe.—Richard Cœur de Lion resolves on a Crusade.—March of the French and English.—Crusade of the Germans.—Death of the emperor Barbarossa.—Formation of the Teutonic order.—Events in Palestine after the loss of Jerusalem.—Siege of Acre.—Richard's course from Marseilles to Sicily.—Occurrences in Sicily.—The French sail to Acre.—Departure of Richard.—He subjugates Cyprus.—He sets sail for Acre.—His cruelty.

Europe rang with invectives against the holy Bernard, when the thousands of men whom his eloquence and miracles had roused to arms perished in the rocks of Cilicia. A general or a statesman would have pointed out errors in

the policy or conduct of the Crusaders; but the preacher sheltered himself under the usual defence of impostors, and declared that the sins of the people had merited Divine punishment, and that the men of his day resembled in morals the Hebrews of old, who perished in the journey from Egypt to the promised land.* This language was justly felt to be cruel and insulting: it did not exculpate the saint in the opinion of the world, and the nations of the West were not again disposed to make religious wars the common concern of Christendom. Often indeed† both fanatical and saturnine spirits fancied that Crusades were the only road to celestial favour:‡ in other cases softer feelings and gentler principles excited that courage which stern religion had failed to rouse; for in days of chivalry, when "lover's heaven" could only be reached by "sorrow's hell," the knight sometimes performed his penance, and proved his fealty in breaking a lance with the Saracens.§ But popes and councils in vain attempted the insurrection of nations. The disastrous issues of the second Crusade were fresh in the minds of the people of Europe; the cypress was generally, they thought, twined with the laurel in Palestine, and public opinion no longer fixed a mark of cowardice and pusillanimity on those who did not hasten to the sacred banners. In the third council of the Lateran, which met twenty years after the return to Europe of Louis and Conrad, the policy of king Almeric was applauded; Egypt was more dreaded than Syria, and the possession of Damietta was held out as the object to which all the efforts of the Christians should tend.* The clergy called on the world to arm: but the recollection of misery was too fresh, and the decrees of the council were heard of with sullenness and discontent. Louis, however, always cherished the hope of returning to the holy land,† and of reviving his faded glory: and at length he found his wishes met by a brother sovereign. Since virtue was his policy, as well as his duty, Henry II., in the height of his disputes with Thomas à Becket, had professed great sanctity, and following the example of the French king,‡ he and his barons commanded that for one year a tax of two-pence, and for four subsequent years a tax of a penny in the pound should be levied on the moveables of the people of England.§ Among the deeds of virtue which washed from Henry the guilt of Becket's murder, was the supporting of two hundred knights Templars in Palestine for a year, and an agreement with the Pope to go and fight the infidels in Asia, or in Spain, for thrice that time, if his holiness should

* For some remarks of Bayle and Jortin on the conduct of St. Bernard, see note M.

† After the first conquest of the Holy Land, individuals and parties of people continually went thither from Europe. There were vessels of conveyance at most seaports, bearing on their sterns a flag with a red cross upon it. From motives of safety the ships commonly sailed in fleets, and for general convenience two periods of sailing were fixed — March and June. The summer passage was preferred, for the archbishop of Tyre speaks of the autumn as the time when pilgrims generally reached the Holy Land, p. 808.

‡ M. Paris relates a story of one Godric of Finchale, who travelled to Jerusalem eating only bread and drinking only water, and arrived at the Holy City without having once changed his clothes. He performed the usual course of prayers and genuflexions in the Temple, and then enjoyed a luxurious wash in the Jordan. On coming forth from those celebrated waters, he cast off his shoes, and exclaimed, "O God, who formerly walked with naked feet on this land, and permitted them to be pierced for my sake, I vow never again to wear shoes." He then, continues the historian, walked back to England.

§ The reader, after having made a slight change in the two following lines of Shakspeare, can apply them to the present subject.

"I know a lady in Venice would have walk'd
Barefoot to Palestine, for a touch of his
nether lip."

* Among the causes of the first Crusade we mentioned the influence of the spirit of commerce on the love of pilgrimages. That spirit was afterwards mingled with the desire of conquest, particularly in the case of the Egyptian politics. Situated between the Red Sea and the Mediterranean, Egypt was the communication between Europe and the Indies: and the possession of that country would have rendered the Europeans masters of commerce.

† Bouquet, iv. 457.

‡ Louis VII. had taxed his people for the second Crusade.

§ Gervas, col. 1399. In the year 1166, Henry II. sent money to the Holy Land. Triveti Annales, p. 108. This last quoted writer is of but little use in the Crusades. He has not done much more than abridge Vinesauf.

require it.* In the year 1177, Henry and Louis agreed to travel together to the Holy Land.† But the English monarch was prudent, and fond of peace, and the illness and subsequent death of the French king terminated the project.

The count of Tripoli, while regent of Jerusalem, endeavoured to strengthen his kingdom by new draughts of men from Europe. The importance of the embassy which he sent to the west was apparent from the dignity of the legates, for they were the patriarchs of Jerusalem and the grand masters of the Templars and Hospitallers. In the case of the patriarch, the dignity of his office rather than his moral character, was consulted. His haughtiness of temper, and his imperious passions, totally disqualified him from the office of mediator, and he was despised by the religious part of the world for associating with a woman, who, on account of the pride of her deportment, was generally known by the title of the patriarchess.‡ The ambassadors arrived in Italy, and found the emperor Frederic Barbarossa and the Pope at Verona. His imperial majesty did not yet aspire to religious glory, and his holiness assured them he would recommend the Crusade to the kings of France and England. The grand master of the Templars died in Italy, and the two remaining legates proceeded to Paris. They offered the keys of the Holy City and the sepulchre to Philip Augustus, but France was at that time at war with the Flemings, and the council of the young monarch would not listen to projects of Asiatic conquests. The kiss of peace, and a promise of maintenance to such of his subjects as should assume the cross, were all that the ambassadors received from the French king. Their greatest hopes rested upon England, and on their arrival there they met with the deepest respect. But the Parliament knew and echoed the opinion of the monarch, that it would be wiser and better for him to remain at home and defend his own kingdom, than afford his personal aid to the Latins in Palestine. The king, however, was advised to consult with Philip Augustus on the propriety of a Crusade. Henry granted his license to all his subjects for waging of war with the infidels; but the patriarch was indignant at this deliberation and caution, and demanded from the monarch the presence of one of his sons at the head of an army. The request was congenial with the wishes of prince John; but his father refused; and Heraclius outraged decency in expressing his indignation. He openly reproached Henry for the murder of Thomas à Becket; and observing that the anger of the king arose, he exclaimed, "do to me, if you will, as you did to Thomas. I shall as willingly die in England by your hands, as in Syria by the hands of the infidels: for you are more cruel than any Saracen." The haughty and politic Henry neither replied to this railing, nor molested the person of the brutal priest.* The monarch went to France, at the summons to religion, political animosities were suspended or forgotten; and the sovereigns of the two greatest nations of the west resolved that their armies should unite, and march to

* Hoveden, p. 529.

† Brompton, col. 1134.

‡ Sanatus, p. 172. Bernardus, 779. Bayle (Dict. art. Heraclius) is incorrect in desiring us to distinguish the amatory patriarch from him who was ambassador to Europe. There was but one patriarch of that name.

* While Heraclius was in England in the year 1185, he dedicated the church of St. John, Clerkenwell, and also that of the Temple in Fleet Street, into which part of London the Templars had lately removed from Holborn. After the suppression of the monasteries, the priory church and house of the Hospitallers in Clerkenwell were preserved as store-houses during the remainder of Henry VIII.'s reign. In the time of Edward the VI. most of the church, with the great bell tower, was blown up by gunpowder, and the stone was employed in building Somerset House. The bell tower, says Stow, was a most curious piece of workmanship, graven, gilt, and enamelled, to the great beauty of the city, and passing all others that he had ever seen. That part of the quire which remained, and some side chapels, were repaired by Cardinal Pole in Mary's time. Stow's London, edit. 1720, book iv. p. 62, 63. A Latin inscription in Saxon capital letters commemorated the dedication of the Temple church. The inscription was destroyed by the workmen who repaired the church in 1695. Dugdale, in the first edition of his Originales Juridiciales, printed a copy of it; and Strype, in his edition of Stow, has given a fac-simile. From this fac-simile a copy was made in 1810, and put up in the church by order of the Benchers of the two societies of the Inner and Middle Temple,

Palestine.* The descendants of William I. had used their influence in checking the Norman barons from following the fashion of seeking glory in the Holy Land:† for until time, marriages, and successions had cemented the English and their conqueror, the sword of terror and rule could not be sheathed.‡ In the reign of Henry II., however, the amalgamation was complete; and the people of England were encouraged by their monarch to think and act like their continental neighbours. Accordingly, when the crusade was preached, thousands of men answered the call, and the holy theme was revered in every part of the English dominions. While fanaticism was rekindling the torch of religious war, news arrived in the west of the fall of Jerusalem into the hands of the infidels. The event was felt as a calamity from one end of Europe to the other; and the judgments of God brought grief and consternation to the breast of every man. Nothing could exceed the terror which seized the court of Rome. In the moment of weakness and humiliation, the cardinals acknowledged the dignity and the force of virtue. They resolved to take no bribes in the administration of justice, to abstain from all luxury of living and splendour of dress, to go to Jerusalem with the scrip and staff of simple pilgrims, and never to ride on horseback while the ground of their Saviour was trodden under the feet of the pagans.* Pope Urban III. died about this period; and his death, like every direful event of the time, was attributed to grief at the intelligence of the Saracenian victories.† William, archbishop of Tyre, our great guide in history, was one of the messengers of the news; and his friend, Gregory VIII., successor of Urban, not only endeavoured to deprecate the wrath of Heaven, by ordaining fasting and prayer throughout Christendom, but issued a bull for a new Crusade, with the usual privileges to the Croises.‡ Gregory went to Pisa, and healed the animosities between that city and Genoa, knowing well the importance of the commercial states of Italy to the Christians in the holy wars.§

The noise of merriment ceased in the hospitable halls of the barons; the lyre of poetry was attuned to a holy theme: and the Provençal bards sung in lofty cantos the duties of chivalry. He who once had conducted three kings to Bethlehem, had mercifully prepared a road by which even the most flagrant sinners might reach happiness. Mad, foolish man, grovelling in avarice and sensuality, neglects to take the cross, and by such neglect loses at once his honour and his God. To fall in the Holy Land, and in behalf of the sacred cause, is preferable to a mere existence in our own country with common glory, where life is worse than death. To die in the face of the dangers which religion calls on us to confront, is to triumph over death itself, and to find the guerdon of eternal felicity. You may subdue all the kingdoms of Europe; but vain are the conquests of ambition, if you

* Ben. Ab. 434, 437. Hoveden, 628, &c. M. Paris, 119. Brompton, col. 1142. Gervas (col. 1474, ap. x. Scrip.) says that the king gave the patriarch fifty thousand marks of silver.

† The earl of Albemarle and others went with the first Crusade, and several English noblemen accompanied Louis VII. But the cause was not national, or by any means general. The cross-legged figures on sepulchral monuments are not of an earlier date than the reign of Stephen. The fashion survived the holy wars for some years. That those figures represented knights Templars is a notion long since exploded. It has been supposed that they were not only of people who went to Palestine as soldiers or pilgrims, but of those who vowed to go, or who contributed to the expense of the Crusades. The supposition is in some degree warranted by the fact, that there are instances of women in this singular posture on monumental remains. The fashion of cross-legged figures on tombs, appears to have been pretty much confined to England.

‡ William Rufus too, in whose reign the holy wars commenced, was notoriously irreligious. He professed, indeed, to respect the soldiers of Christ; but that respect had no influence on his conduct; for on one occasion he plainly told a crusading Norman baron, that he would seize his estate during his journey to the Holy Land. Ordericus Vitalis, p. 769.

* "But their passion spent itself with its own violence, and these mariners' vows ended with the tempest." Fuller, Holy War, book ii. ch. 46.

† Hoveden, 636.

‡ Benedict, 495. Hoveden, 637—639. Neub. lib. iii. c. 21.

§ Neub. lib. iii. c. 22. This endeavour of Gregory for the restoration of peace was the last important act of his life. He died at Pisa after a reign of only two months. His successor was Pope Clement III.

trust not in the promises, and obey not the commands of God. Alexander subdued all the earth; and the reward of his victories was a winding sheet. Oh! what folly, then, to see the good and to choose the evil, and to renounce, for perishable objects, that happiness which, even on earth, mingles with every thought, and gladdens every moment of our lives. March, then, to the deliverance of the holy sepulchre. Arms, honour, and chivalry, all that the world calls grand and moving, will procure for you heavenly glory and happiness. What more can kings and barons desire, than, by such noble and pleasing means, to save themselves from the poisonous waters and raging flames of hell?*

The emperor, Frederic Barbarossa, summoned a council at Mayence, for the purpose of considering the general propriety of a new Crusade. Prelates and barons were unanimous in the wish for it, and William of Tyre, and Henry, bishop of Albano, legates of the papacy, arrived at the assembly in time to confirm and approve its holy resolve. The emperor, and his son, the duke of Suabia, the dukes of Austria and Moravia, and sixty-eight temporal and spiritual lords, were fired with the same enthusiasm.† At the solicitation of the archbishop of Tyre, Philip Augustus, king of France, and Henry II., king of England, met at a place between Trie and Gisors, in Normandy, in order to deliberate on the political state of the times. The prelate of the eastern Latin church appeared and pleaded the cause of religion before the two monarchs. So pathetic was his description of the miseries of the Latins in Syria, so touching were his reflections on those who engaged in petty national wars, when even the stones of the temple called on all people to avenge the cause of God, that Philip and Henry wept, embraced, and vowed to go together to the Holy Land. They received the cross from the hands of the archbishop. The count of Flanders entered into their intentions. They agreed that the French Crusaders should wear red crosses, the English white ones,* and the Flemish green. One opinion and one feeling influenced every breast; and, by universal consent, a tax similar everywhere in name and in nature was imposed on those who would not be crossed. This imposition was called the Saladin tythe; it was to last for one year; and it extended both to moveable and immoveable property. The clergy and barons of Henry who were in Normandy, decreed that it should be levied in England; and when Henry returned to his English dominions, the barons responded to the wish of the Norman council. By the act which they made at Geddington, in Northamptonshire, the Saladin tenth was to be levied upon the rents and goods of the English people, both clergy and laity, Jews as well as Christians. From military weapons, and corn of the present year's growth, the tenth was not to be collected. Persons who actually assumed the cross were not only exempted, but were even allowed to take the fiscal part of their tenant's property. If the collectors of the tythe were dissatisfied with what a man offered to pay, they were authorised to appoint four or six men of his parish to make an assessment. The Crusaders, too, might mortgage their lands for three years; and the mortgagee should receive the rents even to the prejudice of former creditors. The English council forbad the pilgrims from sensual pleasures,† from all manner of gaming,

* Raynouard, Choix des Poésies Originales des Troubadours, vol. ii. p. 71, &c. Paris, 1817. The Anglo-Norman Troubadours were also active in the cause of religion. At the end of the histories of the dukes of Normandy (Harleian MSS. No. 1717) is a song or canticle in praise of crusading. It was most probably written at the close of the reign of king Henry II. and by the author of the history, namely, Benedict the Norman, the rival of Wace both in literature and in the favour of the English monarch. See M. de la Rue's Essay on the Norman Poets, in the twelfth volume of the Archæologia. Du Cange has discovered that Ultreia was the name of a popular song by which the wild spirit of crusading was encouraged in the minds of the Italians.

† Godfridi Monachi Annales, ap. Freheri Rer. Germ. Scrip. vol. ii. p. 348.

* I remind the reader that it was not to the Crusades or even to St. George; but, *veracious* chroniclers say that England is indebted for her red cross to Joseph of Arimathea, whom our Saviour sent into this country to convert the natives. The missionary gave it as an armorial distinction to king Arvigarus. See Southey's note, Morte d'Arthur, vol. ii. p. 487.

† On perusing Fosbrooke's British Monachism,

and from the luxury of dressing in ermine and sables.* Henry wrote to the king of Hungary and the emperor of Constantinople, requesting a safe passage for his troops. The request was granted; and imperial legates arrived in England for the propose of arranging the terms of the treaty.†

Though ships continually sailed from England and France, bearing martial pilgrims to the Holy Land, the ambition and restlessness of Philip Augustus, and of Prince Richard, diverted the government and the great body of the people from the salvation of Palestine. The ignominious peace which England was compelled to make with France, and his mental agony at the rebellion and ingratitude of his sons, brought on the death of the English monarch.* The love of military honour inflamed the French king, and the bold, ardent, and valiant Richard Cœur de Lion had more of the warlike spirit than of the religious feelings of the age. None of the principles which originally caused the Crusades influenced the actions of either. They little regarded who were the lords of the Holy Land, or whether Christianity or Islamism had the greatest sway. But as they were both inspired with the passion of fame, and as the people of Europe burned for revenge on the impious Saracens, the two monarchs felt that renown could be gained in Palestine alone. Their fierce spirits sought gratification in the applause of the world, and the reputation for corporeal prowess is as honourable in the days of barbarism as a name for intellectual accomplishments is the ambition in times of refinement. So eager was Richard to equip a large military force, that he sold his crown lands, and offices of trust and dignity were no longer to be acquired by desert or favour. The king of Scotland obtained for ten thousand marks Richard's renunciation of the fortresses of Roxburgh and Berwick, and of the claims of England on the allegiance of Scotland.† The sheriffs and bailiffs, and all who were guilty or suspected of corruption, gave their lord large sums of money for indemnity. The virtuous Glanvil, the justiciary, was cast into prison. He was compelled to pay fifteen thousand pounds for his liberty; and he agreed, old as he was, to go on a perilous journey to Judea.‡ Others, who had resolved on a holy war, and who afterwards repented of their oaths,

I found that I had overlooked the decree in these statutes forbidding a Crusader to take any woman with him, except a laundress on foot of good character. This qualification of the exception was necessary; for in the middle ages (and we hope in those times only) the words lotrix and meretrix were synonymous. Knighton, col. 2422, apud X. Script.

* Neub. lib. iii. c. 23. Hoveden, 641. M. Paris, 122. Benedictus Abbas Petroburgensis, 495, 496. Gervas, 1522. Henry extorted an immense sum from the Jews in the Christian cause. Such of his subjects as could not pay, were incarcerated. The king of Scotland compounded for the Saladin tenth in his kingdom, by paying Henry five thousand marks. Hoveden, 644. The Chartreux, the Cistertians, the Fontrevault, and the friars of the order of St. Lazarus, were exempt from paying the Saladin tythe: and if the princes of Europe had listened to the casuistry of the secular clergy, they would have been contented with the good wishes and prayers of the church, and not have demanded their money. Bernardus, Thes. p. 804. In England, the sums collected by the Saladin tythe, were seventy thousand pounds from the Christians, and sixty thousand pounds from the Jews. Gervas, 1529.

† Diceto, 637, &c. About the year 1188, archbishop Baldwin made a journey through Wales, for the double purpose of preaching the crusade, and of submitting the Welch bishopricks to the see of Canterbury. He visited, also, the isle of Anglesey, and terminated his labours in Chester. His languages, both French and English, were unintelligible to the people, and his eloquence was injured by interpretation; but his miracles stamped him as the man of God, and three thousand men, well skilled in the use of lances and arrows, were prepared to march to Palestine. Giraldus Cambrensis, Itin. Cambriæ, p. 226, 12mo. 1585. The Welch recovered from their religious fever, and very few, if any, quitted the principality.

* Henry II. was munificent in his donations to the cause of crusading. To each of the two great military orders he bequeathed five thousand marks of silver: he gave also the same sum for the general purposes of the Holy Land, and he was equally generous to the lazars and other hospitals in Jerusalem. Nichols's Royal Wills, p. 7, &c.

† Bromton, 1167. Neub. iv. 5.

‡ But we learn from Newborough, that Glanville had taken the cross in Henry's reign, and was resolved to go at the time mentioned in the text, because he was disgusted with Richard's financial measures. Lib. iv. c. iv. The justiciary accompanied Baldwin in part of his Welch journey. See the commencement of Giraldus Camb.

made pecuniary sacrifices in the place of personal services.*

The count of Perche, as envoy of Philip, arrived in England with his master's requisition of Richard and his soldiers at Vezelai in the following Easter. The prelates and nobility were summoned to council at Westminster; the French peer, and the earl of Essex, pledged the honour of their respective monarchs that all the bands of Crusaders should unite at the appointed place.† Richard crossed the Channel in December, and soon after Christmas met his brother sovereign. The monarchs renewed their protestations of perpetual friendship, and swore that in case of necessity they would defend each others' territories with all the warmth of self-interest. If either of the princes should die during the Crusade, the survivor was to use his men and money for the accomplishment of the great design. The period of departure was deferred from Easter to the ensuing Midsummer.‡ During his stay in Normandy, Richard made some singular laws for regulating the conduct of the pilgrims in their passage by sea. Murder was to be punished by casting into the water the deceased person with the murderer tied to him. He that drew his sword in anger should lose his hand. If a man gave another a blow, he was to be thrice immersed: an ounce of silver was the penalty for using opprobrious language. A thief was to have boiling pitch and feathers put upon his head, and was to be set on shore at the first opportunity.§

Philip Augustus received the staff and scrip‖ at St. Deny, and Richard at Tours. They joined their forces at Vezelai; the number was computed at one hundred thousand* soldiers, and the march to Lyons was conducted in union and with harmony. At that city the monarchs parted; the lord of France pursued the Genoese road; his noble compeer that of Marseilles, and Sicily was named as the rendezvous.†

The heroic Frederic Barbarossa was among the first of those whose grief rose into indignation after the fall of Jerusalem. In his letters to the sacrilegious Saladin, he demanded restitution of the city, and threatened him, in the event of non-compliance, to pour into Asia all the military force of the German States. But the triumphant infidel replied, that he would oppose his Turcomans, his Bedoweens, and Syrians, to the German hordes. Tyre, Tripoli, and Antioch, he continued, were the only places which at that time belonged to the Christians, and if those cities were resigned to him, he would restore the true cross, and permit the people of the west to visit Jerusalem as pilgrims.‡ Germany was indignant at this haughty reply; all the powers took up arms against the man who had defied them; but in prudent remembrance of the disorders and calamities which popular impatience had occasioned in the first and second Crusades, an imperial edict was issued, that no one should go who could not furnish his own viaticum for a twelvemonth.§ The consecrated standards of the German princes were surrounded by innumerable hosts of Crusaders, drawn out of every class of life, from honourable knighthood down to the meanest vassalage. Their emperor conducted them from Ratisbon, their rendezvous, through the friendly Hungarian states; but when he reached the territories of the great lord of the east, he had to encounter the hostility of a violent yet timid foe. The emperor Isaac Angelus displayed both enmity and cowardice. He did not deny the Germans the liberty to purchase provisions, but in his communications with Frederic he carefully avoided giving him imperial titles; and the Greek governors were perplexed by one day receiving orders to

* M. Paris, 129. Bromton, 1175.

† M. Paris, 130.

‡ Bromton, 1170. Rigord, in the fifth of Duchesne, p. 29.

§ M. Paris, 132. Hoveden, 666. The circumstance mentioned in the text respecting tarring and feathering is a fine subject for comment by the searchers into popular antiquities.

‖ The purse of a royal or noble pilgrim used to be magnificently adorned with golden ornaments: and also with heraldic devices, not only of the owner's family, but of every person with whom he was in any wise connected. See the engraving of the crusading purse of the earls of Brittany, in Montfaucon, Monumens François, vol. ii. p. 166.

* Vinesauf, i. 9.

† For an account of the authorities for the third crusade, see note N.

‡ M. Paris, 122.

§ Vinesauf, i. 19. Godef. p. 350.

preserve the fortifications of their towns, and at another time by commands for their destruction lest they should become stations of the Germans.* Barbarossa marched with prudence and humanity. In his indignation at the haughtiness and duplicity of Isaac, he generally spared the people, and passed the Hellespont without having deigned to enter the imperial city.† The people of Philadelphia behaved to the Germans with all the pride and coldness of Isaac; but so warm was the hospitality of the inhabitants of Laodicea, that Frederic poured forth in public a prayer for its prosperity, and declared that if the other Greek cities had behaved with similar kindness, he should have crossed the Grecian frontier with a sword free from the blood of the Greeks.‡ He entered the territories of the Muselmans in triumph, and not only defeated the Turks in a general engagement, but took Iconium. The sultan then repented of his perfidy, and with the independent emirs of Asia Minor, deprecated the further vengeance of the Germans. They continued their march with more honour and dignity than had ever accompanied the early Crusaders, but they were deprived by death of their venerable hero. It was in the spring of the year that they passed the Isaurian mountains, from which issues the small river of the Calycadnus. In this stream Freberic bathed, but his aged frame could not sustain the shock, and he was drawn out almost lifeless. His death§ happened shortly afterwards, and though his son, the duke of Suabia was a brave and experienced general, yet the death of the emperor so much revived the courage of the Saracens, that the course of the Christians was continually harassed. The previous victories of the Germans had cost them dreadfully dear: long marches, frequent change of climate, and occasional appearances of famine, thinned their ranks. A stop was put to their sufferings by the supplies which they received from the people of Armenia; but by that time the once proud force of Germany was reduced to a tenth of its original number.* Saladin had been compelled to withdraw most of his soldiers from Antioch, and the Germans had little difficulty in renewing a Christian government in that city.

In the autumn of 1190, the duke of Suabia arrived at Acre, and importance was given to the German force by the formation of a new order of knighthood. One of their countrymen had about sixty years before founded a hospital at Jerusalem for the poor male pilgrims of his nation; and his wife, emulating his charity, built a similar place for women. Private benevolence augmented the establishments, and insensibly the patrons imitated the military conduct of the knights of St. John and the Temple. The institution was ruined by the fall of Jerusalem, but it revived in another shape at the siege of Acre. In order to assist the sick and wounded of their countrymen, some soldiers of Bremen and Lubeck converted their tents, which were formed only from the sails of ships, into a temporary hospital. The number of these charitable persons was soon enlarged to forty, and they began to assume the regular appearance of a formal community. The duke of Suabia knew the benefits which the military friars had conferred upon charity and arms; the chiefs of the army applauded his design of strengthening the Holy Land by forming an additional military order; the bishops prepared the code; and the new

* Bernardus, p. 804. Nicetas, p. 199. Tageno in Struve's edition of M. Freher's Rer. Germ. Scrip. 407, 410. Godef. Mon. 350, 355, and the anonymous but contemporary history of the expedition of Frederic, in Canisius, vol. iii. pars. ii. p. 504, 517. Canisius modestly styled his collection, Lectiones Antiquæ. His learned editor, Basnage, has given it the more appropriate name of Thesaurus Monumentorum Ecclesiasticorum et Historicorum.

† On the relations between the Greeks and Latins before and during the Crusades, see note O.

‡ Nicetas, 204. Canisius, p. 517.

§ It will not be worth while to inquire whether the emperor bathed in the Cydnus or the Calycadnus: "If he went in to wash himself, he neither consulted with his health nor honour. Some say, his horse foundered under him as he passed the water; others, that he fell from him. But these several relations, as variety of instruments, make a doleful concert in this, that there he lost his life; and no wonder, if the cold water quickly quenched those few sparks of natural heat left in him at seventy years of age." Fuller, Holy War, book iii cap. iv.

* Hist. Hier. 1157, 1162. Herold. cap. 6 and 7. Tageno, 410, 416. Nicetas, 204, 206. Canisius, 517, 526. Godefri, Mon. p. 356. Bromton, 1165. Diceto, 655.

cavaliers were to be guided in the performance of their charitable duties by the canons of the knights of St. John, and by the practice of the Templars in what regarded martial discipline. The Vatican confirmed the establishment; Pope Celestine III. gave it the rule of St. Augustine for its general law, and accorded to it the privileges which distinguished the other military fraternities. The service of the poor and sick, and the defence of the holy places, were the great objects which the Pope commanded them to regard; and their domestic economy was to be preserved by chastity and equal participation of property. They were divided into three classes, knights, priests, and serving brothers. All the members were to be Germans, and those of the first class could only be men of noble birth, and extraction. The order of the Teutonic knights of the house of St. Mary in Jerusalem was their title, and their dress was a white mantle with a black cross, embroidered with gold.*

While the kings of England and France were marshalling their hosts for a foreign war, the Christians in the Holy Land slowly recovered from their panic, and joined Lusignan. Greeks, Latins, Syrians, Templars, and Hospitallers, emerged from their places of secresy, burning for revenge on the infidel spoliators. Security could alone be procured by conquest, and as almost all the Holy Land was in possession of the Saracens, the multitude of objects perplexed the choice. But Palestine, even in the brightest days of Latin history, had never been independent of Europe, and unless the sea-coast were secured, the parent state could not supply its colony. Acre had opened its gates to the conqueror a few days after the battle of Tiberias, and that city, by reason of its situation and magnitude, was worthy the bravest efforts of its former lords. The sea washed its fortifications on the north and west; a noble pier defended the port from the storms and the enemy; and the city on the land side was fortified by double walls, ditches, and towers.* When Richard and Philip Augustus reached the Holy Land, the siege of Acre had lasted twenty-two months. The most patient attention would be exhausted by a minute detail of the operations of that period, and liberal curiosity will be satisfied by a notice of the chief and characteristic circumstances. So perfect was the self-security of Saladin, that he did not attempt to overwhelm the foe; and when he at length found the necessity of personally attempting the relief of his city, the force of the king of Jerusalem was appallingly numerous. The people of France and England could not wait the tardy march of their organized armies; they answered with impatience the signals of distress which Palestine hung out; indeed every country of Europe poured forth its population with disorderly rapidity; and Lusignan was at one time the commander of one hundred thousand soldiers. The Christians were encamped on the plain to the south of Acre, and the general station of Saladin was near the town and mountain of Khorouba, still further to the south. Among the bravest of the Christian lords were the count of Champagne,† the

* James de Vitry, 1084. Sanutus, lib. iii. p. 7. c. iii. and Helyot, vol. iii. c. xvi. The first of these authors says, it pleased God to create this third order, because "a three-fold cord is not quickly broken." Eccl. iv. 12.

* "The single city of Acre is so decisive of the fate of Palestine, that whoever possesses it may easily make himself master of the whole country. The history of the Israelites, as well as of the Crusades, establishes this: and the reason is, that from this port a great plain extends all the way to the river Jordan, dividing Palestine into two halves. In this plain have been fought most of those decisive battles which have caused the country to change its masters; that, for instance, against Sisera, Judges, chap. iv.; that wherein Saul fell, 1 Sam. chap. xxxi.; and that in which Josiah was defeated and slain, 2 Kings xxxii. 29. It was precisely the same in the time of the holy war; the chief scene of which was this vale, and the city of Acre itself." Michaelis on the Mosaic Law, vol. i. p. 56. Smith's translation. G. Villani praises Acre because it was "nella frontiera del nostro mare, e in mezzo de Soria e quasi nel mezzo del mondo habitato, presse a Gerusalem a 70 miglia, e fontana e porte era d' ogni mercatantia, si di Levante, come di Ponente: e di tutte le generationi di gente del mondo v' erano e usavano per fare mercatantia, e turcomani v' havea di tutte le lingue del mondo, si che ella era quasi come uno elemento del mondo."

† Henry I., father of the count of Champagne mentioned in the text, went twice into the east. He accompanied Louis in 1147, and, hope triumphing over experience, he went again in

duke of Gueldres, the landgrave of Thuringia, and James d'Avesnes. Many of the clergy wore the casque and the cuirass; the archbishops of Pisa and Ravenna, the bishops of Salisbury, Beauvais, Cambray, Acre, and Bethlehem, deserved the honour of ecclesiastical knighthood; and on one occasion the valour of Baldwin, archbishop of Canterbury,* saved the camp. The Christians plied the battering rams and the mangonels against the walls, and they only ceased from their labour when Saladin called them to battle on the plain. The engagements were as sanguinary and obstinate as any which had marked the holy wars. If the Latins at any time prevailed, they speedily lost their advantages by abandoning themselves to plunder, and allowing the vigilant enemy to collect his broken battalions. When the Saracens conquered, the Christians kept within the shelter of their fortified camp,† and did not again take the field till pressed to action by some new bands of Crusaders. The conflicts between the Moslems and Christians were by sea as well as by land; but the naval forces were so equally balanced, that the Latins could not finally prevent the Egyptians from succouring Acre, and Europe kept up its communications with the camp. In the last year of the siege, the deaths by famine and pestilence exceeded the destruction which former battles had occasioned. Both armies were wasted by a swift decay, for the presence of such numbers had exhausted the Muselman as well as the Christian neighbourhood.

At the siege of Acre, as well as at the old siege of Antioch, the morals of the holy warriors were as depraved as their condition was miserable. Yet an appearance of holiness pervaded the camp. Religious exercises were performed, and vice was reprehended. The Crusaders were seemingly devout, but in reality were dissolute,* and compromised for personal excesses by pharisaical scrupulosity and uncharitableness. The archbishop of Canterbury died, it is said, not of disease, but of regret at the general profligacy; but his friend, the bishop of Salisbury, outlived the plague, and equally active in his religious as well as in his military duties, he collected and distributed the alms of the rich. Conrad, marquis of Tyre, had joined, and afterwards left his friends, and to his departure all the miseries of the Christians from famine were attributed. But his own principality was his most important charge, and he could not furnish provisions for his people and for the whole of the army at the same time. Disease reached and destroyed princes as well as plebeians; and when queen Sybilla and her two young children died, Guy de Lusignan lost his principal political support. New competitors appeared for the visionary kingdom. Isabel, the sister of Sybilla, had been married at the early age of eight years to Humphrey, lord of Thoron; but when the warm passions of youth succeeded the indifference of infancy, the gallantry and knightly accom-

1178 with Peter de Courtenay the king's brother, and other princes, on one of those numerous private crusades which drained Europe of as much money and as many men as the great national crusades cost; but which expeditions of individuals are seldom recorded in the great and general history of the times. Almost all Henry's soldiers perished in Asia Minor; and a few days after his return to France, Henry died of fatigue and illness. See L'Art de vérifier les Dates, ii. 618.

* Hist. Hier. p. 1171, in Bongarsius. The author of this history of Jerusalem praises very highly the valour of the old archbishop of Canterbury. It appears that his grace supported a corps of two hundred horse soldiers and three hundred foot. His standard was inscribed with the name of Thomas à Becket.

† The Christian camp was so well fortified, that the Saracens used to say, "not even a bird can enter it."

* Thus, as has often been the case, the extreme of misery produced the effects of the extreme of luxury. Misery and wretchedness went hand in hand during the great plague at Athens. So Boccaccio describes the consequences of the pestilence at Florence, in the year 1348: "Et in tanta afflittione et miseria delle nostra citta, ere la reverenda autorita delle leggi cosi divine come humane quasi caduta et dissoluta tutta, &c." Boccaccio, Il Decamerone, Giornata prima. In all these cases, Pagans and Christians considering God as the author of temporal good, and evil only, and observing that the virtuous suffered as much as the wicked, concluded that moral conduct was disregarded by Heaven. Unbounded licentiousness followed. No laws of God limited the people: the laws of man were equally inefficacious, because the criminal thought that he might die before the day of trial, or if he should live to that time, those who would have been his accusers might have perished in the general calamity. See Thucydides, lib. 2. cap. 53.

plishments of Conrad, marquis of Tyre, gained her affections. In the middle ages, consanguinity or some canonical impediment was always discovered, when disgust or ambition urged the dissolution of the marriage contract; and when the will is resolved, the mind is not scrupulous in its choice of arguments of justification. The church terminated the union of Humphrey and Isabel, and the day after the proclamation of the divorce, the Bishop of Beauvais married the amorous fair one to the marquis of Tyre. As husband of the princess, Conrad claimed the honours of respect which were due to the king of Jerusalem; Humphrey was too prudent to contend for an empty distinction; but Lusignan, who had once enjoyed the crown, would not forego the hope of recovering it. The Christian cause was scandalised and injured by these divisions among the chiefs; but the candidates for the pageant sceptre were obliged to submit to the general opinion of the army, and reserve the decision of their claims for the judgment of the French and English monarchs.*

Richard's fleet had not arrived at Marseilles at the appointed time; and so great was his impatience, that after waiting for it only eight days he hired some galleys and put to sea.† He went to Genoa, and conferred with the French king, whose illness had kept him in that city. He then made a brief stay at Pisa, and shortly afterwards an accident which happened to his vessel, compelled him to enter the Tiber. The cardinal of Ostia received him with distinction, but Richard refused his courtesy, and openly reprehended the simoniacal conduct of the court of Rome. On the 20th of August he reached Naples, and went to the abbey of St. Januarius for the purpose of viewing the singular spectacle of the sons of Naimond, who stood in skin and bones in a cell. He made some stay in the city, and then travelled on horseback to Salernum, where he resolved to wait till he should hear of the arrival of his navy in the Mediterranean. The English fleet had been dispersed off Portugal by a violent storm, but the ships finally reached Lisbon, their crews were received with hospitality, and circumstances enabled them to pay their obligation of gratitude. The Moors of Spain and Africa were menacing Portugal, five hundred English soldiers joined the king, and marched to Santarem. Their warlike aspect awed the Saracens, and the fortunate death at this juncture of the Moorish commander broke the union of the enemy, and the country was saved. The English fleet coasted Portugal, and the southern part of Spain, and arrived at Marseilles. It then set sail for Messina, and reached that place a few days before the arrival of Philip and the French. Richard left Salernum on the 13th of September, and on the 21st reached Mileto. He then pursued his journey, accompanied only by one knight. The impetuosity of his progress was checked by his love of pleasure, and he entered a cottage because he heard that a hawk was confined in it. He seized the bird, and on his refusal to deliver it up, the peasants assailed him with clubs and stones, and one man even drew his dagger. Richard struck the caitiff with the flat part of his sword, the weapon broke, and until he could reach a neighbouring priory, he was obliged to defend himself by stones.* That night he reposed in a tent near Scilla, and the next morning he assembled all the English ships, and entered the harbour of Messina with so much splendour, and such clangour of horns and trumpets, that the Sicilians and French were astonished and alarmed.† Tancred, the illegitimate son of Roger, duke of Apulia, was at that period the king of the island. After the loss of the sovereignty of the northern states of Italy, the emperor Frederic Barbarossa looked with an ambitious eye on Sicily, and wished to marry his eldest son Henry to Constantia, daughter of Roger, and legitimate heiress to the throne. The

* Vinesauf, i. 28, 29, 42, 65. Ben. Ab. Pet. 571, 574. Bohadin, cap. 52, 60, 84, 92. Bernardus, 806, &c.

† Soon afterwards the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishop of Salisbury, and Ralph de Glanville, left Marseilles and went to Acre. Hoveden says that the passage between those two places might be made in fifteen days. Hoveden, 668, 672. M. Paris, 134. Bromton, 1175.

* Ben. Ab. Pet. 593—604. Hoveden, 668—673.

† M. Paris, 136. Hoveden, 673. Ben. Ab. Pet. 604.

marriage was celebrated in the year 1186, but Tancred continued the real monarch, for he was supported by the Norman barons, who disdained to be governed by a foreign king. Among the precautions which Tancred took for the establishing of his authority, was the imprisonment of the widow of William the Good, his immediate predecessor. She was the sister of Richard king of England, but on the arrival of that monarch in Sicily, the usurper restored her to freedom. But her dowry was still withheld, and her brother was resolved to avenge her wrongs. In all his measures he was violent and unjust. He placed her in a fortress which he seized from the Silicians, and drove out the religious inhabitants of a monastery in order that it might contain his stores.* Those circumstances, and the dissoluteness of his people, were the occasion of much altercation between the natives and the strangers.† Hatred broke out into open contest; the fray was checked by some of the chief citizens; it appeared again, but Plantagenet with a few knights finally quelled it. Philip Augustus had favoured the cause of the Sicilians, and the English monarch, therefore, regarded him as an enemy, and planted his standard on the quarters of the French.‡ The mediation of the barons prevented a war between Philip and Richard, and the latter showed his good will to his royal companion by delivering Messina to the soldiers of the military orders, till Tancred should equitably settle the claims of his sister. Peace was then concluded. Richard renounced all claims on Sicily; his nephew Arthur, duke of Brittany, was to be married to a daughter of Tancred, and the Sicilian prince agreed to equip ten gallies, and six palanders or horse transports, for the Crusaders: to pay the dowry to Richard's sister, and the legacies which William the Good had bequeathed to Henry II. of England.§ Messina was given to the French king, and Richard encamped without the walls.* Various regulations were made for intercourse between the different nations during the winter months. Merchants were not to purchase bread or corn in the army for the purpose of resale, and the profits on their general transactions were restricted to one denarius in ten. Gaming was permitted to the knights and clergy, to the exclusion of the rest of the army. No individual, however, was to lose more than twenty shillings in one day or night.† For some time there was a frequent interchange of good offices between the French and English. Richard gave Philip several ships, and was so prodigal of his money among the soldiers, that it was commonly said, he was more bountiful in a month than his father had been in a year. But the disputes at Messina had rankled in the mind of Philip, and contemporary English historians have charged him with offering his assistance to Tancred for the expulsion of Richard. The largesses of Plantagenet, however, had gained him the friendship of the Sicilian prince. In the moment of confidence, Tancred showed his benefactor some letters of the French king, expressive of his treacherous designs. The count of Flanders charged Philip with baseness, and the sight of the papers threw him into confusion. But recovering himself he declared that the letters were forgeries, and an impudent trick of Richard to break off his match with Alice of France. This dispute brought matters to a crisis, a new treaty was made between the two kings; the breach of a contract which Philip had contemplated with indignation he now looked upon as a matter of indifference, for after certain interchanges of money and territory, the English monarch was allowed a free choice in marriage.‡

In the month of March, 1191, Philip

* Hoveden, 673.

† Vinesauf, ii. 16, 17. Fazello says, that the Messinians had seized the occasion of the English people rioting in the streets to drive them out, and shut the gates upon them. "Gl'Inglisi andavano licentiosamente vagando per la citta con molta lascivia." Fazello, Ist. de Sic. lib. 7.

‡ Ben. A. Pet. 606—608.

§ According to Roger de Hoveden the compensation for Joanna's dower was twenty thousand ounces of gold, and a like sum was the value of the legacies, 676.

* Neub. iv. 12.

† Hoveden, 675.

‡ Bromton, 1195. Hoveden, 687, 689. Rymer, I. 54, new edit. Rigord in Duchesne, vol. v. p. 32, says, that "there were disputes between Richard and Philip; but that they only related to the time of sailing."

left Sicily, and sailed to Acre. His appearance was regarded as a Divine blessing; in the moment of elation the attacks were renewed; but orders were soon given for suspending them till the arrival of Richard, and it is more rational to think that the improbability of success without him was Philip's motive, and not the specious reason that as the cause was common the victory should be common also.* Before his departure from Sicily, Richard avowed that he would lead a life of virtue, and with all humility submitted his back to the scourges of his clergy. He was detained for a short time on account of the expected arrival of his mother Eleanor with the princess Berengaria of Navarre, to whom he had been affianced, long before his treaty with Philip gave him liberty of marriage. About a fortnight after the departure of his rival, the English monarch set sail. In the absence of numerical statements concerning the strength of his army, we can conjecture that it was formidable, from the fact that his soldiers, horses and stores, filled two hundred ships of various sizes. A storm dispersed his fleet, and he heard at Rhodes that two of his vessels had been stranded on the shores of Cyprus, and that the people of the island had plundered and imprisoned such of the crews as had survived shipwreck. The vessel which carried the dowager queen of Sicily and Berengaria had been refused entrance into port. Richard soon arrived off Limisso, and it is singular that so irascible a monarch should three times demand reparation. He who had wantonly violated the law of nations would not willingly remedy the wrong; the English therefore landed on the shores of Cyprus; the archers as usual preceded to clear the way; their barbed arrows fell like showers of rain on the meadows,† and supported by the heavily armed soldiers they drove the emperor and his Greeks into the interior of the island. The ruler of Cyprus was of the race of Comnenus, but he had changed his government into a kingdom. He had not courted the people by augmenting their privileges: and regarding Richard as their preserver, they gladly assisted him in subduing the tyrant and usurper. Isaac was taken; the king of England became lord of Cyprus; he taxed the people to the dreadful amount of the half of their moveables, and then accorded to them the rights they had enjoyed under the dominion of the Byzantine emperors. Richard reposed himself from the toil of conquest by celebrating his marriage with Berengaria, and participating in the festivities of Limisso.* But in a few weeks he roused himself to arms. His fleet left Cyprus ;† a large troop ship of Saladin crossed his way; the light gallies surrounded and attacked her, but the lofty sides of the Turk could not be mounted. "I will crucify all my soldiers if she should escape," exclaimed Richard. His men, more in dread of their sovereign's wrath than the swords of the foe, impelled the sharp beaks of their vessels against the enemy; some of the soldiers dived into the sea, and seized the rudder, and others came to close combat with the Saracens. In order to make the capture an unprofitable one, the emir commanded his troops to cut through the sides of their ship till the waters should rush in. They then leaped on the decks of the English gallies. But the sanguinary and ungenerous Richard killed or cast overboard his defenceless enemies, or, with an avarice equally detestable, saved the commanders for the sake of their ransom.

* Herold, chap. 10.

† "——— quasi imber super gramina, ita cecidere sagittæ super pugnantes." Hoveden, p. 690.

* Hoveden, 692. Bromton, 1200. William of Newborough makes Richard stay more than two months at Cyprus. His residence there could not have been so long; for he left Sicily in April, and arrived at Acre on the eighth of June.

† Hoveden, 692. Vinesauf, p. 329. Bromton, cap. 102. The Saracenian vessel sunk before the English got out much of the stores But the Romance says,

The king found in the dromound, sans fail,
Mickle store, and great vitail,
Many barrels full of fire gregeys;
And many thousand bow Turkeis;
Hooked arrows, and quarelles.
They found there full many barrels
Of wheat, and wine great plenty;
Gold and silver, and ilke daintey,
Of treasure he had not half the mound
That in the dromound was yfound,
For it drowned in the flood,
Ere half uncharged were that good.

Ellis's Specimens of English Metrical Romances, vol. ii. p. 219.

marriage was celebrated in the year 1186, but Tancred continued the real monarch, for he was supported by the Norman barons, who disdained to be governed by a foreign king. Among the precautions which Tancred took for the establishing of his authority, was the imprisonment of the widow of William the Good, his immediate predecessor. She was the sister of Richard king of England, but on the arrival of that monarch in Sicily, the usurper restored her to freedom. But her dowry was still withheld, and her brother was resolved to avenge her wrongs. In all his measures he was violent and unjust. He placed her in a fortress which he seized from the Silicians, and drove out the religious inhabitants of a monastery in order that it might contain his stores.* Those circumstances, and the dissoluteness of his people, were the occasion of much altercation between the natives and the strangers.† Hatred broke out into open contest; the fray was checked by some of the chief citizens; it appeared again, but Plantagenet with a few knights finally quelled it. Philip Augustus had favoured the cause of the Sicilians, and the English monarch, therefore, regarded him as an enemy, and planted his standard on the quarters of the French.‡ The mediation of the barons prevented a war between Philip and Richard, and the latter showed his good will to his royal companion by delivering Messina to the soldiers of the military orders, till Tancred should equitably settle the claims of his sister. Peace was then concluded. Richard renounced all claims on Sicily; his nephew Arthur, duke of Brittany, was to be married to a daughter of Tancred, and the Sicilian prince agreed to equip ten gallies, and six palanders or horse transports, for the Crusaders: to pay the dowry to Richard's sister, and the legacies which William the Good had bequeathed to Henry II. of England.§ Messina was given to the French king, and Richard encamped without the walls.* Various regulations were made for intercourse between the different nations during the winter months. Merchants were not to purchase bread or corn in the army for the purpose of resale, and the profits on their general transactions were restricted to one denarius in ten. Gaming was permitted to the knights and clergy, to the exclusion of the rest of the army. No individual, however, was to lose more than twenty shillings in one day or night.† For some time there was a frequent interchange of good offices between the French and English. Richard gave Philip several ships, and was so prodigal of his money among the soldiers, that it was commonly said, he was more bountiful in a month than his father had been in a year. But the disputes at Messina had rankled in the mind of Philip, and contemporary English historians have charged him with offering his assistance to Tancred for the expulsion of Richard. The largesses of Plantagenet, however, had gained him the friendship of the Sicilian prince. In the moment of confidence, Tancred showed his benefactor some letters of the French king, expressive of his treacherous designs. The count of Flanders charged Philip with baseness, and the sight of the papers threw him into confusion. But recovering himself he declared that the letters were forgeries, and an impudent trick of Richard to break off his match with Alice of France. This dispute brought matters to a crisis, a new treaty was made between the two kings; the breach of a contract which Philip had contemplated with indignation he now looked upon as a matter of indifference, for after certain interchanges of money and territory, the English monarch was allowed a free choice in marriage.‡

In the month of March, 1191, Philip

* Hoveden, 673.

† Vinesauf, ii. 16, 17. Fazello says, that the Messinians had seized the occasion of the English people rioting in the streets to drive them out, and shut the gates upon them. "Gl'Inglisi andavano licentiosamente vagando per la citta con molta lascivia." Fazello, 1st. de Sic. lib. 7.

‡ Ben. A. Pet. 606—608.

§ According to Roger de Hoveden the compensation for Joanna's dower was twenty thousand ounces of gold, and a like sum was the value of the legacies, 676.

* Neub. iv. 12.

† Hoveden, 675.

‡ Bromton, 1195. Hoveden, 687, 688. Rymer, I. 54, new edit. Rigord in Ducheme, vol. v. p. 32, says, that "there were disputes between Richard and Philip; but that they only related to the time of sailing."

left Sicily, and sailed to Acre. His appearance was regarded as a Divine blessing; in the moment of elation the attacks were renewed; but orders were soon given for suspending them till the arrival of Richard, and it is more rational to think that the improbability of success without him was Philip's motive, and not the specious reason that as the cause was common the victory should be common also.* Before his departure from Sicily, Richard avowed that he would lead a life of virtue, and with all humility submitted his back to the scourges of his clergy. He was detained for a short time on account of the expected arrival of his mother Eleanor with the princess Berengaria of Navarre, to whom he had been affianced, long before his treaty with Philip gave him liberty of marriage. About a fortnight after the departure of his rival, the English monarch set sail. In the absence of numerical statements concerning the strength of his army, we can conjecture that it was formidable, from the fact that his soldiers, horses and stores, filled two hundred ships of various sizes. A storm dispersed his fleet, and he heard at Rhodes that two of his vessels had been stranded on the shores of Cyprus, and that the people of the island had plundered and imprisoned such of the crews as had survived shipwreck. The vessel which carried the dowager queen of Sicily and Berengaria had been refused entrance into port. Richard soon arrived off Limisso, and it is singular that so irascible a monarch should three times demand reparation. He who had wantonly violated the law of nations would not willingly remedy the wrong; the English therefore landed on the shores of Cyprus; the archers as usual preceded to clear the way; their barbed arrows fell like showers of rain on the meadows,† and supported by the heavily armed soldiers they drove the emperor and his Greeks into the interior of the island. The ruler of Cyprus was of the race of Comnenus, but he had changed his government into a kingdom. He had not courted the people by augmenting their privileges: and regarding Richard as their preserver, they gladly assisted him in subduing the tyrant and usurper. Isaac was taken; the king of England became lord of Cyprus; he taxed the people to the dreadful amount of the half of their moveables, and then accorded to them the rights they had enjoyed under the dominion of the Byzantine emperors. Richard reposed himself from the toil of conquest by celebrating his marriage with Berengaria, and participating in the festivities of Limisso.* But in a few weeks he roused himself to arms. His fleet left Cyprus ;† a large troop ship of Saladin crossed his way; the light gallies surrounded and attacked her, but the lofty sides of the Turk could not be mounted. "I will crucify all my soldiers if she should escape," exclaimed Richard. His men, more in dread of their sovereign's wrath than the swords of the foe, impelled the sharp beaks of their vessels against the enemy; some of the soldiers dived into the sea, and seized the rudder, and others came to close combat with the Saracens. In order to make the capture an unprofitable one, the emir commanded his troops to cut through the sides of their ship till the waters should rush in. They then leaped on the decks of the English gallies. But the sanguinary and ungenerous Richard killed or cast overboard his defenceless enemies, or, with an avarice equally detestable, saved the commanders for the sake of their ransom.

* Herold, chap. 10.

† "——— quasi imber super gramina, ita cecidere sagittæ super pugnantes." Hoveden, p. 690.

* Hoveden, 692. Bromton, 1200. William of Newborough makes Richard stay more than two months at Cyprus. His residence there could not have been so long; for he left Sicily in April, and arrived at Acre on the eighth of June.

† Hoveden, 692. Vinesauf, p. 329. Bromton, cap. 102. The Saracenian vessel sunk before the English got out much of the stores But the Romance says,

The king found in the dromound, sans fail,
Mickle store, and great vitail,
Many barrels full of fire gregeys:
And many thousand bow Turkeis;
Hooked arrows, and quarelles.
They found there full many barrels
Of wheat, and wine great plenty;
Gold and silver, and ilke daintey,
Of treasure he had not half the mound
That in the dromound was yfound,
For it drowned in the flood,
Ere half uncharged were that good.

Ellis's Specimens of English Metrical Romances, vol. ii. p. 219.

marriage was celebrated in the year 1186, but Tancred continued the real monarch, for he was supported by the Norman barons, who disdained to be governed by a foreign king. Among the precautions which Tancred took for the establishing of his authority, was the imprisonment of the widow of William the Good, his immediate predecessor. She was the sister of Richard king of England, but on the arrival of that monarch in Sicily, the usurper restored her to freedom. But her dowry was still withheld, and her brother was resolved to avenge her wrongs. In all his measures he was violent and unjust. He placed her in a fortress which he seized from the Silicians, and drove out the religious inhabitants of a monastery in order that it might contain his stores.* Those circumstances, and the dissoluteness of his people, were the occasion of much altercation between the natives and the strangers.† Hatred broke out into open contest; the fray was checked by some of the chief citizens; it appeared again, but Plantagenet with a few knights finally quelled it. Philip Augustus had favoured the cause of the Sicilians, and the English monarch, therefore, regarded him as an enemy, and planted his standard on the quarters of the French.‡ The mediation of the barons prevented a war between Philip and Richard, and the latter showed his good will to his royal companion by delivering Messina to the soldiers of the military orders, till Tancred should equitably settle the claims of his sister. Peace was then concluded. Richard renounced all claims on Sicily; his nephew Arthur, duke of Brittany, was to be married to a daughter of Tancred, and the Sicilian prince agreed to equip ten gallies, and six palanders or horse transports, for the Crusaders: to pay the dowry to Richard's sister, and the legacies which William the Good had bequeathed to Henry II. of England.§ Messina was given to the French king, and Richard encamped without the walls.* Various regulations were made for intercourse between the different nations during the winter months. Merchants were not to purchase bread or corn in the army for the purpose of resale, and the profits on their general transactions were restricted to one denarius in ten. Gaming was permitted to the knights and clergy, to the exclusion of the rest of the army. No individual, however, was to lose more than twenty shillings in one day or night.† For some time there was a frequent interchange of good offices between the French and English. Richard gave Philip several ships, and was so prodigal of his money among the soldiers, that it was commonly said, he was more bountiful in a month than his father had been in a year. But the disputes at Messina had rankled in the mind of Philip, and contemporary English historians have charged him with offering his assistance to Tancred for the expulsion of Richard. The largesses of Plantagenet, however, had gained him the friendship of the Sicilian prince. In the moment of confidence, Tancred showed his benefactor some letters of the French king, expressive of his treacherous designs. The count of Flanders charged Philip with baseness, and the sight of the papers threw him into confusion. But recovering himself he declared that the letters were forgeries, and an impudent trick of Richard to break off his match with Alice of France. This dispute brought matters to a crisis, a new treaty was made between the two kings; the breach of a contract which Philip had contemplated with indignation he now looked upon as a matter of indifference, for after certain interchanges of money and territory, the English monarch was allowed a free choice in marriage.‡

In the month of March, 1191, Philip

* Hoveden, 673.

† Vinesauf, ii. 16, 17. Fazello says, that the Messinians had seized the occasion of the English people rioting in the streets to drive them out, and shut the gates upon them. "Gl'Inglisi andavano licentiosamente vagando per la citta con molta lascivia." Fazello, Ist. de Sic. lib. 7.

‡ Ben. A. Pet. 606—608.

§ According to Roger de Hoveden the compensation for Joanna's dower was twenty thousand ounces of gold, and a like sum was the value of the legacies, 676.

* Neub. iv. 12.

† Hoveden, 675.

‡ Bromton, 1195. Hoveden, 687, 688. Rymer, I. 54, new edit. Rigord in Duchesne, vol. v. p. 32, says, that "there were disputes between Richard and Philip; but that they only related to the time of sailing."

left Sicily, and sailed to Acre. His appearance was regarded as a Divine blessing; in the moment of elation the attacks were renewed; but orders were soon given for suspending them till the arrival of Richard, and it is more rational to think that the improbability of success without him was Philip's motive, and not the specious reason that as the cause was common the victory should be common also.* Before his departure from Sicily, Richard avowed that he would lead a life of virtue, and with all humility submitted his back to the scourges of his clergy. He was detained for a short time on account of the expected arrival of his mother Eleanor with the princess Berengaria of Navarre, to whom he had been affianced, long before his treaty with Philip gave him liberty of marriage. About a fortnight after the departure of his rival, the English monarch set sail. In the absence of numerical statements concerning the strength of his army, we can conjecture that it was formidable, from the fact that his soldiers, horses and stores, filled two hundred ships of various sizes. A storm dispersed his fleet, and he heard at Rhodes that two of his vessels had been stranded on the shores of Cyprus, and that the people of the island had plundered and imprisoned such of the crews as had survived shipwreck. The vessel which carried the dowager queen of Sicily and Berengaria had been refused entrance into port. Richard soon arrived off Limisso, and it is singular that so irascible a monarch should three times demand reparation. He who had wantonly violated the law of nations would not willingly remedy the wrong; the English therefore landed on the shores of Cyprus; the archers as usual preceded to clear the way; their barbed arrows fell like showers of rain on the meadows,† and supported by the heavily armed soldiers they drove the emperor and his Greeks into the interior of the island. The ruler of Cyprus was of the race of Comnenus, but he had changed his government into a kingdom. He had not courted the people by augmenting their privileges: and regarding Richard as their preserver, they gladly assisted him in subduing the tyrant and usurper. Isaac was taken; the king of England became lord of Cyprus; he taxed the people to the dreadful amount of the half of their moveables, and then accorded to them the rights they had enjoyed under the dominion of the Byzantine emperors. Richard reposed himself from the toil of conquest by celebrating his marriage with Berengaria, and participating in the festivities of Limisso.* But in a few weeks he roused himself to arms. His fleet left Cyprus ;† a large troop ship of Saladin crossed his way; the light gallies surrounded and attacked her, but the lofty sides of the Turk could not be mounted. "I will crucify all my soldiers if she should escape," exclaimed Richard. His men, more in dread of their sovereign's wrath than the swords of the foe, impelled the sharp beaks of their vessels against the enemy; some of the soldiers dived into the sea, and seized the rudder, and others came to close combat with the Saracens. In order to make the capture an unprofitable one, the emir commanded his troops to cut through the sides of their ship till the waters should rush in. They then leaped on the decks of the English gallies. But the sanguinary and ungenerous Richard killed or cast overboard his defenceless enemies, or, with an avarice equally detestable, saved the commanders for the sake of their ransom.

* Herold, chap. 10.

† "——— quasi imber super gramina, ita cecidere sagittæ super pugnantes." Hoveden, p. 690.

* Hoveden, 692. Bromton, 1200. William of Newborough makes Richard stay more than two months at Cyprus. His residence there could not have been so long; for he left Sicily in April, and arrived at Acre on the eighth of June.

† Hoveden, 692. Vinesauf, p. 329. Bromton, cap. 102. The Saracenian vessel sunk before the English got out much of the stores But the Romance says,

The king found in the dromound, sans fail,
Mickle store, and great vitail,
Many barrels full of fire gregeys;
And many thousand bow Turkeis;
Hooked arrows, and quarelles.
They found there full many barrels
Of wheat, and wine great plenty;
Gold and silver, and ilke daintey,
Of treasure he had not half the mound
That in the dromound was yfound,
For it drowned in the flood,
Ere half uncharged were that good.

Ellis's Specimens of English Metrical Romances, vol. ii. p. 219.

marriage was celebrated in the year 1186, but Tancred continued the real monarch, for he was supported by the Norman barons, who disdained to be governed by a foreign king. Among the precautions which Tancred took for the establishing of his authority, was the imprisonment of the widow of William the Good, his immediate predecessor. She was the sister of Richard king of England, but on the arrival of that monarch in Sicily, the usurper restored her to freedom. But her dowry was still withheld, and her brother was resolved to avenge her wrongs. In all his measures he was violent and unjust. He placed her in a fortress which he seized from the Silicians, and drove out the religious inhabitants of a monastery in order that it might contain his stores.* Those circumstances, and the dissoluteness of his people, were the occasion of much altercation between the natives and the strangers.† Hatred broke out into open contest; the fray was checked by some of the chief citizens; it appeared again, but Plantagenet with a few knights finally quelled it. Philip Augustus had favoured the cause of the Sicilians, and the English monarch, therefore, regarded him as an enemy, and planted his standard on the quarters of the French.‡ The mediation of the barons prevented a war between Philip and Richard, and the latter showed his good will to his royal companion by delivering Messina to the soldiers of the military orders, till Tancred should equitably settle the claims of his sister. Peace was then concluded. Richard renounced all claims on Sicily; his nephew Arthur, duke of Brittany, was to be married to a daughter of Tancred, and the Sicilian prince agreed to equip ten gallies, and six palanders or horse transports, for the Crusaders: to pay the dowry to Richard's sister, and the legacies which William the Good had bequeathed to Henry II. of England.§ Messina was given to the French king, and Richard encamped without the walls.* Various regulations were made for intercourse between the different nations during the winter months. Merchants were not to purchase bread or corn in the army for the purpose of resale, and the profits on their general transactions were restricted to one denarius in ten. Gaming was permitted to the knights and clergy, to the exclusion of the rest of the army. No individual, however, was to lose more than twenty shillings in one day or night.† For some time there was a frequent interchange of good offices between the French and English. Richard gave Philip several ships, and was so prodigal of his money among the soldiers, that it was commonly said, he was more bountiful in a month than his father had been in a year. But the disputes at Messina had rankled in the mind of Philip, and contemporary English historians have charged him with offering his assistance to Tancred for the expulsion of Richard. The largesses of Plantagenet, however, had gained him the friendship of the Sicilian prince. In the moment of confidence, Tancred showed his benefactor some letters of the French king, expressive of his treacherous designs. The count of Flanders charged Philip with baseness, and the sight of the papers threw him into confusion. But recovering himself he declared that the letters were forgeries, and an impudent trick of Richard to break off his match with Alice of France. This dispute brought matters to a crisis, a new treaty was made between the two kings; the breach of a contract which Philip had contemplated with indignation he now looked upon as a matter of indifference, for after certain interchanges of money and territory, the English monarch was allowed a free choice in marriage.‡

In the month of March, 1191, Philip

* Hoveden, 673.

† Vinesauf, ii. 16, 17. Fazello says, that the Messinians had seized the occasion of the English people rioting in the streets to drive them out, and shut the gates upon them. "Gl'Inglisi andavano licentiosamente vagando per la citta con molta lascivia." Fazello, 1st. de Sic. lib. 7.

‡ Ben. A. Pet. 606—608.

§ According to Roger de Hoveden the compensation for Joanna's dower was twenty thousand ounces of gold, and a like sum was the value of the legacies, 676.

* Neub. iv. 12.

† Hoveden, 675.

‡ Bromton, 1195. Hoveden, 687, 688. Rymer, I. 54, new edit. Rigord in Ducheane, vol. v. p. 32, says, that "there were disputes between Richard and Philip; but that they only related to the time of sailing."

left Sicily, and sailed to Acre. His appearance was regarded as a Divine blessing; in the moment of elation the attacks were renewed; but orders were soon given for suspending them till the arrival of Richard, and it is more rational to think that the improbability of success without him was Philip's motive, and not the specious reason that as the cause was common the victory should be common also.* Before his departure from Sicily, Richard avowed that he would lead a life of virtue, and with all humility submitted his back to the scourges of his clergy. He was detained for a short time on account of the expected arrival of his mother Eleanor with the princess Berengaria of Navarre, to whom he had been affianced, long before his treaty with Philip gave him liberty of marriage. About a fortnight after the departure of his rival, the English monarch set sail. In the absence of numerical statements concerning the strength of his army, we can conjecture that it was formidable, from the fact that his soldiers, horses and stores, filled two hundred ships of various sizes. A storm dispersed his fleet, and he heard at Rhodes that two of his vessels had been stranded on the shores of Cyprus, and that the people of the island had plundered and imprisoned such of the crews as had survived shipwreck. The vessel which carried the dowager queen of Sicily and Berengaria had been refused entrance into port. Richard soon arrived off Limisso, and it is singular that so irascible a monarch should three times demand reparation. He who had wantonly violated the law of nations would not willingly remedy the wrong; the English therefore landed on the shores of Cyprus; the archers as usual preceded to clear the way; their barbed arrows fell like showers of rain on the meadows,† and supported by the heavily armed soldiers they drove the emperor and his Greeks into the interior of the island. The ruler of Cyprus was of the race of Comnenus, but he had changed his government into a kingdom. He had not courted the people by augmenting their privileges: and regarding Richard as their preserver, they gladly assisted him in subduing the tyrant and usurper. Isaac was taken; the king of England became lord of Cyprus; he taxed the people to the dreadful amount of the half of their moveables, and then accorded to them the rights they had enjoyed under the dominion of the Byzantine emperors. Richard reposed himself from the toil of conquest by celebrating his marriage with Berengaria, and participating in the festivities of Limisso.* But in a few weeks he roused himself to arms. His fleet left Cyprus ;† a large troop ship of Saladin crossed his way; the light gallies surrounded and attacked her, but the lofty sides of the Turk could not be mounted. "I will crucify all my soldiers if she should escape," exclaimed Richard. His men, more in dread of their sovereign's wrath than the swords of the foe, impelled the sharp beaks of their vessels against the enemy; some of the soldiers dived into the sea, and seized the rudder, and others came to close combat with the Saracens. In order to make the capture an unprofitable one, the emir commanded his troops to cut through the sides of their ship till the waters should rush in. They then leaped on the decks of the English gallies. But the sanguinary and ungenerous Richard killed or cast overboard his defenceless enemies, or, with an avarice equally detestable, saved the commanders for the sake of their ransom.

* Herold, chap. 10.

† "——— quasi imber super gramina, ita cecidere sagittæ super pugnantes." Hoveden, p. 690.

* Hoveden, 692. Bromton, 1200. William of Newborough makes Richard stay more than two months at Cyprus. His residence there could not have been so long; for he left Sicily in April, and arrived at Acre on the eighth of June.

† Hoveden, 692. Vinesauf, p. 329. Bromton, cap. 102. The Saracenian vessel sunk before the English got out much of the stores But the Romance says,

The king found in the dromound, sans fail,
Mickle store, and great vitail,
Many barrels full of fire gregeys:
And many thousand bow Turkeis;
Hooked arrows, and quarelles.
They found there full many barrels
Of wheat, and wine great plenty;
Gold and silver, and ilke daintey,
Of treasure he had not half the mound
That in the dromound was yfound,
For it drowned in the flood,
Ere half uncharged were that good.

Ellis's Specimens of English Metrical Romances, vol. ii. p. 219.

CHAPTER XII.

CONTINUATION OF THE THIRD CRUSADE.

Arrival of the English at Acre.—Dissensions between the French and English kings.—Heroism of Richard.—Reconciliation between Richard and Philip Augustus.—Surrender of Acre.—Departure of the French king.—March of the Croises from Acre to Azotus.—Richard defeats Saladin.—He marches to Jaffa.—He advances to Ramula.—Is dissuaded from marching to Jerusalem.—Falls back on Ascalon.—Fruitless negotiation for peace.—Death of the marquis of Tyre.—Richard advances towards Jerusalem.—The enterprise abandoned.—Richard's heroism at Jaffa.—It leads to an honourable peace.—Courtesy of the king and the sultan.—Miscellaneous events.—Richard leaves the Holy Land.—Lands in Dalmatia. His adventures in Germany.—Is taken prisoner.—His trial at Worms.—His ransom.—His return to England.

Shouts of warm and gratulatory acclamations saluted the English on their arrival at Acre. The brilliant scene before them was calculated to excite all the animating feelings of warriors. The martial youth of Europe were assembled on the plain in all the pride and pomp of chivalry. The splendid tents, the gorgeous ensigns, the glittering weapons, the armorial cognisances, displayed the varieties of individual fancy and national peculiarities. On the eminences in the distance the thick embattled squadrons of the sultan were encamped. The Mameluk Tartar was armed with his bow; the people of the higher Egypt with their flails and scourges, and the Bedoweens with their spears and small round shields. The brazen drum sounded the note of war; and the black banner of Saladin was raised in proud defiance of the crimson standard of the cross.*

The joy with which the French regarded the English was soon changed for the bitter feelings of military envy and national hatred. The religious objects of the war appeared to be forgotten. The Genoese and Templars sided with Philip; and the Pisans and Hospitalians with Richard. The king of France prepared his soldiers and their battering engines for a vigorous and general assault on the walls of Acre; and murmured revenge when his martial competitor declined co-operation on the ground of illness.* The choicest part of the French troops marched to the walls, eager to shame the English. The garrison, as usual, struck their atabals; and the dreadful occasion of the alarm was soon communicated to Saladin. But high as was the valour of the assailants, their numbers were not adequate; and they were repulsed in every point. When Saladin, however, attempted to carry destruction into the army and camp of his baffled foes, he was driven back with loss. The French re-appeared as assailants; once again displayed their imprudent spirit; and more than one cavalier emulated the fame of the noble Alberic Clement, who had sworn that he would enter Acre or die in the effort, and who expired upon the walls. In sickness and in convalescence Richard was carried to his military engines on a mattress,† and was so active in making and using his petrariæ, that he soon destroyed half of one of the Turkish powers. He preserved his machines from the Greek fire of the city; and he rewarded his Balistarii for every stone which they removed from the walls. The ditch was filled up: the tower was completely levelled; and the English heroes, particularly the earl of Leicester‡ and the bishop of Salisbury, prepared to enter the breach. The conflict was close and sanguinary. The Pisans came to the assistance of the English; but the fury of the Turks was irresistible; and the walls were cleared of the enemy. The failure of the ambitious attempts of each of the monarchs at the capture of Acre without the aid of his rival, evinced the necessity of co-operation. A reconciliation in consequence was effected between Richard and Philip; and they determined that one should attack the walls,

* Vinesauf, I. 1, 2.

* See note P.

† The martial spirit of Saladin also rose above corporeal sufferings. Bohadin gives several instances of his firmness, particularly on one occasion, when he formed his troops in battle array, and rode about the field from morning to night, though his legs were covered with biles, and it was thought that he could only recline. Bohadin, p. 18.

‡ Robert Fitz Parnel accompanied king Richard from England, and became earl of Leicester, before he left France, on hearing of the death of his father in Greece, on his return from Palestine. Dugdale, Baronage, vol. i. p. 88.

while the other guarded the camp from the approaches of Saladin.* But Acre had suffered so dreadfully from a two years' siege, that the inhabitants were reduced to the melancholy necessity of resolving to desist from defence. They sent ambassadors to the camp of their foes, offering the surrender of the city, unless a relief from Saladin should speedily arrive; and requiring free egress for themselves and property. Philip and the French barons were willing to accept these terms; but Richard terminated the negotiations, by insisting that both public and private possessions should be delivered to the conquerors. Saladin endeavoured to infuse his own invincible spirit into the minds of his people, and revived for a moment their languid courage, by directing their hopes to succour from Egypt. The Christians continued their assaults by day and night; and so distressed were the Turks, that many of them left the city and became renegadoes. The expected aid from Cairo did not arrive; and the citizens wrung from Saladin his permission for them to capitulate. Their safety was accordingly purchased by their agreeing to deliver unto the two kings the city itself, and five hundred Christian prisoners who were in it. The true cross was to be resigned, with one thousand other captives, and two hundred knights selected by the allies from those who were in the hands of Saladin: and unless the Muselmans paid to Richard and Philip the sum of two hundred thousand pieces of gold within forty days, the inhabitants of Acre should be at the mercy of the conquerors. These conditions were assented to; and, before the city changed its lords, a proclamation was made in the French and English camps, that no one should injure or insult such of the Turks as quitted the place. The Christians entered Acre; the banners of the two kings floated on the ramparts; but precedence seems to have been given to Richard, for he and his wife and sister inhabited the royal palace, while Philip occupied the house of the Templars.† The royal conquerors appropriated to themselves the city's store of arms and provisions. They could not refuse the justice of their soldiers' claim, founded on the principle that those who had shared the labours should divide the reward; but payment was so long deferred, that many persons were forced by poverty to sell their military equipments, and return to Europe.* The kings were divided in opinion respecting the title to the sovereignty over Palestine. Guy of Lusignan, and the princes of Antioch and Tripoli had visited Richard in Cyprus, and the English monarch was persuaded to espouse the cause of the weak and miserable Lusignan. Conrad had shown himself worthy of a kingdom; and though it is most probable that the love of opposition to Richard was the feeling which gained him the friendship of Philip, yet the side which the French king took was certainly that of merit. The disputes were sometimes heard of during the siege; but after the capture, they raged with violence. Negotiations, however, were entered into, and mutual rights were compromised by the agreement that Lusignan should be styled king of Jerusalem, and lord of Jaffa and Ascalon; yet that if Conrad should be the survivor, he and his heirs were to have perpetual sovereignty.† The English monarch afterwards generously surrendered the isle of Cyprus to Lusignan.

A few weeks after the capitulation of Acre, and before the time had elapsed for the performance of all the conditions of the treaty, Philip Augustus expressed his wish of returning to Europe. The French nobility attributed to him motives

* Vinesauf, iii. 5—11. Hoveden, 694. Ben. Ab. 659.

† Vinesauf, iii. 12—18. Hoveden, 694—696. Bohadin, cap. 98—114. The Arabic writers are warm in their praises of the conduct and bravery of Richard. Bohadin says that the army thought Philip the greatest sovereign in name and dignity, and Richard the wealthiest prince and ablest warrior, c. 97.

* Bened. 666.

† Vinesauf, iii. 20. Bromton, p. 1191, 1208. Hoveden, 685, and Benedict, p. 630, give the names of most of the great persons who died at Acre. Some of them we have mentioned. Among the others, those which are interesting to the English reader, are Ralph archdeacon of Colchester, Silvester the seneschal of the archbishop of Canterbury, William earl Ferrers, Robert Scrope, of Barton, Henry Pigot, seneschal of Lord Surry, Walter Scrope, Mowbray, Talbot, and St. John. Vinesauf computes those who died during the siege of Acre at three hundred thousand. Bohadin, p. 180, doubles the number.

of selfishness; and Richard, with a mixture of seriousness and sarcasm, declared that if the French king were really ill from bodily infirmities, or from dread of the enemy, he had better return to his native air; but that it would be disgraceful to leave the work of the Crusade unperformed. The English monarch, however, consented to his departure, yet dreading the violence of his ambition, he compelled him to swear not to make war upon his allies, until at least forty days after the return of their king. The duke of Burgundy and the largest portion of the French army, it was also stipulated, were to remain in Syria under the command of Richard. Philip Augustus went to Tyre, gave to the marquis of that city his moiety, both of Acre and of the Turkish prisoners, and then set sail for Europe.*

Richard repaired the shattered walls and houses of Acre; and the bishop of Salisbury and the rest of the clergy re-edified and consecrated the altars.† The piece of holy wood under which the Syrian Christians had so often fought, was still in the hands of the Saracens; and from bad principle or inability, the two hundred thousand pieces of gold had not been paid to the Croises. Shortly before the expiration of the forty days, Saladin endeavoured to avert from the prisoners in Richard's hands the doom which was allotted them by the treaty in case of failure of payment. But the English king rejected with disdain his presents and courtesy, murdered all the poorer class of the Muselman prisoners, and reserved the more opulent ones for ransom.*

The lion-hearted monarch prepared for hostile operations; but it was with difficulty that the soldiers would leave the pleasures of Acre. A historian tells us that the wine in the city had already changed the complexion of the gravest Christian knights, and, for the preservation of discipline, women were prohibited from marching with the army.† The largesses of Richard to the duke of Austria, the count of Champagne, and others, kept them from following Philip to Europe, and Plantagenet was at the head of nearly thirty thousand French, German, and English soldiers.‡ These holy warriors left Acre under the glorious ensign of the cross, and marched§ in a southerly direction, generally within sight of their ships, which coasted along the shores, bearing forage and provisions, and military necessaries. Clouds of Turks overhung and burst on the advancing army; the red cross knights in the van, and the military friars in the rear, frequently broke the violence of the storm; but the safety of the Crusaders

* Newborough, iv. 22. Bernardus, Thes. 811. Hoveden, 697. Vinesauf, iii. 12—18. Bohadin, cap. 98—114. Richard resented Philip's keeping the prisoners from him. He sent the bishop of Salisbury to demand them from Conrad. The marquis would not deliver them up, until the duke of Burgundy threatened him with war. Taking his choice of the bad motives which may be attributed to Philip, Robert of Gloucester says that envy was the passion which made him wish to return to Europe.

"So that king Philip was annoyed there at the thing,
That there was not of him a word, but all of Richard the king,
Vaste he let trossi,[a] to France for to draw,
Sori was the king Richard to lose his falawe."

† Ben. Ab. p. 665.

[a] He commanded his soldiers quickly to made ready for departure.

* See note Q.

† The city was abundant, says Vinesauf, "vino peroptimo et puellis pulcherrimis: mulieres igitur frequentantes et vina, nimis dissolute se gerebant quamplurimi, ut civitas pollueretur a luxuria insipientium, et gula inhabitantium in ea, a quorum impudentia facies sapientorum contrahebat ruborem. Ad auferandam autem hujus maculæ rubiginam spurcitiam procuratum est de concilio, ne qua mulier exiret a civitate cum exercitu, sed remanerent in civitate, nisi tantum pedites lotrices quæ non forent oneri nec occasio peccati.

‡ Triveti Annales, p. 47.

§ The army were sadly tormented by tarantulas. The sick people cured the bite by applying theriaca to the part affected. Others (Vinesauf calls them the prudentiores) drove the vermin away by making shouts and noises of every description. Vinesauf, iv. 13, and see ante p. 83, note. The practisers of leechcraft, according to the romances of chivalry, had much faith in treacle as a cure for poison, and, indeed, for all diseases. According to T. Bartholinus, the great Danish physician in the middle of the seventeenth century, so much importance was in ancient times attached to this medicine, that the herbs and drugs which entered into the composition of it were publicly exposed previously to the preparation being made. Daillecourt sur les Crusades, p. 324, n.

was principally owing to the indissoluble firmness of their columns, and their resolute forbearance.* The army always halted at night-fall; heralds thrice cried aloud, "Save the holy sepulchre!" and the soldiers, thus reminded of their duties and their object, immediately with raised hands and tearful eyes implored the pity and the aid of Heaven.† Near Azotus a general engagement could no longer be avoided by Richard. The right of his line was commanded by that heroic and hardy champion of the cross, James d'Avesnes. The Duke of Burgundy, a man of doubtful virtue, headed the left; and Plantagenet himself was the stay and bulwark of the centre. The hosts of Syria and Egypt, led by Saladin, made a general and impetuous charge on their foe. The right wing of the Christians was repulsed; the left drove back the Saracens, but it was drawn by the enemy far from the other divisions of the army. Richard hastened with a select band to the aid of the duke of Burgundy, and Saladin, in his endeavour to strengthen his right wing, removed the weight of hostility from James d'Avesnes. No deep impression had been made on the English lines. The cavalry had often in the course of the battle, when galled by the enemy's arrows, clamoured for leave to attack; Richard was firm, cool, and steady to his purpose. But when he saw that the Turkish quivers were exhausted, and the enemy's impetuosity had led to their confusion, his trumpets sounded the charge, his infantry wheeled behind the cavalry, and the knights giving full scope to their fury, rushed on their scattered foe. The personal bravery of Richard achieved wonders; his countenance, his gestures, his invocations to St. George, seconded the ardour of his troops, and the Turks were driven back with great slaughter to Azotus. The loss of the Christians, though not numerous was severe; for James d'Avesnes perished, and his death was justly regretted by the king as the loss of a great pillar of the Christian cause.*

The progress of Cœur de Lion was no longer molested, and he quickly arrived at Jaffa. That city was now without fortifications; for, when the tide of victory turned from the Muselmans at Azotus, Saladin commanded the dismantling of all his fortresses in Palestine. It was policy to keep his enemies perpetually in the field, and to exhaust them by ceaseless skirmishes and engagements. As the road to Ascalon was open, Richard wished to press his advantages: but the spirit of faction renewed its baneful influence, and the French barons insisted on the necessity of restoring the works of Jaffa. Their opinion was in unfortunate accordance with the inclination of an army already attenuated by incessant marching, and who thought with regret on the pleasures which had been for a while familiarized and endeared to them at Acre. It was resolved, therefore, that Jaffa should be re-fortified. Plantagenet, alive to every duty of a general, urged the completion of the works. The soldiers, however, gradually sunk into that state of luxury and idleness from which they had been with such difficulty recovered by Richard. The Muselmans roused themselves from the distress and panic of their late defeat at Azotus; they began to collect in the vicinity of Jaffa, and their military appearance awoke the English and French from their disgraceful sleep of licentiousness. Richard, as ardent in pleasure as in war, enjoyed the amusement of falconry, heedless of the enemy. On one occasion, the royal party would have paid dearly for their temerity, if a Provençal gentleman, named William de Pratelles, had not cried aloud, "I am the

* Defensive war was so completely the object of the Crusaders, that each man was covered with pieces of cloth, united together by rings, on which he received without injury the enemy's arrows. Bohadin (who narrates this curious circumstance) adds, that he himself saw several of the Christians who had not one or two, but ten arrows adhering to their backs, and yet who marched forwards with a quiet step, and without trepidation. Bohadin, p. 189. So close did they march, that if an apple had been thrown, it must have struck either a man or a horse. Vinesauf, iv. 17.

† Vinesauf, iv. 9—16.

* Vinesauf, iv. 17—22. Neubridge, iv. 23. Hoveden, 698. Bohadin, c. 120: and also Peter Langtoft, 187—190, a writer that may be safely followed, except when he mingles his history with the fables in the romance of Richard. Trivet says, that at the battle of Azotus seven thousand Turks and thirty-two of their emirs were slain; and that of the Christians there did not fall a tenth part of that number, nor even a tenth part of a tenth. Annales, p. 109.

king;" and by this noble lie the attention of the Saracens was drawn upon himself, while the real sovereign escaped.* Shortly afterwards, a body of Templars fell into an ambuscade of the Turks. Richard sent the earl of Leicester to the aid of the brave but exhausted knights, and promised to follow straight. Before he could buckle on his coat of steel, he heard that the enemy had triumphed. Despising all personal solicitude, and generously declaring he should not deserve the name of king if he abandoned those whom he had vowed to succour, he flew to the place of combat, plunged into the thickest of the fight, and his impetuosity received its usual reward of success.† The fortifications of Jaffa were at length restored, a vigorous renewal of the war was determined on, and Plantagenet declared to the Saracens that the only way of averting his wrath would be to surrender to him the kingdom of Jerusalem, as it existed in the reign of Baldwin the leper. Saladin did not reject this proposal with disdain, but made a modification of the terms, in offering to yield Palestine from the Jordan to the sea. The negotiation lasted for some time. Richard was deceived and cajoled by the presents and blandishments of Saphadin, who was the brother of Saladin, and the Christians were ashamed that their leader should be so friendly with an infidel. The barons soon saw, and compelled their royal lord to see, the artifice of the Turks, who resumed their attacks, and the negotiation was broken off. The soldiers of Richard pursued their course to Ramula; they had taken few precautions against the inclemency of the season: the winds tore up the tents, and the rains spoiled the provisions, and rusted the arms. The earl of Leicester was of especial service in preserving them from the incessant attacks of the Turks. As they approached Jerusalem, they were joined by those whom they had left at Jaffa, and every person prepared for the completion of his pilgrimage in the Holy City. But the Templars, Hospitallers, and Pisans, dissuaded the king from attacking Jerusalem, on the arguments, that even if it should be taken, they would immediately have to fight with the Turks in the neighbourhood; and that as soon as that great object of the religious journey, the recovery of the sepulchre, was attained, the soldiers would return to Europe, and leave the Holy Land to its fate.* The people, who were the objects of these suspicions of inconstancy, murmured, then clamoured at this vacillation of council; but Richard commanded a retreat, and the army fell back upon Ramula, and then continued its retrogression to Ascalon, a city of high consequence in the judgment of the Latins, because it was the link between the Turks in Jerusalem and the Turks in Egypt.† Until the return of the spring, all commerce between Ascalon and other countries was cut off, and the army endured therefore the hardships of famine, in addition to the usual severities of the climate. The impatient duke of Burgundy deserted the standard of Richard; some of the French soldiers went to Acre and Jaffa; and others found a welcome reception at the court of the marquis of Tyre. But discontent gave place for a while to better feelings; and, at the solicitation of Plantagenet, most of the deserters returned to their duty. But Conrad disdained an answer to the royal summons. The walls of Ascalon‡ were soon repaired, for the proudest nobles, and the most dignified clergy worked liked the meanest of the people. The duke of Austria was the only distinguished man who was wrapped in haughty selfishness, and who could say that he was neither a carpenter nor a mason.§ Before indeed the works were completed, Richard lost the aid of his French allies, who, more mercenary than chivalric, retired to Acre, because the royal coffers were exhausted, and the king could not give them their stipulated pay. Commercial jealousy, as well as military envy, obstructed the Crusades.

* The noble Provençal was taken prisoner by the Turks. Richard was not ungrateful, for his last act in the Holy Land was the purchase of his deliverer's freedom.

† Vinesauf, 26, 30.

* Vinesauf, iv. 31, 35.

† Vinesauf, v. 1.

‡ The Crusaders amused themselves, also, with rebuilding Gasa. They gave it to the Templars, who had enjoyed it before the Saracenian conquest. J. de Vitry, p. 1123, in Bongarsius.

§ The cause of the dispute between Richard and the duke of Austria is mentioned in note R.

The Genoese and Pisans made Acre the theatre of their animosities; and an appearance of dignity and disinterestedness was given to their feuds, when they fought in the name and for the interests of their respective friends, Conrad and Guy. The marquis of Tyre joined his troops to the Genoese, and the civil war would have spread through all the Christian powers, if Plantagenet had not marched from Ascalon to Acre. Conrad prudently retraced his steps, and by the address of the English king the breach between the republicans was closed. Richard endeavoured to conciliate the marquis; but the young nobleman aspired to independence and sovereign power, drew seven hundred French soldiers from Ascalon to Tyre, and allied himself with Saladin. When Richard had retired from Jerusalem, and his army became broken, Saladin had dismissed many of his troops to their families and homes; but when he heard of the defection of Conrad, he thought that the moment of active hostility was arrived, and he accordingly spread his standard, and summoned his hosts.* Richard was cool and undismayed at the military port of his enemy, but political disturbances in England demanded the presence of the monarch, and he was compelled to yield to his necessities, and solicit his generous foe to terminate the war. He declared that he required only the possession of the sacred city, and of the true cross. But the Muselman replied, that Jerusalem was as dear to the Moslem as to the Christian world, and that he would never be guilty of conniving at idolatry, by permitting the worship of a piece of wood. Thwarted by the religious principles of his enemies, Richard endeavoured to win upon their softer affections. He proposed a consolidation of the Christian and Muhammedan interests, the establishment of a government at Jerusalem, partly European and partly Asiatic; and these schemes of policy were to be carried into effect by the marriage of Saphadin with the widow of William king of Sicily. The Muselman princes would have acceded to these terms; but the marriage was thought to be so scandalous to religion, that the imams and the priests raised a storm of clamour, and Richard and Saladin, powerful as they were, submitted to popular opinion.* The necessity of Richard's return to England grew stronger, and the only cause of his delay was the choice of a military commander of the Christians. The imbecile Guy had but few partisans, and the public voice was in favour of the valiant Conrad: Richard generously overlooked the circumstance, that the prince of Tyre was his enemy, and the friend of Saladin, and consented to the public wish. But while preparations were making for the coronation, Conrad was slain by two of the assassins. In the first moments of indignation, the French declared that Richard had instigated the murderers.† They demanded from the widow of Conrad the resignation of Tyre, but she was too politic to encounter the anger of the king. Count Henry of Champagne appeared in the midst of the tumult; he took the throne upon the invitation of the people, and following the approved precedent, he secured himself from opposition by marrying the widow of Conrad.‡ Richard confirmed the election of the people, and the civil war was closed.§ The duke of Burgundy and the count of Champagne joined Richard. Disregarding the calls from England the king led his English and Normans to the fortress of Darum, reduced it, and gave it to the French, whose preparations for the attack had been rendered needless by the superior

* Vinesauf, iv. 36, 37, v. 1. 15.

* Bohadin, chap. 127, &c. Abulteda, iv. 111. D'Herbelot, article Salaheddin, vol. iii. 178. In all these negotiations, the people of the two armies lived in friendly intercourse, and mingled in the tournament and dance. More than this, through the whole of the war, Saladin and Richard emulated each other as much in the reciprocation of courtesy, as in military exploits. If ever the king of England chanced to be ill, Saladin sent him presents of Damascene pears, peaches, and other fruits. The same liberal hand gave the luxury of snow, in the hot seasons. Hoveden, p. 693. Saladin could not but have felt some kindness for gallant warriors, whether Christians or Muselmans, if it be true, that as soon as he was old enough to bear arms, he had requested and received the honour of knighthood from a French cavalier, named Humphrey de Thoron. Hist. Hier. in Bongarsius, p. 1152. Vinesauf, book i. chap. iii.

† On this subject, see note S.

‡ Vinesauf, v. 16, 28.

§ Vinesauf, v. 35, 37.

activity of their allies.* Some new messengers from England brought fresh accounts of the increasing power of Prince John, and the treachery of Philip Augustus. The army continued its march towards Jerusalem and encamped in the valley of Hebron. The generals and soldiers vowed that they would not quit Palestine without having redeemed the sepulchre. Every thing wore the face of joy when this resolution was adopted; Richard participated in the feeling, and although he thought that his presence in England would be the only means of restoring affairs there, yet he professed to the duke of Burgundy, and the count of Champagne, that no solicitation from Europe should prevail with him to leave the allies until after the following Easter. Hymns and thanksgivings testified the popular joy at this resolution; the army recommenced its course; and so sure were the soldiers of a speedy accomplishment of their wishes, that they carried with them only a month's provisions. In every step of their progress they were harassed by flying parties of Saracens; on one occasion the valour of the bishop of Salisbury saved the French divsion of the Croises; and on another, the ever vigilant earl of Leicester recovered the caravan of stores which the Saracens had seized, on its road from Jaffa to the army.† The nearer the approach of the Christians, the greater was the terror of the Muselmans in Jerusalem; many of them prepared to leave the city, and even Saladin was alarmed for its safety.‡ The Crusaders were at Bethlehem; the French nobility in the council were as clamorous as the people without to press forward; but the mind of Richard vacillated, and he avowed his doubts of the policy of the measure, as his force was not adequate to a siege, and to the keeping up of communications with its stores on the coast. He proposed that they should march to Beritus, to Cairo, or Damascus; but as the barons of Syria, the Templars, and Hospitallers, had a perfect knowledge of Palestine, he thought that their decision should regulate the proceedings of the army. A council of twenty was accordingly appointed from the military orders, the lords of the Holy Land, and also the French knights. They learned that the Turks had destroyed all the cisterns, which were within two miles of the city; they felt that the heats of summer had begun; and for these reasons it was decided that the siege of Jerusalem should be deferred, and that the army should march to some other conquest. As a general, Richard was fully aware of the impolicy of advancing against the sacred city, yet he was unable to suppress his bitter feelings of mortification by a decision which would probably blast the proud hopes that he had indulged of redeeming the sepulchre. A friend led him to a hill which commanded a view of Jerusalem; but, covering his face with a shield, he declared that he was not worthy to behold a city which he could not conquer. The French soldiers uttered invectives and complaints against the decision of the council. Cœur de Lion offered them provisions, ships, and money, if they would obey its decree, and march to Cairo: and although they acquiesced, yet as they were not zealous, Richard remained in inactivity and indecision.* Active hostility against the Saracens was abandoned by the Christians for the fiercer employment of civil rancour and dissensions: and if a retreat had not been commanded, the army would have been totally destroyed by Saladin. Richard could preserve but little order and discipline among the soldiers. Some retired to Jaffa, but Acre was the rendezvous of most of the army. Saladin's spies had communicated to their master the vacillations of the Crusaders' councils; and even before they had quitted the object of their armament, he had sent news of the probable turn of affairs to many of the Muselman states. Hope succeeded to despondency, vigour to relaxation, and twenty thousand horsemen and crowds of infantry were soon collected under the walls of Jerusalem. The Turks actively proceeded to avail themselves of the declining fortunes of the invaders. By the quickest marches Saladin reached Jaffa, and so vigorous was his siege of it, that in a few days one of

* Vinesauf, v. 36, 38. Sanutus, 200.
† Vinesauf, v. 38, 53.
‡ Bohadin, c. 156.

* On the history of the circumstances respecting the deserting of the cause of the Holy Land, see note T.

the gates was broken down, and such of the people as could not defend themselves in the great tower, or escape by sea, were destroyed. Already were the battering rams prepared for execution, when the patriarch and some French and English knights agreed to become the prisoners of Saladin, and that heavy ransoms should be fixed for the redemption of the citizens, if succour did not arrive during the next day. Before the morning, however, the brave Plantagenet reached Jaffa. Abandoning the hope of rescuing the Holy Land from infidel subjection, he was on the point of quitting Acre, and of returning to Europe, when the precipitancy of his Moslem rival opened again all his visions of glory and conquest. The French refused to march; but the Templars and Hospitallers, the Pisans and Genoese, the earl of Leicester and the other English nobles, vowed to save their friends. Richard and some of his troops went by sea to Jaffa; other soldiers took the land course, but were dreadfully distressed by those impediments which Saladin, in anticipation of their approach, cast in their way. Plantagenet was the first who leaped on shore, and the most active with his deadly sword. So furious was their attack, that the astonished Turks deserted the town, and when the army at a little distance saw the standard of Richard planted on the walls, they retreated some miles into the country. Their terror was changed into shame and rage when it was found that the Turkish hosts had been panic-struck by a troop of five hundred men.* Saladin in the next night attempted to regain his advantages. But the anxiously vigilant Richard started from his tent armed at all points, and called his faithful friends to his side. His archers and cross-bow men formed an impenetrable phalanx; his soldiers that were on horseback (and they were only ten) fought singly like true heroes of chivalry; and when the Turks felt again the edge of the falchion, which had turned the day at Azotus, their panic was renewed. Indeed so splendid and worthy of admiration were the achievements of the *Melech Ric*, that even the brother of Saladin, at one time seeing him dismounted, sent him two horses as tokens of respect.* Richard's victory placed him in a commanding attitude. Instead of wishing for new battles he solicited peace; and Saladin, at length exhausted by wars, submitted to necessity. The Christian king and the sultan of Egypt, interchanged expressions of esteem, and as the former avowed his contempt of the vulgar obligation of oaths, they only grasped each other's hands in pledge of fidelity. A truce was agreed upon for three years and eight months: the fort of Ascalon was to be destroyed; but Jaffa and Tyre, with the country between them, were to be surrendered to the Christians.† The people of the west were also at liberty to make their pilgrimages to Jerusalem, exempt from the taxes which the Saracenian princes had in former times imposed.

The French soldiers at Acre prepared to return to Europe; but wished first to behold the sepulchre which was so dear and sacred to the Christians. But Richard was indignant at the audacity of men who claimed the benefit of a treaty which no efforts of their own had procured. They had lost the laurel of holy warriors, and they deserved not to bear the pilgrim's palm. The rest of the army visited the hallowed places, and Saladin, alive to every honourable obligation, prevented his subjects from injuring the persons and insulting the feelings of the devout palmers. The bishop of Salisbury was treated with marked respect. The generous Curd admired valour and nobleness even in a Christian, and when the prelate arrived at Jerusalem he was invited to the royal palace. In a familiar conversation Saladin expressed his admiration of the bravery of Plantagenet, but thought that the skill of the general did not equal the valour of the knight.‡ The courteous

* Vinesauf, vi. 8—16. M. Paris, 142. Bohadin, c. 163, 164.

* Vinesauf, 20, 22, 23. Some months before the battle of Jaffa, Saphadin had shown his respect for the military character of Richard, by obtaining from him the honour of knighthood for his (Saphadin's) son. Vinesauf, v. 6.

† Vinesauf. 25—28. D'Herbelot, article Salaheddin, vol. ii. p. 178.

‡ But Saladin might have praised Richard for the steadiness with which he moved from

prelate complimented the Muselman by replying that there were not two such warriors in the world as the English and the Syrian monarchs. Often have we had occasion to observe the generosity of Saladin in the moment of victory. At the solicitation of the bishop he allowed establishments of Latin priests in the holy sepulchre, and in the churches of Bethlehem and Nazareth. He had pity, too, on the different barons whom his conquests had dispossessed. He gave to the lord of Sajetta a handsome town near Tyre; to Belian of Ibelin a castle, four miles from Acre; and he restored Caiphas, Cesarea, and Azotus to their respective lords. Count Henry of Champagne became master of Jaffa.*

The loss of many thousand soldiers on the plains of Acre, and the bravery and conduct of the English monarch had prevented some of the anticipated issues of the battle of Tiberias. Palestine did not become a Muselman colony; and so much of the sea coast was in the hands of the Christians, and so enfeebled were the enemy, that fresh hostilities could safely be commenced whenever Europe should again pour forth her religious fanatics, and military adventurers. Richard gained more honour in Palestine than any of the emperors of Germany and kings of France who had sought renown in foreign war; and although these distant ages may censure his conduct as unprofitable to his country, yet his actions were in unison with that spirit of the times which looked upon valour as more important than empire, and esteemed achievements in battle more highly than the consequences of victory.

In the month of October, Richard, with his queen, the English soldiers, and pilgrims, set sail for England. But storms, of violence uncommon even for the boisterous season of autumn, soon scattered his fleet. The people thought that Heaven had directed the elements against them, because Jerusalem was still in the hands of the infidels; and they were convinced of the justice of this condemnation, when they afterwards heard of the death of Saladin, an event which, they thought, would have led them to the accomplishment of the object of their vows. Many of the vessels were wrecked on hostile shores, and the warriors of England, who might once have bade defiance to the world, now penniless, naked, and famished, were led into Saracenic prisons. Other ships fortunately reached friendly ports, and in time returned to Britain. At the end of six weeks from his departure from Acre, Richard was off the Barbary shores, within three days' sail of the port in the south of France whence he had embarked for the Holy Land. His misfortunes had become known. and he heard that the French lords had resolved to seize him, if he landed in their territories. The condition of his vessel forbad the hope of a safe return to England, and Germany was the only country through which he expected to escape. He purchased the maritime guidance of some pirates, and the course of his vessel was changed from Marseilles to the Adriatic. His companions were Baldwin de Betun, a priest, Anselm the chaplain, and a few Knights Templars. The royal party landed at Zara.* They wished to pursue their route to the north; and accordingly one of them went to the governor of Goritia† for passports, who, unfortunately for Richard, was nephew of the late marquis of Tyre. The messenger was desired to declare the quality of his masters. He described them as pilgrims, on their return from Jerusalem. "Their names?" asked the governor. "One is called Baldwin de Betun," answered the man; "and the other Hugh the merchant; and the latter has commanded me to give you a ring, as a proof of his good dispositions towards you." The governor admired the beauty and splendour of the ruby;‡ he was struck with the singularity of the transaction; he naturally thought that he who

Acre to Azotus, and his coolness and decision during the great battle.

* Vinesauf, vi. 30—36. Cont. William of Tyre, 640.

* The place of his landing is called, in M. Paris, Gazara. Hoveden proves that it was Zara, for he says it was in the country of Ragusa. Zara is called Jazara, by the archbishop of Tyre, lib. ii. c. xxii.

† See the emperor's letter to the king of France, Hoveden, 721.

‡ The ring was worth three hundred besants; Richard had lately purchased three of them from a Pisan merchant.

sent the gift could be no common person; and after weighing the circumstances in his mind, he exclaimed, "the name of the owner of this ring is not Hugh the merchant, but king Richard; tell him, however, that although I have sworn to detain returning pilgrims, yet the magnificence of this gift, and the dignity of the donor, induce me to violate the rule, and to allow your master to pass." Plantagenet heard with alarm of the discovery which his generosity had occasioned; the knowledge of the circumstance of the dispersion of his fleet was not confined to France, and every Christian monarch was prepared to seize as a prisoner the great champion of the cross. Richard and his friends took to their horses in the middle of the night, and the news was spread that the king of England was in Germany. The fugitives were unmolested till they reached Frisak, near Saltzburgh. The governor of that country commanded one of his relations, a Norman knight, to examine all travellers. The speech and manners of Plantagenet were marked with curiosity by him, who knew the English character, and his prayers and tears produced an avowal from the king, that the object of his search was discovered. Honorary and pecuniary rewards had been offered as incentives to diligence; but the generous Norman thought only of the safety of his liege lord, entreated him to fly, and presented to him a swift horse. He then returned to his master, and told him that Baldwin de Betun and his companions were the only pilgrims in the town, and the report that Richard was of the party was false and ridiculous. The governor, however, relied upon the certainty of his previous information, suspected the old knight of deceit, and issued orders for the detention of strangers. Six of the English were put into prison, but the king escaped, accompanied only by William de Stagno, and a boy who understood the German language. After travelling for three days and three nights, and scarcely ever stopping for refreshments, Richard arrived at a town near Vienna. He heard that the duke of Austria was in the place, and he knew that that haughty impetuous nobleman remembered him with feelings of hatred, because in the siege of Acre the English monarch had checked his arrogance and presumption. The fugitives were so much harassed that they could not pursue their course. The German boy was sent to the market-place in order to purchase provisions; and as he had experienced the generosity of his master, he was usually dressed with elegance and nicety. The contrast of the vulgar demeanor and the handsome clothes of the youth, attracted the attention of the people; they demanded his name and condition; and he replied that he was the servant of a very rich merchant, who three days before had arrived in the town. The boy saw that his story was not credited, and on his return to the king he advised his immediate escape. But Richard was ill and weary, and totally unable to depart. The boy continued his visits to the market-place, and for some days attracted no further notice: but on one occasion the citizens saw in his girdle a pair of such gloves as were usually worn by kings. The poor lad was immediately seized and scourged, and the threat of cutting out his tongue if he did not tell the truth, drew from him the secret of the real quality of his master. The Austrian soldiers immediately surrounded the house of Richard, and the king, knowing the fruitlessness of resistance, offered to resign his sword. The duke advanced and received it, and in the excess of his joy he treated him for a while with respect.* But it was soon apparent that Plantagenet was his prisoner and not his guest.† The king

* The story of Otho de Blaise, respecting the mode in which Richard was discovered, is as follows: — "The king entered a house of public entertainment in a town near Vienna, and, in order that no suspicion might be excited concerning his rank, he busied himself in turning the spit. He forgot, however, to conceal a splendid ring which he wore on his finger. A man who had known his person at Acre recognised him, and gave the news to the duke." O. de Blaise, in Muratori, vol. vi. cap. 38, p. 894.

† For here though Cœur de Lion like a storm
Pour on the Saracens, and do perform
Deeds past an angel, arm'd with wrath and fire,
Ploughing whole armies up, with zealous ire,
And walled cities, while he doth defend
That cause that should all wars begin and end;
Yet when with pride, and for humane respect
The Austrian colours he doth here deject

of England was confined in Gynasia till the following Easter, when he was sold to the emperor of Germany. Henry VI. removed him to a castle in the Tyrol; and the prison was so strong, that no one had ever escaped from it. But in the mind of a tyrant, mountains form not impenetrable barriers, and walls are a doubtful security. Imperial cruelty therefore commanded that armed men should always be present in the chamber of Richard, and that he should never speak in private to any of his companions. Sometimes the royal captive calmed his angry soul by singing the warlike deeds of the heroes of romance. At other times he diverted melancholy by the composition of poems; in one of which he declares, with simple pathos, that his barons well knew that he would have ransomed any of his companions who had been overtaken by a misfortune similar to his own; but he would not reproach them, although he was a prisoner.* Occasionally he forgot his misfortunes, and the apparent negligence of his friends. His native hilarity conquered the bitterness of his spirit; he laughed at the frequent intoxication of his jailors, he sported the keenness of his wit, and in the boisterousness of his merriment displayed his personal strength and agility. He was soon removed to Haguenau, where he was treated with respect by the emperor, and he was afterwards immured in a prison at Worms.†

The king of France rejoiced at the calamities of his rival, and implored the emperor never to allow him again to molest the world. Philip Augustus then invaded Normandy; and after having met with some successes, laid siege to Rouen: but he was repulsed by the earl of Leicester, who had lately returned from Palestine, and whose valour was as conspicuous in political as in religious wars. Prince John made another attempt to seat himself on the English throne; but the barons were indignant at his perfidiousness to his brother, and sympathised with their imprisoned king.* Queen Eleanora wrote two long and plaintive letters to the Pope on the subject of her son's confinement. She thought that it would be no degradation of Papal dignity, if Celestine would make personal intercession for Richard's liberation. The princes of the earth were agreed to destroy a Christian king, and yet the sword of St. Peter remained in its scabbard.† The Pope accordingly threatened the emperor and French king with excommunication, unless the one gave freedom to Richard, or the other did not cease from his barbarous wars.‡ The ecclesiastical and secular princes of Germany assembled in diet at Worms in the month of July; and Richard, attended by the Bishops of Bath and Ely, was brought before them. He was arraigned by the emperor for the crimes of supporting a usurper in Sicily, of quarrelling with the king of France, of insulting the duke of Austria, and of murdering the marquis of Tyre, who was a relation of the emperor. To all these charges Richard replied in so clear and argumentative a manner, that the members of the diet were filled with admiration of him; and, no suspicion of guilt remained in their minds.§ Richard, however, was treated by the emperor as a prisoner of war; a treaty was concluded between them, by which the English monarch was to obtain his liberty on payment of one hundred thousand marks of silver, according to the Cologne standard, and the delivery of hostages for thirty thousand marks to the emperor, and twenty thousand to the duke of Austria.‖ The great council of England immediately imposed taxes for the amount of the first payment of the ransom; and although the wishes of the nation were in accordance with its decrees, yet the money was with great

With too much scorn, behold at length how fate
Makes him a wretched prisoner to that state;
And leaves him, as a mark of fortune's spright,
When princes tempt their stars beyond their light.

Ben Jonson.

* See note U.

† For further remarks on Richard's adventures, see note X.

* Bromton, 1252. Neubridge, iv. 34. Hoveden, 724.

† Rymer, i. 57, 58, new edit.

‡ Hoveden, 725.

§ See note Y.

‖ Speaking of Richard's ransom, Otho de Blaise (Muratori, vi. 895) says, he must not venture to mention the sum, for if he did, he should not expect to be believed.

difficulty collected.* In the month of October, Richard was removed from his dungeon at Worms to one at Spires; and his imprisonment was to be terminated at the assembly of the diet at Christmas. The emperor and the princes of Germany assembled, the imperial commissioners appeared with the one hundred thousand marks, and Queen Eleanora with the hostages; but the friends of Philip and John offered the emperor such large sums of money for the extension of the captivity of Richard, or his delivery into their hands, that the irresolute Henry VI. postponed the subject till the meeting of the diet at Mayence at the end of January. In that conference of the German princes, perpetual imprisonment seemed at one moment to be the fate of Richard, for the emperor declared that he would cancel the treaty, and would accept the noble offers of Philip and John. But the clerical and secular princes of Germany were so highly indignant at this projected violation of the honour of their country, that they compelled their lord to accept the money and hostages of the English king. Richard was released on the 6th of February. The archbishop of Cologne and other noblemen paid him the highest honour as he passed through their territories on his road to Antwerp, whence he embarked for England, and landed at Sandwich.*

* Hoveden, 725. Waverly, 164. The property of the nation was only pretended, for Bromton relates, that when some German nobles entered London with Richard, in March, 1194, they were struck with the magnificence of the city, and exclaimed, that the people had been wise in concealing their wealth, which, if known to the emperor, a larger ransom would have been required, p. 1256, 1258. Caxton and Stow are wrong in saying that all the ransom was paid in coin. Bullion would be more valuable to the emperor than English money. The plate ornaments of the church were melted down together into bars or ingots. Some stamp might have been put upon them in order to denote their goodness. The word mark expressed in old times both coin and weight in silver: and the treaty mentions Cologne weight and not English sterling. See Ruding's Annals of the Coinage, i. 336—338. North's Remarks on Clarke's Conjectures, p. 34, &c. An old traveller through Germany, towards the close of the seventeenth century, says, "that the ransom of Richard beautified Vienna; and the two walls round the city, the one old and inward, little considerable at present, were built with the ransom of Richard I." Brown's Travels through Germany, p. 74, 4to. 1677.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE FOURTH AND FIFTH CRUSADES.

Death and character of Saladin.—His successors.—Pope Celestine III. promotes a Crusade.—It is embraced by Germany.—Adventures of the Germans in Palestine.—Fair prospect of complete success.—Ruin of the cause.—Return to Europe of some of the Germans, and massacre of the rest at Jaffa.—Death of Henry, king of Jerusalem.—Almeric and Isabella, the new king and queen.—Character of Fulk, preacher of the fifth Crusade.—Politics of the Papacy respecting the Crusades.—Pope Innocent III. promotes a new Crusade.—It is embraced by France and Flanders.—The barons wish for the maritime aid of Venice.—Embassy to Venice.—Treaty between the republic and the envoys.—Departure of the Croises.—Arrival at Venice.—Suspension of the Crusade.—Subjugation of Zara.—Papal politics.—Grecian politics.—The Croises sail to Constantinople.—Attack and siege of the city.—Captured by the Croises.—Revolution in the government.—Another revolution.—The Croises renew the war.—Their complete victory.—Sack of Constantinople.—Division of the plunder.—Vengeance of the Croises on the fine arts.—Election of a Latin emperor.—General remarks on the empire of the Latins in Greece.

WHILE Palestine was enjoying independence and peace, an event occurred that promised it confirmation of the security of which Richard's victories had held out a prospect. Saladin died: he was in the fifty-seventh year of his age; during twenty-two years he had reigned over Egypt, and for nineteen was absolute master of Syria. No Asiatic monarch has filled so large a space in the eyes of Europe as the antagonist of Cœur de Lion. He was a compound of the dignity and the baseness, the greatness and the littleness of man. As the Moslem hero of the third holy war, he proved himself a skilful general, and a valiant soldier. He hated the Christian cause, for he was a zealous Mussulman: and his principles authorized him to make war upon the enemies of the prophet; but human sympathy mollified the

* M. Paris, 147. Bromton, 1252—1257. Hoveden, 731—734.

rigour of his enthusiasm, and when his foes were suppliant, he often forgot the sternness of Islamism. He was fond of religious exercises and studies; but his mind was so much above the age in which he lived, that he never consulted soothsayers and astrologers. He had gained the throne by blood, artifice, and treachery; but though ambitious, he was not tyrannical; he was mild in his government; the friend and dispenser of justice. Eager for the possession, but indifferent to the display of power, thinking more of the substance than the pageantry of grandeur, he was simple in manners, and unostentatious in deportment. He attempted by conciliation and tuition to change the religious sentiments of the Egyptian Fatimites, but the intolerant spirit of his religion would sometimes appear; the politician was lost in the zealot, and he inflicted punishment on those who presumed to question any of the dogmas of a Muselman's creed.*

Wars and rebellions had filled all the thoughts of Saladin, and he had established no principles of succession. Three of his numerous progeny became sovereigns of Aleppo, Damascus, and Egypt; others had smaller possessions, and the emirs and atabeks of Syria again struggled for independence. The soldiers of the late sultan rallied round his brother Saphadin, whose wisdom and valour were familiar to them. Both by stratagem and liberal policy he reared a large fabric of empire† in Syria, and he was the most powerful of all the Moslem princes, when the time for the expiration of the peace arrived. The Saracenic power was, however, palsied for a while by a dreadful famine in Egypt, and the Latins in Palestine suffered also from the miserable state of this general granary. The knights of St. John cast their regards towards Europe, and particularly to England, for succour, and entreated that new armies would march to Palestine, and destroy the exhausted Moslems.* Two years before this favourable moment, the daring and ambitious Pope Celestine III. had again sounded the trumpet of war. He exhorted the archbishops and bishops of the Christian church to persuade their congregations to spread the crimson standard, and to march against the persecutors of the faith of Jesus Christ. Plenary indulgence was offered to those faithful soldiers, and the protection of the church to their families and possessions. France had not revived from its losses in the third crusade, and Philip Augustus heard the appeal with indifference. Many of the people of England enrolled their names as holy warriors, obtained spiritual absolution, and then abandoned their pious resolves. The Pope hurled his thunders against those who deserted their profession, except for some legitimate cause; but all thoughts of a crusade gradually died away in England, for the king was too much occupied in political concerns to encourage it.† But wild schemes of war were occasionally in his mind, and the early writers have ascribed to his dauntless spirit the vast design of conquering Egypt, and after having gained the Holy Land, of possessing himself of the throne of Constantinople.*

Designs equally ambitious were entertained of the emperor Henry, the enemy of Plantagenet. Seconded by imperial influence, the clergy successfully preached the crusade through all the German states. The emperor declared that he would provide a passage for both rich and poor who wished to go.§ But though influenced, he was not absorbed by the love of barren glory, and when the possession of Sicily seemed an easy achievement, he postponed the gathering of laurels in Palestine, till he had added a great state to his empire in Europe. Tancred, prince of Sicily, had lately died, and Henry, in right of his wife Constantia, put in his claims. This defection

* Abulfeda, iv. 133, 141. Bohadin, passim, and De Guignes, ii. 237. D'Herbelot, art. Salaheddin, and see note Z.

† Saphadin's power was, however, only personal; for in 1218, the year of his death, the half-extinguished embers of civil discord blazed afresh: some of Saladin's children and the atabeks enjoyed Syria, till they were swept away by the successors of Zinghis Khan. Egypt was ruled by a descendant of Saladin; but the Mamelukes usurped the throne, and, as they were of the same blood as the Tartars, they were invincible.

* See the grand master's letter to the prior in England. Hoveden, p. 827.

† M. Paris, 150.

‡ Sanutus, lib. iii. pars xi. ch. i.

§ Cont. William, p. 643.

from the holy war was declared to be in accordance with the opinions of his wisest princes and lords, and it did not quench the spirit of fanaticism and romance. From the north to the south of Germany, the frenzy of crusading had spread, and it had infected the bishops of Bremen, Wurtsburg, Passau, and Ratisbon; the dukes of Saxony, Brabant, Bavaria, and the son of the duke of Austria, the marquis of Brandenburg and Moravia; the landgrave of Thuringia; the count Palatine, and the counts of Habsburg and Schwembourg. Both laymen and clergy burnt with Divine zeal, and received the sign of the sufferings of Christ in token of the remission of their sins.* The son of Henry duke of Limberg, and the archbishop of Mayence, led the vanguard of the holy warriors; and in the passage through Hungary they were joined by Margaretta, sister of the French king and queen of Hungary, who, as one mode of consolation for the loss of her husband, had vowed to pass the remainder of her life in the pains of pilgrimage. Though the time of peace, as settled by the treaty between Richard and Saladin, had expired, yet the Christians and Muselmans continued to live in amity. When the new champions of the cross arrived at Acre, no remonstrances of the Latins against fresh wars, no suggestions that all new Crusaders ought to be obedient to the discretion of the residents in the Holy Land, could abate the furious desire of the Germans for hostility. Their aggressions were quickly returned by the Muselmans, civil feuds were hushed, and Saphadin again headed the veteran forces of Syria and of Egypt. The important city of Jaffa was taken by him before the Christian army from Acre could relieve it. The care and expense of Richard were dissipated in a moment; the fortifications were destroyed, and several thousands of the people of Jaffa were put to the sword. In these unhappy moments, another portion of the German force, under the command of the dukes of the Lower Lorraine and Saxony, arrived at Acre. They had made the voyage from the northern ports of Germany, and in their route had chastised the Moors of Portugal. Confident in their strength, the united forces of Europe and Palestine, led by the duke of Saxony, directed their march towards the city of Beritus; but Saphadin, ever observant of events, quitted the vicinity of Jaffa, and overtook his foes between Tyre and Sidon. The close columns of the duke of Saxony's army were impenetrable to his vigorous and continual attacks. The victory of the Christians appeared to be decisive, the enemy's force was scattered, and so extensive was the panic, that the Saracens abandoned Laodicea, Gabala, Jaffa, Sidon, and Beritus. Nine thousand prisoners were redeemed without ransom: and the statement that there were three years' provisions for the inhabitants of Beritus in the storehouses of that town, shows the importance of the day of Sidon. The exultation of the Crusaders was still further advanced, by the arrival of a third body of friends, headed by Conrad, bishop of Hidelsheim and chancellor of the German empire. By the usual process of ambitious princes, Henry had subjugated Sicily, and now devoted to the conquest of the Holy Land, he sent his third army as his immediate precursors.*

It seemed that the hour was now at hand when Europe would receive the reward of her invincible heroism. All the sea-coast of Palestine was already in the possession of the Christians; and even they who had generally most desponded, were now elevated with the conviction that the cross must ere long surmount the walls of Jerusalem. But in their march from Tyre towards the Holy City, they made a fatal halt at the fortress of Thoron. The lofty and solid pile of stones withstood the attacks of the common engines of violence. But by a month's labour of some Saxon miners, the rock itself which supported the fortress was pierced through; and the battlements tottered to their foundation. The Saracens were now at the feet of the Christians suing for clemency. A free passage into the Moslem territo-

* Chron. Slav. lib. v. c. i. L'Art de vérifier les Dates, vol. iii. p. 115.

* The continuation of the Chronica Slavorum, by Arnold of Lubec, lib. v. c. iii. and a letter of the duke of Lorraine on the subject of the war to the archbishop of Cologne, in the second vol. of Freher, Rer. Scrip. Germ. p. 362. Bernardus, 816, 818. Hoveden, 722. Abulfeda, iv. 165.

ries was all that they asked, and the fort might then be at the disposal of the Crusaders. After much time had been passed in balancing considerations of revenge or mercy, a treaty founded on these terms was signed; but although just principles of war prevailed with the majority, yet the smaller party, who breathed nothing but slaughter, impressed their menaces so deeply on the minds of the Saracens, that the latter vowed to submit to the last extremity, rather than confide in the agreements and oaths of champions of the cross.* They gained resolution from despair; they met their foes in the passages which had been mined in the rocks; and in every encounter the Moslem scimitar reeked with Christian blood. Factious contentions disordered the Latin council; insubordination and vice raged in the camp; and, to crown their miseries, the Croises heard that the Infidel world had recovered from its defeat at Sidon, and that the sultans of Egypt and Syria were concentrating their levies. Daunted at the rumour of their march, the German princes deserted their posts in the middle of the night, and fled to Tyre. In the morning their flight was discovered by the soldiers, and horror and despair seized every breast. The camp was deserted by those who had strength to move: the feeble left their property, the cowardly their arms behind them. The road to Tyre was filled with soldiers and baggage in indiscriminate confusion; but so exhausted was the state of the Muselmans in Thoron, that the Christians were not molested in their retreat by any accidents except those which their own imprudence aud precipitation occasioned.†

When the fragments of the army were collected, and the soldiers were at a distance from danger, every one reproached the other as the cause of the late disgraceful event. The Germans accused the Latins of cowardice; and the barons of the Holy Land declared that they would not submit to the domineering pride of the Germans.* Conrad and his soldiers went to Jaffa, and resolved to repair its fortifications, and to wait the moment for revenge on the Latins of Syria. Saphadin marched against them, and the Germans did not decline the combat. Victory was on the side of the Christians; but it was bought by the death of many brave warriors, particularly of the duke of Saxony, and of the son of the duke of Austria. But the Germans did not profit by this success, for news arrived from Europe that the great support of the crusade, Henry VI. was dead. The archbishop of Mayence, and all those princes who had an interest in the election of a German sovereign, deserted the Holy Land. The queen of Hungary was the only individual of consequence whose fanaticism was stronger than worldly considerations. The remnants, and they were more than twenty thousand, of this once powerful host, fortified themselves in Jaffa. But a new storm arose in the Turkish states. It swept over Beritus and the land of the Christians; and, on the eleventh of November, while the Germans were celebrating the feast of St. Martin, the Moslems entered the city of Jaffa, and slew every individual whom they found.†

About the time of the massacre at Jaffa, Henry, count of Champagne, the acknowledged king of Jurusalem, died.‡ Private pleasures alone had charms for him, and he never executed the few offices of royalty which still formed the duties of the lord of the Holy Land. The barons always desired to preserve in Palestine the semblance of a kingdom, for their proud spirit would not own the

* Indeed the Arabic writers state that the French soldiers assured the garrison that the Germans would slay them even if they surrendered.

† Chron. Slav. lib. vi. c. 4, and 5. Hoveden, 773.

* All the quarrels were conducted in Scriptural language. Treachery was the crime of which each party accused the other; for the case of Judas was in the minds of all.

† Old Fuller says, "At this time, the springtide of their mirth so drowned their souls, that the Turks coming in upon them, cut every one of their throats to the number of twenty thousand: and quickly they were stabbed with the sword that were cup-shot before. A day which the Dutch (the Germans) may well write in their calendars in red letters dyed with their own blood, when the camp was their shambles, the Turks their butchers, and themselves the Martinmasse beeves, from which the beastly drunkards differ but a little." Holy War, book 3, c. 16.

‡ Bernardus, p. 815.

full extent of the Moslems' victories, and if no appearances of state were preserved, Europe would think that the whole of Palestine was lost. The grand master of the Hospitallers represented to Isabella the propriety of her marriage with Almeric de Lusignan, king of Cyprus, who had lately succeeded his brother Guy. It was thought that Acre and its vicinity could not remain in the hands of the Latins, unless they were governed by a king, and that, in every circumstance, Cyprus, as a place of succour and retreat, would be a valuable ally to Jerusalem. With equal truth it might have been argued, that, if there were a powerful king in Palestine, faction, the great foe of the state, could not raise its head. Familiarized to the joys of royalty and love, the widowed queen embraced with rapture new prospects of happiness, and in her eyes Almeric was as estimable as she had found her divorced husband Humphrey, or her deceased lords Conrad and Henry. The union was approved of by the clergy and barons, it was celebrated at Acre, and Almeric and Isabella were proclaimed king and queen of Cyprus and Jerusalem.*

The third and fourth Crusades were created by the ordinary influence of papal power and royal authority; but the fifth sprung from genuine fanaticism.† At the close of the twelfth century a hero arose in France worthy of companionship with Bernard. Fulk, of the town of Nuilly, near Paris, was distinguished by the vehemence and ability of his preaching, and as in early life he had drank deeply of the cup of pleasure, he was well qualified to describe the different states of the sinner and the saint. He did not involve himself in the speculative absurdities of the day, but declaimed against the prevailing vices of usury and prostitution. For two years he preached without success, but after that time Heaven lent its aid to the efforts of the preacher, in order that his words, like arrows from a powerful bow, might penetrate the depraved hearts of men.‡ Accordingly, miracles attested celestial approbation, and his sermons were received as oracles. With the extension of his fame his wishes for religious good increased, and his soul was inflamed with the desire of accomplishing the great aim of Christendom. He accordingly assumed the cross, and war with infidels became the copious matter of his sermons. When the people saw that the man of God was signed with the sanguinary badge, and heard him promise to become their leader, the rich and the poor, the noble and the ignoble, the old and the young of both sexes, thronged around him, and received from him with devout alacrity the insignia of holy warriors. His miracles and preaching were soon reported in Italy, and the pope bestowed upon his exertions the apostolical benediction.

At the early age of thirty-six, Innocent III. was seated in the papal chair, and he discharged the high duties of his august station with the same ardour with which he had pursued his studies in the solitude of the cloister. Since the days of Gregory VII. the papacy had not been filled with a more arrogant and aspiring prelate. He was the first pope that endeavoured to include the fortunes as well as the consciences of men in the dominion of the holy see. Louis, and Philip Augustus, kings of France, and Henry II. king of England, had imposed taxes on their subjects for the benefit of the Crusades, and these precedents were embraced by Innocent. Following the suggestions of an ambitious spirit, his military predecessor Gregory wished to arm Europe against Asia. Personal interest had induced Urbant to adopt and encourage the general wish for the redemption of the holy sepulchre. For a whole century papal protection, superstition, and valour kept the flame alive. But when Innocent, for the avowed purpose of supporting the Crusades, presumed to tax the clergy, a new character was given to the sacred wars, and a new impulse to the minds of men. The pecuniary levies were not meant for the benefit of Palestine, but for the filling of the coffers

* Cont. William, II. 16. Sanutus, 201.

† The authorities for the fourth and fifth Crusades are described in note A a.

‡ Sed pius Conditor nolens Prædicatoris sui semina ulterius deperire, contulit voci Prædicatoris sui vocem virtutis, ut verba ejus quasi sagittæ, potentis acutæ, hominum prava corda, consuetudine obdurata penetrarent, et ad lachrymas et pœnitentiam emollirent. Rad. Coggehalensis.

ries was all that they asked, and the fort might then be at the disposal of the Crusaders. After much time had been passed in balancing considerations of revenge or mercy, a treaty founded on these terms was signed; but although just principles of war prevailed with the majority, yet the smaller party, who breathed nothing but slaughter, impressed their menaces so deeply on the minds of the Saracens, that the latter vowed to submit to the last extremity, rather than confide in the agreements and oaths of champions of the cross.* They gained resolution from despair; they met their foes in the passages which had been mined in the rocks; and in every encounter the Moslem scimitar reeked with Christian blood. Factious contentions disordered the Latin council; insubordination and vice raged in the camp; and, to crown their miseries, the Croises heard that the Infidel world had recovered from its defeat at Sidon, and that the sultans of Egypt and Syria were concentrating their levies. Daunted at the rumour of their march, the German princes deserted their posts in the middle of the night, and fled to Tyre. In the morning their flight was discovered by the soldiers, and horror and despair seized every breast. The camp was deserted by those who had strength to move: the feeble left their property, the cowardly their arms behind them. The road to Tyre was filled with soldiers and baggage in indiscriminate confusion; but so exhausted was the state of the Muselmans in Thoron, that the Christians were not molested in their retreat by any accidents except those which their own imprudence and precipitation occasioned.†

When the fragments of the army were collected, and the soldiers were at a distance from danger, every one reproached the other as the cause of the late disgraceful event. The Germans accused the Latins of cowardice; and the barons of the Holy Land declared that they would not submit to the domineering pride of the Germans.* Conrad and his soldiers went to Jaffa, and resolved to repair its fortifications, and to wait the moment for revenge on the Latins of Syria. Saphadin marched against them, and the Germans did not decline the combat. Victory was on the side of the Christians; but it was bought by the death of many brave warriors, particularly of the duke of Saxony, and of the son of the duke of Austria. But the Germans did not profit by this success, for news arrived from Europe that the great support of the crusade, Henry VI. was dead. The archbishop of Mayence, and all those princes who had an interest in the election of a German sovereign, deserted the Holy Land. The queen of Hungary was the only individual of consequence whose fanaticism was stronger than worldly considerations. The remnants, and they were more than twenty thousand, of this once powerful host, fortified themselves in Jaffa. But a new storm arose in the Turkish states. It swept over Beritus and the land of the Christians; and, on the eleventh of November, while the Germans were celebrating the feast of St. Martin, the Moslems entered the city of Jaffa, and slew every individual whom they found.†

About the time of the massacre at Jaffa, Henry, count of Champagne, the acknowledged king of Jurusalem, died.‡ Private pleasures alone had charms for him, and he never executed the few offices of royalty which still formed the duties of the lord of the Holy Land. The barons always desired to preserve in Palestine the semblance of a kingdom, for their proud spirit would not own the

* Indeed the Arabic writers state that the French soldiers assured the garrison that the Germans would slay them even if they surrendered.

† Chron. Slav. lib. vi. c. 4, and 5. Hoveden, 773.

* All the quarrels were conducted in Scriptural language. Treachery was the crime of which each party accused the other; for the case of Judas was in the minds of all.

† Old Fuller says, "At this time, the springtide of their mirth so drowned their souls, that the Turks coming in upon them, cut every one of their throats to the number of twenty thousand: and quickly they were stabbed with the sword that were cup-shot before. A day which the Dutch (the Germans) may well write in their calendars in red letters dyed with their own blood, when the camp was their shambles, the Turks their butchers, and themselves the Martinmasse beeves, from which the beastly drunkards differ but a little." Holy War, book 3, c. 16.

‡ Bernardus, p. 815.

full extent of the Moslems' victories, and if no appearances of state were preserved, Europe would think that the whole of Palestine was lost. The grand master of the Hospitallers represented to Isabella the propriety of her marriage with Almeric de Lusignan, king of Cyprus, who had lately succeeded his brother Guy. It was thought that Acre and its vicinity could not remain in the hands of the Latins, unless they were governed by a king, and that, in every circumstance, Cyprus, as a place of succour and retreat, would be a valuable ally to Jerusalem. With equal truth it might have been argued, that, if there were a powerful king in Palestine, faction, the great foe of the state, could not raise its head. Familiarized to the joys of royalty and love, the widowed queen embraced with rapture new prospects of happiness, and in her eyes Almeric was as estimable as she had found her divorced husband Humphrey, or her deceased lords Conrad and Henry. The union was approved of by the clergy and barons, it was celebrated at Acre, and Almeric and Isabella were proclaimed king and queen of Cyprus and Jerusalem.*

The third and fourth Crusades were created by the ordinary influence of papal power and royal authority; but the fifth sprung from genuine fanaticism.† At the close of the twelfth century a hero arose in France worthy of companionship with Bernard. Fulk, of the town of Nuilly, near Paris, was distinguished by the vehemence and ability of his preaching, and as in early life he had drank deeply of the cup of pleasure, he was well qualified to describe the different states of the sinner and the saint. He did not involve himself in the speculative absurdities of the day, but declaimed against the prevailing vices of usury and prostitution. For two years he preached without success, but after that time Heaven lent its aid to the efforts of the preacher, in order that his words, like arrows from a powerful bow, might penetrate the depraved hearts of men.‡ Accordingly, miracles attested celestial approbation, and his sermons were received as oracles. With the extension of his fame his wishes for religious good increased, and his soul was inflamed with the desire of accomplishing the great aim of Christendom. He accordingly assumed the cross, and war with infidels became the copious matter of his sermons. When the people saw that the man of God was signed with the sanguinary badge, and heard him promise to become their leader, the rich and the poor, the noble and the ignoble, the old and the young of both sexes, thronged around him, and received from him with devout alacrity the insignia of holy warriors. His miracles and preaching were soon reported in Italy, and the pope bestowed upon his exertions the apostolical benediction.

At the early age of thirty-six, Innocent III. was seated in the papal chair, and he discharged the high duties of his august station with the same ardour with which he had pursued his studies in the solitude of the cloister. Since the days of Gregory VII. the papacy had not been filled with a more arrogant and aspiring prelate. He was the first pope that endeavoured to include the fortunes as well as the consciences of men in the dominion of the holy see. Louis, and Philip Augustus, kings of France, and Henry II. king of England, had imposed taxes on their subjects for the benefit of the Crusades, and these precedents were embraced by Innocent. Following the suggestions of an ambitious spirit, his military predecessor Gregory wished to arm Europe against Asia. Personal interest had induced Urbant to adopt and encourage the general wish for the redemption of the holy sepulchre. For a whole century papal protection, superstition, and valour kept the flame alive. But when Innocent, for the avowed purpose of supporting the Crusades, presumed to tax the clergy, a new character was given to the sacred wars, and a new impulse to the minds of men. The pecuniary levies were not meant for the benefit of Palestine, but for the filling of the coffers

* Cont. William, II. 16. Sanutus, 201.

† The authorities for the fourth and fifth Crusades are described in note A a.

‡ Sed pius Conditor nolens Prædicatoris sui semina ulterius deperire, contulit voci Prædicatoris sui vocem virtutis, ut verba ejus quasi sagittæ, potentis acutæ, hominum prava corda, consuetudine obdurata penetrarent, et ad lachrymas et pœnitentiam emollirent. Rad. Coggehalensis.

ries was all that they asked, and the fort might then be at the disposal of the Crusaders. After much time had been passed in balancing considerations of revenge or mercy, a treaty founded on these terms was signed; but although just principles of war prevailed with the majority, yet the smaller party, who breathed nothing but slaughter, impressed their menaces so deeply on the minds of the Saracens, that the latter vowed to submit to the last extremity, rather than confide in the agreements and oaths of champions of the cross.* They gained resolution from despair; they met their foes in the passages which had been mined in the rocks; and in every encounter the Moslem scimitar reeked with Christian blood. Factious contentions disordered the Latin council; insubordination and vice raged in the camp; and, to crown their miseries, the Croises heard that the Infidel world had recovered from its defeat at Sidon, and that the sultans of Egypt and Syria were concentrating their levies. Daunted at the rumour of their march, the German princes deserted their posts in the middle of the night, and fled to Tyre. In the morning their flight was discovered by the soldiers, and horror and despair seized every breast. The camp was deserted by those who had strength to move: the feeble left their property, the cowardly their arms behind them. The road to Tyre was filled with soldiers and baggage in indiscriminate confusion; but so exhausted was the state of the Muselmans in Thoron, that the Christians were not molested in their retreat by any accidents except those which their own imprudence and precipitation occasioned.†

When the fragments of the army were collected, and the soldiers were at a distance from danger, every one reproached the other as the cause of the late disgraceful event. The Germans accused the Latins of cowardice; and the barons of the Holy Land declared that they would not submit to the domineering pride of the Germans.* Conrad and his soldiers went to Jaffa, and resolved to repair its fortifications, and to wait the moment for revenge on the Latins of Syria. Saphadin marched against them, and the Germans did not decline the combat. Victory was on the side of the Christians; but it was bought by the death of many brave warriors, particularly of the duke of Saxony, and of the son of the duke of Austria. But the Germans did not profit by this success, for news arrived from Europe that the great support of the crusade, Henry VI. was dead. The archbishop of Mayence, and all those princes who had an interest in the election of a German sovereign, deserted the Holy Land. The queen of Hungary was the only individual of consequence whose fanaticism was stronger than worldly considerations. The remnants, and they were more than twenty thousand, of this once powerful host, fortified themselves in Jaffa. But a new storm arose in the Turkish states. It swept over Beritus and the land of the Christians; and, on the eleventh of November, while the Germans were celebrating the feast of St. Martin, the Moslems entered the city of Jaffa, and slew every individual whom they found.†

About the time of the massacre at Jaffa, Henry, count of Champagne, the acknowledged king of Jurusalem, died.‡ Private pleasures alone had charms for him, and he never executed the few offices of royalty which still formed the duties of the lord of the Holy Land. The barons always desired to preserve in Palestine the semblance of a kingdom, for their proud spirit would not own the

* Indeed the Arabic writers state that the French soldiers assured the garrison that the Germans would slay them even if they surrendered.

† Chron. Slav. lib. vi. c. 4, and 5. Hoveden, 773.

* All the quarrels were conducted in Scriptural language. Treachery was the crime of which each party accused the other; for the case of Judas was in the minds of all.

† Old Fuller says, "At this time, the springtide of their mirth so drowned their souls, that the Turks coming in upon them, cut every one of their throats to the number of twenty thousand: and quickly they were stabbed with the sword that were cup-shot before. A day which the Dutch (the Germans) may well write in their calendars in red letters dyed with their own blood, when the camp was their shambles, the Turks their butchers, and themselves the Martinmasse beeves, from which the beastly drunkards differ but a little." Holy War, book 3, c. 16.

‡ Bernardus, p. 815.

ull extent of the Moslems' victories, and f no appearances of state were preserved, Europe would think that the whole of Palestine was lost. The grand master of the Hospitallers represented to Isabella the propriety of her marriage with Almeric de Lusignan, king of Cyprus, who had lately succeeded his brother Guy. It was thought that Acre and its vicinity could not remain in the hands of the Latins, unless they were governed by a king, and that, in every circumstance, Cyprus, as a place of succour and retreat, would be a valuable ally to Jerusalem. With equal truth it might have been argued, that, if there were a powerful king in Palestine, faction, the great foe of the state, could not raise its head. Familiarized to the joys of royalty and love, the widowed queen embraced with rapture new prospects of happiness, and in her eyes Almeric was as estimable as she had found her divorced husband Humphrey, or her deceased lords Conrad and Henry. The union was approved of by the clergy and barons, it was celebrated at Acre, and Almeric and Isabella were proclaimed king and queen of Cyprus and Jerusalem.*

The third and fourth Crusades were created by the ordinary influence of papal power and royal authority; but the fifth sprung from genuine fanaticism.† At the close of the twelfth century a hero arose in France worthy of companionship with Bernard. Fulk, of the town of Nuilly, near Paris, was distinguished by the vehemence and ability of his preaching, and as in early life he had drank deeply of the cup of pleasure, he was well qualified to describe the different states of the sinner and the saint. He did not involve himself in the speculative absurdities of the day, but declaimed against the prevailing vices of usury and prostitution. For two years he preached without success, but after that time Heaven lent its aid to the efforts of the preacher, in order that his words, like arrows from a powerful bow, might penetrate the depraved hearts of men.‡ Accordingly, miracles attested celestial approbation, and his sermons were received as oracles. With the extension of his fame his wishes for religious good increased, and his soul was inflamed with the desire of accomplishing the great aim of Christendom. He accordingly assumed the cross, and war with infidels became the copious matter of his sermons. When the people saw that the man of God was signed with the sanguinary badge, and heard him promise to become their leader, the rich and the poor, the noble and the ignoble, the old and the young of both sexes, thronged around him, and received from him with devout alacrity the insignia of holy warriors. His miracles and preaching were soon reported in Italy, and the pope bestowed upon his exertions the apostolical benediction.

At the early age of thirty-six, Innocent III. was seated in the papal chair, and he discharged the high duties of his august station with the same ardour with which he had pursued his studies in the solitude of the cloister. Since the days of Gregory VII. the papacy had not been filled with a more arrogant and aspiring prelate. He was the first pope that endeavoured to include the fortunes as well as the consciences of men in the dominion of the holy see. Louis, and Philip Augustus, kings of France, and Henry II. king of England, had imposed taxes on their subjects for the benefit of the Crusades, and these precedents were embraced by Innocent. Following the suggestions of an ambitious spirit, his military predecessor Gregory wished to arm Europe against Asia. Personal interest had induced Urbant to adopt and encourage the general wish for the redemption of the holy sepulchre. For a whole century papal protection, superstition, and valour kept the flame alive. But when Innocent, for the avowed purpose of supporting the Crusades, presumed to tax the clergy, a new character was given to the sacred wars, and a new impulse to the minds of men. The pecuniary levies were not meant for the benefit of Palestine, but for the filling of the coffers

* Cont. William, II. 16. Sanutus, 201.

† The authorities for the fourth and fifth Crusades are described in note A a.

‡ Sed pius Conditor nolens Prædicatoris sui semina ulterius deperire, contulit voci Prædicatoris sui vocem virtutis, ut verba ejus quasi sagittæ, potentis acutæ, hominum prava corda, consuetudine obdurata penetrarent, et ad lachrymas et pœnitentiam emollirent. Rad. Coggehalensis.

ries was all that they asked, and the fort might then be at the disposal of the Crusaders. After much time had been passed in balancing considerations of revenge or mercy, a treaty founded on these terms was signed; but although just principles of war prevailed with the majority, yet the smaller party, who breathed nothing but slaughter, impressed their menaces so deeply on the minds of the Saracens, that the latter vowed to submit to the last extremity, rather than confide in the agreements and oaths of champions of the cross.* They gained resolution from despair; they met their foes in the passages which had been mined in the rocks; and in every encounter the Moslem scimitar reeked with Christian blood. Factious contentions disordered the Latin council; insubordination and vice raged in the camp; and, to crown their miseries, the Croises heard that the Infidel world had recovered from its defeat at Sidon, and that the sultans of Egypt and Syria were concentrating their levies. Daunted at the rumour of their march, the German princes deserted their posts in the middle of the night, and fled to Tyre. In the morning their flight was discovered by the soldiers, and horror and despair seized every breast. The camp was deserted by those who had strength to move: the feeble left their property, the cowardly their arms behind them. The road to Tyre was filled with soldiers and baggage in indiscriminate confusion; but so exhausted was the state of the Muselmans in Thoron, that the Christians were not molested in their retreat by any accidents except those which their own imprudence and precipitation occasioned.†

When the fragments of the army were collected, and the soldiers were at a distance from danger, every one reproached the other as the cause of the late disgraceful event. The Germans accused the Latins of cowardice; and the barons of the Holy Land declared that they would not submit to the domineering pride of the Germans.* Conrad and his soldiers went to Jaffa, and resolved to repair its fortifications, and to wait the moment for revenge on the Latins of Syria. Saphadin marched against them, and the Germans did not decline the combat. Victory was on the side of the Christians; but it was bought by the death of many brave warriors, particularly of the duke of Saxony, and of the son of the duke of Austria. But the Germans did not profit by this success, for news arrived from Europe that the great support of the crusade, Henry VI. was dead. The archbishop of Mayence, and all those princes who had an interest in the election of a German sovereign, deserted the Holy Land. The queen of Hungary was the only individual of consequence whose fanaticism was stronger than worldly considerations. The remnants, and they were more than twenty thousand, of this once powerful host, fortified themselves in Jaffa. But a new storm arose in the Turkish states. It swept over Beritus and the land of the Christians; and, on the eleventh of November, while the Germans were celebrating the feast of St. Martin, the Moslems entered the city of Jaffa, and slew every individual whom they found.†

About the time of the massacre at Jaffa, Henry, count of Champagne, the acknowledged king of Jurusalem, died.‡ Private pleasures alone had charms for him, and he never executed the few offices of royalty which still formed the duties of the lord of the Holy Land. The barons always desired to preserve in Palestine the semblance of a kingdom, for their proud spirit would not own the

* Indeed the Arabic writers state that the French soldiers assured the garrison that the Germans would slay them even if they surrendered.

† Chron. Slav. lib. vi. c. 4, and 5. Hoveden, 773.

* All the quarrels were conducted in Scriptural language. Treachery was the crime of which each party accused the other; for the case of Judas was in the minds of all.

† Old Fuller says, "At this time, the springtide of their mirth so drowned their souls, that the Turks coming in upon them, cut every one of their throats to the number of twenty thousand: and quickly they were stabbed with the sword that were cup-shot before. A day which the Dutch (the Germans) may well write in their calendars in red letters dyed with their own blood, when the camp was their shambles, the Turks their butchers, and themselves the Martinmasse beeves, from which the beastly drunkards differ but a little." Holy War, book 3, c. 16.

‡ Bernardus, p. 815.

full extent of the Moslems' victories, and if no appearances of state were preserved, Europe would think that the whole of Palestine was lost. The grand master of the Hospitallers represented to Isabella the propriety of her marriage with Almeric de Lusignan, king of Cyprus, who had lately succeeded his brother Guy. It was thought that Acre and its vicinity could not remain in the hands of the Latins, unless they were governed by a king, and that, in every circumstance, Cyprus, as a place of succour and retreat, would be a valuable ally to Jerusalem. With equal truth it might have been argued, that, if there were a powerful king in Palestine, faction, the great foe of the state, could not raise its head. Familiarized to the joys of royalty and love, the widowed queen embraced with rapture new prospects of happiness, and in her eyes Almeric was as estimable as she had found her divorced husband Humphrey, or her deceased lords Conrad and Henry. The union was approved of by the clergy and barons, it was celebrated at Acre, and Almeric and Isabella were proclaimed king and queen of Cyprus and Jerusalem.*

The third and fourth Crusades were created by the ordinary influence of papal power and royal authority; but the fifth sprung from genuine fanaticism.† At the close of the twelfth century a hero arose in France worthy of companionship with Bernard. Fulk, of the town of Nuilly, near Paris, was distinguished by the vehemence and ability of his preaching, and as in early life he had drank deeply of the cup of pleasure, he was well qualified to describe the different states of the sinner and the saint. He did not involve himself in the speculative absurdities of the day, but declaimed against the prevailing vices of usury and prostitution. For two years he preached without success, but after that time Heaven lent its aid to the efforts of the preacher, in order that his words, like arrows from a powerful bow, might penetrate the depraved hearts of men.‡ Accordingly, miracles attested celestial approbation, and his sermons were received as oracles. With the extension of his fame his wishes for religious good increased, and his soul was inflamed with the desire of accomplishing the great aim of Christendom. He accordingly assumed the cross, and war with infidels became the copious matter of his sermons. When the people saw that the man of God was signed with the sanguinary badge, and heard him promise to become their leader, the rich and the poor, the noble and the ignoble, the old and the young of both sexes, thronged around him, and received from him with devout alacrity the insignia of holy warriors. His miracles and preaching were soon reported in Italy, and the pope bestowed upon his exertions the apostolical benediction.

At the early age of thirty-six, Innocent III. was seated in the papal chair, and he discharged the high duties of his august station with the same ardour with which he had pursued his studies in the solitude of the cloister. Since the days of Gregory VII. the papacy had not been filled with a more arrogant and aspiring prelate. He was the first pope that endeavoured to include the fortunes as well as the consciences of men in the dominion of the holy see. Louis, and Philip Augustus, kings of France, and Henry II. king of England, had imposed taxes on their subjects for the benefit of the Crusades, and these precedents were embraced by Innocent. Following the suggestions of an ambitious spirit, his military predecessor Gregory wished to arm Europe against Asia. Personal interest had induced Urbant to adopt and encourage the general wish for the redemption of the holy sepulchre. For a whole century papal protection, superstition, and valour kept the flame alive. But when Innocent, for the avowed purpose of supporting the Crusades, presumed to tax the clergy, a new character was given to the sacred wars, and a new impulse to the minds of men. The pecuniary levies were not meant for the benefit of Palestine, but for the filling of the coffers

* Cont. William, II. 16. Sanutus, 201.

† The authorities for the fourth and fifth Crusades are described in note A a.

‡ Sed pius Conditor nolens Prædicatoris sui semina ulterius deperire, contulit voci Prædicatris sui vocem virtutis, ut verba ejus quasi sagittæ, potentis acutæ, hominum prava corda, consuetudine obdurata penetrarent, et ad lachrymas et pœnitentiam emollirent. Rad. Coggehalensis.

of Rome. For the gratification of his luxury and avarice, therefore, the pope became interested in the Crusades. Each time of his inspiring the people with religious ardour was the season for general plunder; for although the tax was nominally on the clergy alone, yet every artifice was used to drain money from the laity. All the influence of papal royalty was for a while exercised in the promotion of Crusades, and the animating councils of the Vatican checked the chivalry of Europe from sinking into despair.

Innocent III. wrote to the various temporal and spiritual chiefs* of Christendom, requiring them to take up arms for the defence of Palestine, or at least to send him considerable succours of men and money. His nuntios travelled through Europe preaching the holy theme, and the pardons and indulgences which they offered, induced many men to become soldiers of God.† The pope commanded the clergy to contribute the fortieth part of their revenues, and to place boxes in the churches for the reception of the alms of the laity. The imposition was complied with, and the voluntary oblations of the princes and people equalled the amount of the contributions of the clergy.‡ The military spirit of the day directed religious ardour, and some noble knights prevented the preaching of Fulk, and the commands of Innocent, from producing no effect than that of enriching the treasury of the Vatican. At a public tournament in Champagne, Thibaud III.§ the youthful count of that province, and his relation, the count Louis of Blois and Chartres, resolved to exchange the image of war for its reality. Reginald of Montmirail, and Simon de Montfort,* two of the noblest barons of France, and a proud corps of gentlemen, vowed to partake of the glory of their friends, and the people of the Netherlands would not want a leader, for Baldwin, count of Flanders, and brother-in-law of Thibaud, received the cross at Bruges.

The counts and barons met in deliberation at the parliament of Soissons, and afterward at Compeigne. By sad experience Europe had learned the horrors of a land journey to Palestine. The kings of France and England had made their military pilgrimage by sea. The resources of two powerful kingdoms were at the command of Philip Augustus and Richard, but the barons of Champagne were destitute of all maritime advantages, and they therefore determined to purchase the aid of one of the great naval powers of Europe. Thibaud, Baldwin, and Louis, invested six of their friends with authority to conclude a treaty with the Venetians, and these deputies immediately repaired to Venice. Henry Dandalo,† the doge, and the principal citizens, received their illustrious visiters with distinction, but were astonished on learning the general nature of their powers; and their surprise was not diminished when the deputies declared that they could only reveal the details of their object to the general council of the state. With the required solemnities they professed that they came to Venice to procure upon any terms which the queen of the Adria-

* He even wrote to the heretical emperor of Constantinople to permit the Crusade. Vit. Innoc. III. Muratori, Rer. Scrip. Ital. vol. iii. p. 507. The departure of the Germans from the Holy Land, and the divisions among the Muselman princes, are the circumstances upon which the pope chiefly builds his arguments for the necessity of a new war.

† Villehardouin, No. I. Porce que cil pardons fu issi gran, si s'en esmeurent mult li cuers des gens, et mult s'en croisierent, porce que li pardons ere si gran.

‡ Baluz. vit. Inn. in Muratori, Rer. Scrip. Ital. iii. 526. See, too, Hoveden, p. 828. We can well understand with Diceto that not much of this money was applied by the pope to religious purposes.

§ Villehardouin (No. 19) says that no baron of France had more vassals than the count of Champagne. He had one thousand eight hundred knights in complete feudal tenure, and four hundred by inferior ties. Du Cange, note on No. 4. Thibaud and Louis were nephews both of Richard king of England and Philip Augustus of France. Du Cange, note 2. Thibaud was a brother of the late Henry, King of Jerusalem.

* This Simon de Montfort, lord of the Mantois between Chartres and Paris, was the father of the Simon de Montfort, who by marriage with the sister of the earl of Leicester succeeded to that title of English nobility. L'Art de vérifier les Dates, ii. 677.

† Henry Dandalo was eighty-four years of age on the 1st of June 1192, when he was elected doge. Du Cange on Villehardouin, 204. It by no means appears that Dandalo had totally lost his sight. The expression of the Chronicler Dandalo is that he was visu debilis, p. 322. See, too, Sanutus, lib. iii. pars. 11. c. 1. Sabellicus, Hist. Venet. doc. 1. lib. 7.

tic should dictate, the aid of her ships and maritime necessaries in order to assist the barons of France in their endeavour to re-conquer Jerusalem, and to revenge the wrongs of Jesus Christ. After several days had been passed in deliberation on this important message, Henry Dandalo announced to the deputies that the republic would, for eighty-five thousand marks of silver, according to Cologne weight, furnish flat-bottomed vessels for the passage of four thousand five hundred horses, and nine thousand squires, and ships for four thousand five hundred knights, and twenty thousand foot soldiers; and provisions were also to be furnished for one year. Venice would likewise become a principal in the war, and support fifty galleys of her own, on condition that all acquisitions should be equally shared between the two allied nations.* The deputies cheerfully submitted to these terms. The council of ten and the grand council supported the doge, and a solemn assembly of the people was held in the chapel of St. Mark for the final ratification of the treaty. The marshal of Champagne addressed the assembly. "Signors," said he, "the most noble and powerful barons of France have sent us to you, in order to entreat you in the name of God to have compassion on Jerusalem, which groans under the tyranny of the Turks; and to aid us on this occasion in revenging the injury which has been done to your Lord and Saviour. The barons of France have turned their eyes to you as the greatest maritime power in Europe. They have commanded us to throw ourselves at your feet, and never to change that supplicatory posture till you have promised to aid them in recovering the Holy Land." The simple eloquence of Villehardouin, the tears and humble attitude of his companions, touched the hearts of the people. Cries of "We grant your request" sounded through the hall. The treaty was sealed by the deputies and the grand council, and after the conditions had been ratified by oaths, it was sent to the Pope for his confirmation. The deputies borrowed two thousand marks from some Venetian merchants, and paid them to the state. They then quitted the republic: two returned straight to Champagne, and others went to Pisa and Genoa, in order to awaken those republics from dreams of avarice to the visionary delights of fanaticism. Villehardouin repaired to France with the welcome news of the conclusion of the treaty with the Venetians. Thibaud sprung from the bed of sickness, called for his war-horse, and declared his intention immediately to march. But this effort was his last. The debility which succeeded this exertion gave his disease opportunity to increase, and he expired in the act of distributing to his feudatories the money which he had intended to expend upon the Holy War.* The command of the knights and people who had enlisted under his banner was successively refused by the duke of Burgundy, and the count of Bar, and finally accepted by Boniface, marquis of Montferrat.† In the church of Soissons the cross was affixed to his shoulder by the hands of some priests, and particularly by Fulk of Nuilly.

Shortly after Easter, in the year 1202, the French Crusaders assembled. The renewed exertions of Fulk had often been successful in changing superstition into enthusiasm, but on the other hand, as two years had elapsed since the cross had been assumed by the people, the zeal of many had cooled, and they basely applied to worldly purposes the money which the count of Champagne had bequeathed to them for the Holy War.‡ After having traversed France, the soldiers of Champagne crossed mount Cenis into Lombardy, joined the Italian Crusaders under the marquis of Montferrat,

* See the treaty in Andrew Dandalo's Chronicle, Muratori, xii. 323. Sismondi appears to be right in estimating the mark at fifty livres, and the sum total will be four millions two hundred and fifty thousand livres, modern French money, by no means an unreasonable charge. Hist. des Républiques Ital., vol. ii., p. 383, note.

* Villehardouin, 19.

† He was younger brother of the celebrated Conrad, marquis of Tyre.

‡ Fulk did not live to hear the issue of his exertions. He died while the French were at Venice in 1202. He was buried in the church of Nuilly. Du Cange adds (note on Villehardouin, No. 37,) "Son tombeau se voit encore à present en l'eglise de Nuilly, où l'on rend l'honneur deu à la memoire de ce saint homme, et particulierement és jours solemnnels, ausquels on couvre ce tombeau d'un drap de soye, et le Curé aprés avoir été aux autels y donne de l'encens."

and finally arrived at Venice, where they were lodged in the island of St. Nicholas. The bishop of Autun, and many of the French, embarked at Marseilles and other ports for the Holy Land, and if the marshal of Champagne, and the count of St. Paul, had not met and remonstrated with count Louis and his force in Lombardy, the soldiers of Blois would, like many other Croises, have sailed from the eastern shores of Italy, and have left the Flemish and Champagne knights to accomplish the treaty with the Venetians.*

The Venetians were munificent and liberal to the honourable strangers, but instances of defection from the cause had been so numerous, that the Crusaders were unable to make a corresponding return in money.† The counts of Flanders and Blois, and St. Paul, and the marquis of Montferrat, sold all their jewels, but thirty-four thousand marks were still wanting. The high-minded cavaliers resolved to pawn their lives rather than fail in their promise to the Venetians, but the timid and lukewarm began to rejoice at any probability of the breaking up of the enterprise. In this exigency the doge suggested an equivalent. The town of Zara,‡ in the Adriatic, off the Dalmatian coast, had revolted from the republic to Hungary. Henry Dandalo solicited the Crusaders to assist in its reduction, and it was agreed that payment of their contribution should be deferred till they had conquered the infidel Saracens. The doge himself, old and feeble as he was, offered to be their leader. He put on the cross, and some of the Venetians (the historians lament the paucity of the number) imitated his piety and courage. The French were at that time re-enforced by a large body of Germans, led by the bishop of Halberstadt, armed with the artillery of the age. The soldiers of the cross* were transported to Zara; the ships broke through the chain which defended the port, and the troops disembarked. The terror of their arms would have produced a bloodless revolution, if some disaffected soldiers had not assured Zaradenes that the French were not disposed to co-operate with the Venetians. Dandalo called on the barons to prove the truth or the falsehood of the charge; and the vigour with which the noble cavaliers attacked the walls, showed their anger at the disgraceful implication of want of fidelity. Zara surrendered at discretion; and as the season of winter had set in, it was agreed that the army should repose in the city till the spring.† The Vatican had in vain prohibited the Crusaders from drawing their sword against their Christian brethren; and the legate scarcely escaped with his life, when he endeavoured to mitigate the rage of the conquerors against the fallen Zaradenes. The French pretended, however, to lament the hard necessity which diverted them from the Holy Land; a party of knights and monks went to Rome; his Holiness pardoned his suppliant children, and sympathized with them at that want of firmness and union in their friends which had occasioned the second treaty with their allies.‡ The Venetians were slow in soliciting Papal absolution. The superiority of the Pope, which other nations acknowledged by subserviency, these haughty republicans merely acquiesced in by respect. The personal vices of the Popes were better known in Italy than in France. When Venice withdrew herself from imperial dominion,

* Villehardouin — the first twenty-nine paragraphs. Ramusio, p. 29.

† By the conditions of the treaty the money was to be paid to the Venetians *before* the sailing of the expedition. Mercantile caution!

‡ Jadera is the Roman, Diodora the barbarous, and Zara the modern name for this town. It was originally a Roman colony, and on one of its marbles is the inscription that Cæsar Augustus was its founder. The Turks have often attempted to take it from the Venetians. Bajazet the Great was successful in 1498; but it was recovered. The present population is between four and five thousand. Cassas, Voyage ... Dalmatia, p. 83, Paris, 1802.

* The marquis of Montferrat, however, would not accompany them. The Pope had forbidden the enterprise: and the marquis was the only leader who, on that occasion, respected his authority. Villehardouin, No. 39, and note.

† Villehardouin, 29—34, 39—43. Ramusio, p. 21—28.

‡ Villehardouin, No. 53, 54. Baluzius, however, tells us (p. 529—531), that Innocent heard with astonishment of the repeated violations of his commands; and, not addressing himself to the Venetians, who seldom regarded his authority, he assured the French that the only means of pardon were for them to restore the fruits of their plunder to the Zaradenes, and not sail to the Holy Land in company with the heretical Venetians.

her spirit of freedom was transfused through her ecclesiastical as well as her civil constitution. Her happy situation had thrown into her hands much of the commerce of the world; wealth had introduced the arts of life; intellectual culture succeeded social embellishments, and the people detected and despised the frauds of the Papal chair.

The Zaradene expedition, memorable in itself as a political diversion from a religious purpose, is lost, however, in the brilliancy of succeeding events. The eye of classical enthusiasm dwells with melancholy fondness on the city of Constantinople, the sister and rival of Rome, and the depository of all that was learned and eminent in the ancient world. But, viewed by itself, and independent of Roman images, the empire of the east awakens no great or pleasing associations. The free spirit of the republic, and the hardy virtues of a conquering nation, were subdued and effeminated by the despotism and luxury which are congenial to Asia. By the co-operating and mutually reflecting causes of private vices and bad government, the decline of the new empire was almost co-eval with its foundation. Some of its fairest provinces were swept away by the Saracenian tempest; and though its capital was saved, yet the preservation was more owing to the mountainous frontier of Asia Minor than to the spirit and valour of its people. The Seljuk Tartars blackened the horizon of the city, but the storm was diverted before the time arrived for its bursting over its menaced prey. Constantinople stood during the first century of the Crusades, because until the days of Saladin no wide-spreading power of the Muselmans was formed; and Saladin's exertions were bent upon Palestine. But treason and faction were active; and the state was fallen so low from its Roman dignity, that the aid of the western barbarians was invoked by a claimant to the throne of the Cæsars. One of the most singular and interesting pages of history is now before us. The fortunes of the Greek empire were put into the hands of a few French barons and a commercial republic. Alexius II.* the successor of the emperor Manuel Comnenus, was sacrificed to the lawless ambition of his uncle Andronicus. Under the specious pretext of revenging so unnatural an action, Isaac Angelus, a remote relation of the murdered youth, took up arms, and seized the person of the violator of the rights of men and of sovereigns. The revenge of Isaac was sated by blood; and in reward for his own virtue he placed himself on the throne. He enjoyed it for nearly two years, when, by a new revolution, he was hurled from his royal elevation, imprisoned and deprived of sight. The author of these enormities was his brother Alexius, a brother too, whom he had redeemed from Turkish slavery. The son of the imprisoned emperor escaped, and sought refuge with Philip, duke of Suabia, who had married his sister Irene. As he passed through Lombardy, he met a few straggling pilgrims, who advised him to entreat the aid of the generous Frenchmen at Venice. The young Alexius sent some friends to the marquis of Montferrat and the French barons, who consented to his wishes, on condition that the duke of Suabia would, in return, succour the cause of Palestine. While the French and Venetians were in quarters in Zara the ambassadors again appeared. They declared in public assembly, that Philip had commanded them to represent to the lords and cavaliers of France, that, as they had undertaken a long and perilous pilgrimage for the love of God, and for the maintenance of right and justice, so they ought to be ready to use their swords for the restoration of a dethroned prince. If they would place Alexius on the throne, religious schism should be healed; the eastern church should be brought into subjection to the church of Rome; and Greece should pour forth her population and her treasury for the recovery of the Holy Land. Some impatient spirits clamoured against this proposed interruption to the great object of the crusade, but the majority determined in favour of the alliance; the characters of avengers of wrong was proud and honourable, and Saracenian Palestine would tremble when it heard of the approach of an army already covered with honours.* This assumption of power trenched upon

* Alexius II. was son of the emperor Manuel, and of the empress Maria, daughter of Raymond of Poitiers, prince of Antioch.

* Villehardouin, 45, 52.

the prerogatives of the Pope; he reprehended the barons for audaciously thinking themselves the general defenders and arbiters of justice; they must not deceive themselves by the speciousness of piety, but it behoved them to go straight to the Holy Land.* But it was in vain that one of the most commanding of all the successors of St. Peter issued decrees and bulls; the knights of France and Italy not only received them either with indifference or disdain, but the Venetians, in absolute contempt of his regard for the Zaradenes, destroyed the walls, plundered the churches and houses, and divided the spoil with the French.†

The young prince Alexius arrived at Zara, in Easter, 1203; and the army embarked and sailed to Corfu. But the soldiers began to tremble at the novelty and danger of the enterprise; dread of Papal anger mingled itself with personal fear and prudence; Simon de Montfort,‡ and many other men eminent for rank and power deserted,§ and one-half of the army would have returned home or gone to the Holy Land, if the barons had not sworn that under every contingency they would sail for Syria in the middle of the succeeding November. The navy then held due course to Constantinople,* and when they arrived in the Propontis, they anchored off the abbey of St. Stephen's, three leagues to the west of the great city. "It was at that time," says Villehardouin, with expressive simplicity, "that the magnitude and splendour of Constantinople awed the courage of the bravest, and not without reason, for never since the creation of the world has so bold an enterprise been undertaken by so small a force."† The irregular swarms of Greeks must be opposed by soldiers who were formidable from their united strength, and as discipline can alone be preserved in a well provided camp, the barons, at the suggestion of the prudent and experienced Dandalo, resolved to replenish their magazines of corn and other necessaries from the little islands between Constantinople and Chalcedon, before they encamped under the walls of the metropolis. Accordingly, with all the pride of military and naval power, the adventurers again set sail: their silken banners and streamers were displayed from the masts and poops of the vessels; the emblazoned and ornamented shields were ranged along the sides of the decks, like the battlements of towns, and the valiant knights stood behind their shelter, contemplating those boastful arguments, and picturing in their strong and ardent fancies the feats which they should soon achieve.‡ But they were amazed on beholding the ramparts of Constantinople crowded with people and soldiers; and when some of the enemy's stones and darts fell into their ships, the boldest hearts were appalled, the resolutions of the preceding day vanished in a moment, security by flight alone was thought of, and they were glad that the wind drove them to Chalcedon. After the men and horses had been refreshed in the imperial palace, the army moved to Scutari, whither the emperor sent offers of assistance to them in their passage through

* We are indebted to Baluzius (p. 533) for this notice respecting the remonstrance of the Pope. Villehardouin is silent: he thought proper to disobey his spiritual lord, but it seems that he would not attempt to justify his disobedience. The reason why the Pope prohibited the Crusaders from meddling with Grecian politics was this: — the emperor Alexius had already ingratiated himself into the favour of his holiness, and Innocent thought that he could make the feudal and religious submission of the Greek empire to the see of Rome the price of keeping the usurper on the throne.

† Gunther, Blondus, Dandalo, and the epistles of Innocent, amply prove the assertion in the text. Villehardouin says "Li Venisiens firent abatre la ville, et les tors et les murs." The good old knight does not mention the co-operation of his countrymen. The translator has incorrectly rendered the passage, "Les Venetiens firent démanteler les tours et les murailles."

‡ De Montfort enlisted himself in the service of the king of Hungary. Ramusio (p. 36), as a Venetian, is bitter against him for going into the service of the enemy of the republic. He afterwards went to the Holy Land, and distinguished himself more by the splendour, than the success, of his arms.

§ During all the winter there had been many instances of desertion. But the deserters were worse off than the firmer spirits. Most of them perished by the wintry storms, or by the hands of the peasants in Sclavonia.

* Andrew Dandalo tells us that there were fifty galleys, which formed the convoy of two hundred and forty vessels in which the soldiers sailed, a hundred and twenty palandars, and seventy store-ships.

† Villehardouin, No. 66.

‡ Villehardouin, No. 67.

Asia Minor, but threatened them with destruction if they committed any aggression upon the Greeks. Conon de Bethune, the orator of the knights and barons, replied, that his companions entered the Grecian territories in the name of God, and in order to redress wrongs: if the usurper would descend from his throne, they would entreat pardon and an honourable station for him from the son of his brother, the emperor Isaac. But they sternly advised the ambassador never again to use the language of dictation and reproof.

The French and Venetian vessels sailed under the walls of Constantinople, exhibiting young Alexius to the people, and endeavouring to incite them to revolt against the reigning emperor. Not an individual Greek, however, answered the call.* The barons made several subsequent attempts to converse with the inhabitants, but arrows were the return which their exhortations received. War then became the only means of effecting the projected revolution. The invaders divided their army into six battalions. Baldwin of Flanders had the vanguard, because his soldiers were bowmen. His brother Henry commanded the second division; the third, fourth, and fifth, were led by the counts of St. Paul and Blois, and Matthew of Montmorency; and the rear guard of Tuscans, Lombards, and Germans, was headed by the Marquis of Montferrat.† The bishops and clergy exhorted the soldiers to confess their sins, and to make their wills, for they did not know how soon it might please God to deliver them to death. The day for the attempt being arrived, the knights, armed cap-à-pie, their shields suspended from their necks, and their helmets laced, went on board the palandars with their war-horses covered with rich caparisons. The large and heavy vessels received the other soldiers. The palandars were linked to galleys which were to conduct them over the rapid Bosphorus.‡ The navy of the Greek empire consisted only of twenty* ships, and they were in the harbour of Constantinople. Without opposition, therefore, the channel was crossed; the knights, with their lances on their wrists, leaped from the vessels as they approached the shore, directly the water reached only to their girdles. The long and cross bowmen, and other foot soldiers, imitated their boldness. The palandars were brought to anchor, the horses were led out of their doors, the knights mounted, and formed in order of battle. So little resistance was made to the Franks, that if their foresight or sagacity had been equal to their courage, Constantinople would have been taken by a single effort. The capture of the tents and camp equipage of the Greeks, the port of Constantinople, and the tower of Galata, were the first consequences of the terror which the naval and military force of the invaders inspired.† Five days after these successes, the astonishing spectacle was exhibited, of a handful of men commencing the siege of the largest city in the world. So far from being able to surround it, they could scarcely blockade one side; and as the port was theirs, the walls in that quarter were chosen as the subject of attack. Catapults and balistæ were brought against the small part of the city which was besieged, and the beautiful houses and palaces were destroyed by the enormous stones which were thrown into the city. The Venetians, whose skill did not consist in military operations, reimbarked, and prepared their engines of naval war. After many skirmishes, it was resolved that a general attack should be made by land and sea. The camp was left in the charge of the French battalions, under the orders of the marquis of Montferrat; while the counts of Blois, Flanders, and St. Paul led the rest. But the walls were so bravely de-

* Villehardouin, 67—74. Ramusio, 44—47; and the letter of the barons to the Pope, in Baluzius, p. 533.

† Villehardouin, 76—80.

‡ Villehardouin, No. 82. I have almost literally translated Villehardouin's description of the scene. We may add from Du Cange, that the caparisons mentioned above were as much the mark of chivalry as the coat of arms. The Greek emperors used them, and they were the only persons who could have them of a purple colour.

* According to Nicetas, the reason why the ships were so few, was, that the admiral, a brother-in-law of the empress, had sold the anchors, cables, sails, &c. of most of the navy. Nicetas, in Alex. Comn. iii. 9.

† Villehardouin, 82. Nicetas, p. 269, edit. 1557.

fended by the Pisans, and by the English and Danish auxiliaries,* that the French were repulsed. The van of the Venetian navy was formed of small vessels, and the rear was large ships, which carried towers as lofty as the walls of the city. After some hours had been consumed in murderous conflicts by the first line and the Greeks on the ramparts, the invaders were depressed and exhausted. But, during the dreadful pause, the voice of the veteran Doge was heard threatening tremendous punishments to those who would not assault the walls. The large ships approached the shore; rage and shame infuriated the Venetians; the Greeks were panic-struck; the men of Dandalo's vessel planted the standard of St. Mark on the battlements of one of the towers, and immediately a long extent of wall was conquered. The emperor, who had not so well stationed his troops as to succour in a moment any particular point of attack, sent a tardy re-enforcement to the quarter where the enemy was powerful. But the Doge set fire to the houses, and while the imperial troops were engaged in the diversion of occupation which this circumstance occasioned, the triumphant allies fortified themselves in the towers.† At length the splendid but feeble Grecians poured from the city, and formed in martial front before the French. The Venetians quitted their holds, and the Doge was the first man that joined the Latin lines. For a moment the Latin leaders were overawed by the number of their foes, and forgot that the nerves and soul of war were not in the Greeks. For some while the armies stood gazing on each other; but suspense gave birth to terror in the mind of Alexius, and a retreat into the city was sounded. After this disgraceful resignation of empire, flight from the scene of his shame alone remained to the usurper. On the same evening, therefore, he deserted and fled from the city, with his daughter and treasure.* Abandoned by their emperor, a victorious army on the walls, the people of Constantinople drew old Isaac from his prison, clad him in imperial robes, and seated him on a throne in the palace of Blachernæ. The courtiers, who watched the change of fortune's vane, immediately paid their homage of falsehood and flattery; but, at the solicitation of the French and Venetians, he shared his title and power with his son Alexius. Peace and friendship existed for a while between the Greeks and Latins.† The Pisans, who had been the friends and soldiers of the deposed Alexius, became reconciled to the Venetians.‡ The French soon remembered the grand purpose for which they had taken up arms, and sent heralds to the sultan of Egypt, announcing their intention of making him feel the edge of their conquering sword, unless he immediately delivered up the Holy Land. They implored also the Pope's pardon for having violated his commands in attacking Constantinople; but his holiness replied, that he should withhold the word of reconciliation until it should be seen whether the new emperor and his friends were sincere in their professions of wishing to unite the Grecian heretics to the Roman Catholic church.§ The young alexius paid the allied army part of the tribute, and kept them in the vicinity of Constantinople by every means of courtesy and promise. He assured the barons,

* Du Cange is at great pains to prove that the English and Danes, mentioned in the text, were people who inhabited the province of Denmark, whence the Angles proceeded. He proves that the emperors of Greece were accustomed to have stipendiary soldiers from various parts of Germany, and that the weapons of the Danes were hatchets. All this is true; but the assertion of Villehardouin remains disproved. Ordericus Vitalis was guilty of an anachronism, in making the natives who left England at the time of the conquest (1066) enter into the service of Alexius, who began to reign in 1181. But we know that the persecutions of the English were carried on through the whole of the reign of William the First; and that a large emigration of the subjugated nation to different countries was the consequence of every fresh act of cruelty of the rapacious Normans.

† Nicetas, 270. Villehardouin, 82, 94.

* This is Nicetas's account of the flight of Alexius. Baldwin (Baluzius, 534) says, that he left his family behind him. His daughter Irene was certainly with him some time afterwards, and it is as probable that she went with him, as that she followed him.

† Nicetas, 272. Villehardouin, 97, 101.

‡ Du Cange's note on No. 115 of Villehardouin.

§ Afterwards, however, the French received papal absolution. The Venetians also condescended to solicit the same formal approbation of their conduct; and Innocent, glad of the least sign of their repentance, pardoned them. Baluzius, 534.

that, next to God, he owed his throne to them: but he entreated his allies to consider that the Greeks hated him for his friendship with the Latins. Much time was necessary for the conciliation of forfeited allegiance: and great assistance would be required for his firmly grasping the reigns of power. Nor would the Christian cause in Palestine be injured, if the French would for a while support the throne. None but enthusiasts could think of crossing the Mediterranean in autumn, and even were the perilous voyage effected, still no measures of hostility could be taken against the Turks in winter. Let impatience be restrained till the more benignant season of spring, and then the armies of Greece should be transported to the Holy Land, and assist the Europeans in redeeming the sepulchre. These appeals to prudence and interest were disdained by lofty chivalry; but when the Venetians peremptorily declined to tempt the seas at a dangerous period, military spirit sunk into acquiescence.*

The marquis of Montferrat, and many of the French and Flemish knights, accompanied Alexius in a journey through Greece, where he received the tenders of his people's allegiance. While he was absent from Constantinople, the citizens had a new occasion of lamenting the presence of the Latins. Some Flemish soldiers, unrestrained by the prudence or humanity of the leaders of the army, embraced the dark and malignant feelings of the Latin residents, and openly attacked the votaries of another religion. The contest in arms would have been in favour of the Latins, but the sword was suspended when the attention was turned to a new calamity. In the tumult and confusion an edifice was set on fire. For eight days the flames spread through three miles of streets, and their last effects were seen in the ships in the port.† The French barons proclaimed their regret at this evil, and their indignation against its authors. But the enraged Greeks treated with ridicule and contempt these expressions of sorrow, and the Latins were obliged to seek shelter from their wrath among the Franks at Galata.* The folly of the emperors widened the breach between their allies and their people. The father and son were disunited, because Alexius presumed to place his own name before that of Isaac, and the old man, though totally unequal to discharge the duties of royalty, yet was indignant at being deprived of its honours. Alexius, too, offended the Greeks by his free and bacchanalian intercourse with the barbarians. The gay cavaliers of France taught him to ridicule their repulsive pomp, and the cold and laboured ostentation of oriental grandeur; in their carousals they showed the equality which it is the nature of dissoluteness to create, and the successor of the Cæsars was not ashamed to exchange his royal diadem for the cap of a Venetian sailor.†

The people had beheld with apathy the late great change in the imperial throne, for they did not anticipate any revolution in their religious and civil institutions. But their passions were roused to madness, when they saw the religion of Rome suddenly and violently trampling on their own opinions;‡ and they then reflected with grief and rage that the political convulsion had been effected by the barbarous nations of Europe. In order to discharge his promises to the Latins, relating to money, Alexius had imposed numerous and severe taxes on his people. The odious duties were collected with difficulty, and the officers of the emperor resorted to the violent measures of robbing the churches of their gold and silver.§ For some time the citizens regarded with mute anguish this contempt of the national altars. But one cause of hatred against the Latins stimulated the other, and the Greeks silently and secretly meditated the destruction of the Barbarians. Alexius Murtzuple Ducas was not of the character of those Grecian princes, who are described by Nicetas, as having more timidity of the Crusaders

* Villehardouin, 101, 103.

† This fire consumed the northern part of the city. The first fire destroyed the western quarters.

* Nicetas, p. 273 and 274.

† Nicetas, 275. Villehardouin, 105—108.

‡ Among other acts of cruelty and folly, the barons of France made the patriarch of Constantinople proclaim in the church of St. Sophia that Innocent III. was the legitimate successor of St. Peter.

§ Nicetas, 273.

than the deer has of a lion. He was eloquent and brave, and as often as he talked of patriotism, and detestation of the Latins, he found the people willing auditors. By the rights of his birth he was admitted to the royal palace, where his councils were congenial to princes who felt the oppressiveness of their debt of gratitude to those who had placed them on the throne. Yet Alexius and his father paused, and more than common sagacity was necessary for the decision of so perplexed a case. If they should continue to support the Latin army, the hatred of the Greeks would be further increased by its presence, and would unquestionably burst into a flame immediately after the departure of the Crusaders. Were they openly to defy the Latins, they would by that measure conciliate their subjects, but they could not exalt the nerveless Greeks into an equality in arms with the vigorous French. The counsels of Ducas, though they did not prevail with the emperor to declare hostility against the Croises, yet occasioned some delay in the payment of the tribute. The barons observed with scorn and rage the vacillations of the court; they called upon Alexius to decide between the alternatives of peace or war, between the performance or breach of the treaty which he and his father had entered into with their deliverers. No language but that of submission had ever before been heard in the palaces of Constantinople. The courtiers were astonished at the audacity of the French in defying the emperor: the feeling of indignation spread through the court, and the ambassadors sought their own safety in flight.* On that day war commenced between the Greeks and Latins, and the marshal of Champagne had the happiness of thanking God that in every engagement the French were victors. In the darkness of the night the emperor directed seventeen vessels, filled with Greek fire, into the Venetian fleet. The walls of the city were crowded with people, who joyfully flocked to behold the destruction of their enemies. But the Latin soldiers were prompt and active: the Venetians hurried to the shore, threw themselves into galleys and boats, and reached the fire-ships before the dreadful purpose had been accomplished. By means of poles and hooks they seized the Grecian vessels, drew them from their own ships, and directed them to exhaust their fury in the Bosphorus. One vessel, belonging to a Pisan merchant, was the only Latin ship that was destroyed.*

As the remedy of all political evils, the Greek populace thought that a new emperor would be adequate. They assembled in the church of St. Sophia, and would not listen to the counsel of the patricians, that a change of princes would make no alteration in affairs. For three days they searched in vain for an individual who would accept the splendid but dangerous distinction. A young man, Nicholas Canabus, was, however, dazzled by the offer of the purple. He was crowned and proclaimed emperor of Greece. The marquis of Montferrat generously entered the city, and went to the palace of Blachernæ, in order to save Alexius. But the deposed emperor was a prisoner. Ducas ingratiated himself with the guards of the palace, and took the imperial buskins.† The people received their favourite with joy; and Canabus was deposed and soon forgotten. Murtzuple became emperor; he secured Alexius by immuring him in a dungeon; the old Isaac fell a victim to terror, and the usurper was left in quiet possession of the throne. Horror and astonishment seized the minds of the French and Venetians at the news of this inhu-

* Villehardouin, 112. Ramusio, 76. Even in the wars between the Christians and the Muselmans, the former always demanded the objects of the war before they drew their sword. The defiance was generally carried by a person of condition, and often by the clergy.

* Villehardouin, 113.

† This circumstance was agreeable to the fashion of the Greek empire; for when an emperor was proclaimed, he was not immediately crowned or clothed with an imperial robe, but red buskins were given to him as the first and principal mark of dignity; thus commencing a ceremony at the foot, which most nations begin at the head. When an emperor was deposed or degraded, his buskins were taken from him. Oriental and Roman kings and princes have always wished to be distinguished from the people by the coverings of the legs and feet. Buskins of scarlet or purple were worn by the Roman generals who triumphed. Ornaments, as well as colour, distinguished the buskins of the great. Du Cange on Villehardouin, 116.

manity and treason. They declared that the Greeks were monsters in the sight of God and men, and that to punish them would be the height of virtue.*

The enemies of Constantinople passed the remainder of the winter in preparing for war, and in gaining and enjoying the plunder of Grecian cities. Philippopoli was a principal source of booty; and on one occasion, as Henry of Hainault was returning from it, he routed the troops of Murtzuple; and though the emperor escaped, yet the joy of the people at that circumstance was more than balanced by the loss of the standard of the holy virgin.† The emperor was prompt and vigorous in measures of defence; and the Latins confessed that his military engines were larger and more powerful than any which they had ever beheld. Yet he was not so perfectly confident in his military preparations as to disdain the advantages of conciliation. He solicited and obtained a conference with the doge, but Dandalo declared to him that he would never treat with a usurper; and that his only measure of procuring favour would be to place his master on the throne, and implore his pardon.‡ The doge was impenetrable to the arts of Murtzuple; and the arrival of some Latin cavalry terminated the discussion. The cruel policy of Murtzuple suggested the idea evading for the future a similar demand by the murder of Alexius: and he was put to death that same night in prison. His tragical fate was soon known in the Christian camp; and a solemn treaty was then signed by the French Venetians, that, in the event of the capture of Constantinople, the booty should be equally divided between the two people, after the republic had been satisfied their pecuniary demands. Six persons should be appointed by each of the allied powers for the purpose of electing an emperor. The fortunate object of their choice should have the fourth part of the city, with the palaces of Blachernæ and Bucoleon; and the rest of the metropolis of Greece was to be equally partitioned among the Venetians and the French. All claims of the Greek empire upon the homage of the republic of Venice were to be renounced: and the doge was to be the only individual who was not to acknowledge the feudal superiority of the emperor. In order to balance as nearly as possible the power and consequence of the French and Venetians, the patriarch was to be chosen from the nation to which the emperor did not belong.*

The invaders, after they had taken these precautions against lawlessness, prepared to consummate their boldness. In the first siege the operations by sea had given possession of the city to the Venetians, and the French were emulous of their glory. All the soldiers embarked; and the vessels were impelled against the walls near the palace of the Blachernæ, on the side of the port. But their attacks, though fierce and dreadful, were unavoidably desultory, for a perfect line of advance was not formed; the Latins were repulsed with loss, and the Greeks congratulated themselves on the safety of their capital. Though Constantinople, on the side of the Propontis, seemed more accessible than through other fortifications, yet the Venetians declined the war in that quarter, because the current was strong, and some sudden gust of wind might perhaps drive the ships from their anchorage. On the fourth day the attack was renewed at the accustomed parts; and the invaders guarded against a repetition of defeat, by lashing the vessels two by two; and it was thought that no station of the Greeks could resist the double assault. For some hours the Greeks and Latins waged a distant war of arrows and darts; but about noon the wind drove the vessels against the walls; the French and Venetians leaped upon the ramparts, and the soldiers on board the Paradise

* Villehardouin, 116—118. Baldwin's official letter to the Pope, in Baluzius, 534. Ramusio, 79.

† Nicetas, 280. Villehardouin, 119.

‡ See Baldwin's letter, p. 534. Nicetas, p. 280, makes the doge demand fifty thousand pounds of gold; and does not state in specific terms any other conditions. Baldwin's means of information were more direct than those of Nicetas. Baldwin adds, that Murtzuple killed Alexius that night in prison. It appears that this conference was held in the winter; and that the partition treaty, consequent on the death of Alexius, was signed in March, 1204.

* Baluzius, 536. Muratori, Rer. Scrip. Ital. xii. 326.

and Pilgrim, commanded by the bishops of Troyes and Soissons, were the first to whom the Grecian towers yielded. The gates were soon in the possession of the Latins; the knights galloped through the streets in such a noble array, that many of their terrified foes fled from the city; and Murtzuple shut himself up in his palace. In the struggle between grief and rage, the Greeks made a momentary rally; but a German count dispersed the re-formed squadrons by setting fire to the city,* and by that cruel means diverted their attention. The victors reposed that night amidst the subjugated towers and palaces, and in the morning it was found that Murtzuple, his wife, and many of the despairing people, had fled from the city.†

The conquest of the seat of the Grecian empire was achieved, and the triumphant barbarians had the choice of mercy or revenge. But the ferocity to which they were indebted for success, was not readily extinguished; and they abandoned themselves to the usual vices of conquerors. In their work of blood they found willing auxiliaries in the Latin population, who had contributed to the luxury of the inhabitants of Constantinople without conciliating their respect and kindness. Two thousand Greeks became victims of the rage of conquest, and the malignity of long concealed hatred. The scenes of female violation need not be described.‡ The palaces of the rich, and the meanest houses of the poor, were explored for plunder by the cruel diligence of their victors. Their sacrilegious hands tore away the ornaments of the churches; the coffins of the emperors were broken open, and the mouldered imperial vestments were stripped from the corpse of Justinian. Their destruction of the rich and beautiful altar of the church of St. Sophia would pass as an ordinary circumstance in the history of sieges; but the annals of profanation have seldom presented us with an instance of a vulgar courtesan, the priestess of the furies, seating herself in the chair of the patriarch, and singing a bacchanalian song to the corresponding actions of the surrounding soldiers and mob. The marquis of Montferrat, and the French and Venetian ecclesiastics, prayed and threatened their companions; but the voice of reason and religion could not abate the storm of the passions. Nothing was so difficult as to soften the ferocity of these barbarians, and to gain their affections. They were so irritable, that a single word would kindle the flame: it was folly to attempt either to lead them or to make them hear reason.*

Yet occasionally a ray of virtue pierced the dark scenes of horror, and shone with bright and benignant influence. A Venetian merchant was bound to Nicetas, the Grecian historian, by the pleasing obligation and honourable tie of gratitude. The Italian longed to display the ardour and sincerity of his feelings; and as soon as the rapine commenced, he placed himself as a sentinel opposite the door of his benefactor. He was armed like a Crusader; and as he could converse in most of the languages of Europe, his speech corresponded with his appearance. For a while the men whom he wished to deceive passed him, on his assurance that he was guarding the mansion in obedience to the orders of the chiefs. But when the soldiers were maddened by indulgence in savageness, and their avidity for plunder increased as the objects of gratification were exhausted, the merchant saw that his protection would soon be but of small avail. He therefore told his friend, that unless he quickly left Constantinople, he would lose his liberty or life, and his family would become subject to the license of victory. Forced, then, to abandon his home and property, Nicetas, accompanied by his wife and children, entrusted himself to the conduct of the Italian. At every step they were joined by some of the Greeks, who were flying through the streets, and who, in the extremity of despair, sought for safety even in the companionship of their unarmed countrymen. The scenes of sensuality which everywhere presented themselves, compelled husbands and fathers to surround

* Gunther, p. 15. This was the third fire. Villehardouin (No. 130) says, it lasted a night and a day, and burnt more houses than were contained in any three towns of France.

† Villehardouin, 120—130.

‡ Pope Innocent describes the crimes of the Crusaders against women and property, in no very gentle terms, p. 538.

* Nicetas, p. 383.

their female friends, and to command them to disfigure their faces by dirt. The wild glances of a French soldier fell, however, on a girl, whose charms shone through every attempted concealment or disguise. The licentious wretch pressed his way through the trembling crowd, and snatched the object of his brutal passion from the arms of her aged and helpless father. Nicetas invoked the name of Heaven, and called on his companions to save the virgin from dishonour, and her parent from premature and wretched death. The ruffian smiled in mockery on their misery and helplessness. But so venerable was the appearance of the old man, and so affecting were the shrieks and tears of his child, that the French soldiers, whom the circumstance had drawn to the spot, indignantly tore their comrade away, and virtue had its triumph. The noble Venetian conducted his friends beyond the walls, and Nicetas gained repose and safety on the Asiatic side of the Bosphorus.

The heralds of the army proclaimed the orders of the barons, that all the plunder should be carried into three churches, preparatory to its distribution. But injustice and selfishness went hand in hand; and many of the soldiers, both of high and low condition, secreted the dear-bought spoils. But all those who were convicted of self-appropriation, expiated their crime by death; and the place of execution was crowded.* The French absolved themselves of all pecuniary claims on the part of the Venetian; and in the division of the remainder of the *money* that was collected, twenty marks were given to a knight, ten to a horse serjeant, and five to a foot soldier. The rest of the booty was divided; and the only notion we can obtain of its value, was the offer made to the French by the mercantile Venetians, of giving in exchange for the whole of it, four hundred marks to a knight, two hundred to a priest and a horseman, and one hundred marks to an ordinary soldier.*

The misfortunes of a city may be repaired by future prosperity; the disgrace of defeat may be effaced by subsequent glory; and the sympathy of after ages for the demolition of edifices, and the waste of property, is softened by the reflection, that the tomb has long since closed upon the sufferers. But there are calamities which extend their influence to all ages and countries; and a liberal selfishness will kindle indignation when barbarism has not spared the noble monuments which genius has reared. By the different sources of purchase and plunder, Constantine had adorned his city with the sculpture and statuary of the Pagan world.† The most beautiful Grecian Temples were converted into churches, and though in the course of time penal laws were enforced against heathen worship, yet the pride of ancestry guarded the monuments of ancient fame, till in the eighth century the world became divided into the opposite factions of the admirers and the haters of image worship. The statues and pictures of Christian saints and martyrs should alone have been the objects of the fury of the Iconoclasts, but the blind zeal of party and superstition hurled into the gulph of destruction the marble representations

* Villehardouin, 132—134. Et de l'embler cels qui en fu revoiz sachiez que il en fu fais granz justice. Et assez en i ot de penduz. Li Cuens de Sain Pol en pendi un suen Chevalier l'escu al col, qui en avoit retenu. Et mult i ot de cels qui en retendrent des petez et des grands: Mès ne fu mie seu. Baluzius, 535. Ramusio, 90—95.

* Cont. of Archb. of Tyre in Martenne, v. 667. "Since the creation of the world," says Villehardouin, "there never was so much booty found in any conquered city. In the same strain Baldwin remarks, in a letter to the Pope, the gold and silver, the silk, the gems, and precious stones, and all those things which are accounted riches, were found in more abundance than all the Latin world could furnish. Villehardouin says, that there fell to the share of the French five hundred thousand marks, and ten thousand horses. It is difficult to understand that so much coin fell into the hands of the conquerors; yet the specification of horses forbids the idea that the sum expresses value and not specie. However, in another place he has said that fifty thousand marks were paid to the Venetians: and that the surplus, namely, one hundred thousand marks, was paid among the soldiers. Villehardouin, No. 134. 135.

† Procopius, in his account of the siege of Rome by Belisarius, mentions the important fact, that all the fine monuments of art which had been left there by Constantine were entire, and valued: so that it is false and calumnious to charge the Goths and Vandals with their destruction.

of heathen virtue and greatness, and for one hundred and twenty years the fine arts were the victims of theological controversy. The silent and mouldering effects of time were less injurious than the anger, hatred, ignorance, and fanaticism of man. In days of sedition, public edifices were set on fire, but the wantonness and malice of the mob were more destructive than the flames. Notwithstanding all these causes of ruin, Constantinople had enough statues yet remaining to gratify the revenge of the Latins, whose envy was inflamed by the fancied superior learning and taste of the Greeks. The barbarians, devoid of all love, of the beautiful and fair, destroyed a figure of Juno, which had formerly been at Samos, and which was so tremendously colossal, that eight oxen could scarcely draw its head from the forum of Constantine to the palace of Bucoleon, after the French had made the mutilation. Two celebrated figures of a man and an ass, formed by order of Augustus, on occasion of a fortunate omen before the battle of Actium. A beautiful statue of Venus receiving the apple of discord; an exquisite Helen,* in all the freshness and modesty of youth, could not command the admiration of the iron-hearted French and Venetians. An obelisk of varied and tasteful workmanship, surmounted by a female figure, which moved by the least agitation of the air, and was, for that reason, called the servant of the winds. An equestrian statue, the Bellerophon, adorned the square of Mount Taurus. The Hippodrome had a colossal statue of Hercules, perhaps the work of Lysippus, and the ornament successively of Tarentum and Rome. The statue was of a hero in repose. His lion's skin (that looked formidable even in brass) was thrown over him. He was sitting, without a quiver, a bow, or a club. His right leg was bent at the knee; his head gently reclined on his left hand, and his countenance was full of dejection. And yet this Hercules the barbarians did not spare! Such of the venerable monuments of antiquity as were in marble were broken or destroyed, and such as were in bronze were melted into coin or various utensils.* The guilt of this savage destruction lies chiefly on the French: for the four bronze horses in the square of St. Mark in Venice, show that at least in one instance the more refined Venetians were satisfied with the milder crime of robbery.

The boldness of a few thousand soldiers† had been rewarded by the subjugation of the largest city in the world, the injuries of the Crusaders were avenged, and nothing now remained to complete the degradation of Greece, than to invest a barbarian with the Roman purple. The eyes of every one were fixed on the marquis of Montferrat and the count of Flanders, for they were the most distinguished generals among the Latins.‡

* "What," observes Nicetas, "shall I say of the beauteous Helen; of her, who brought together all Greece against Troy? Did she mitigate these immitigable, these iron-hearted men? No, nothing like it could even she effect, who had before enslaved so many spectators with her beauty."

* I have mentioned only a *few* of the most memorable pieces of statuary in Constantinople. The aggregate merit of the collection it is difficult to ascertain. Nicetas (our only original authority) can seldom be depended on for strict accuracy: his hatred of the invaders is, at least, equal to his love of truth, and his general style is bombastical and inflated. His account of the destruction of the statues is not contained in the common editions of his works. Fraud and shame, as Harris says, made the editors leave it out. It is printed, however, in the eighth vol. of Fabricius, Bibl. Græc. and the first vol. of Banduri, Imperium Orientale. In several dissertations in the eleventh and twelfth volumes of the memoirs of the Gottingen Society, Heyne has given a catalogue of the Constantinopolitan collection, and has examined the history of their ruin with philosophy and taste.

† The number of the united French and Venetians was only twenty thousand. There were four hundred thousand men capable of bearing arms in Constantinople. Et bien en dûrent nostre Seignor loer, que il n'avoient mie plus de vingt mil homes armez entre uns et altres, et par l'aie de Diex si avoient pris de quatre cens mil homes ou plus; et en la plu fort ville qui fust en tot le munde, qui grant ville fust et la mielz fermée. Villehardouin, No. 133. The amount of the force of the Venetians when they left Venice, is thus stated by Sanudo, in his vite de Duchi di Venezia (Muratori, Rerum Italicarum Scriptores, vol. xxii., p. 528: "E questo stuolo d'armata fu di Galere, 60. Navi, 240. Uscieri, 20, e—fino al numero di 300. Vele e poi gente d'arme (come scrive il Bionde e Marcantonio Sabellico) cavalli 450 e fanti 8,000 in esse."

‡ Bandalo was not thought of, for he was already the sovereign of a state. The constant residence of the emperor in Constantinople was

The barons dreaded lest the rejected candidate should, in spleen and discontent, imitate the treachery of the count of Tholouse on the formation of the kingdom in Jerusalem,* and therefore it was determined that the emperor should bestow upon the other in feudal tenure the island of Candia, and all the Grecian states on the other side of the canal. Twelve electors were then appointed; six on the part of the Venetians, and six for the French, and their consciences were bound by a solemn obligation to allow merit alone to the crowned. The choice fell upon the count of Flanders.† The bishop of Soissons, one of the electors, announced to the anxious multitude the name of their future lord; and the barons and knights, agreeably to the Byzantine custom, elevated the emperor on a buckler, and bore him into the church of St. Sophia. When the pomp of magnificence and dignity was prepared, the coronation took place. The papal legate threw the imperial purple over Baldwin; the soldiers joined with the clergy in crying aloud, "he is worthy of reigning;" and the splendour of conquest was mocked by the Grecian ceremony of presenting to the new sovereign a tuft of lighted wool, and a small vase filled with bones and dust, as emblems of the perishableness of grandeur, and the brevity of life.

The establishment of the Latins in Constantinople was the important though unlooked-for issue of the fifth crusade: but their dominion lasted only fifty-seven years. The history of that period forms a part of the annals of the Lower Empire, and not of the holy wars. But we may remark, generally, that in a very few years, fortune ceased to smile on the conquerors. Their arrogant and encroaching temper awakened the jealousy of the king of Bulgaria. The fierce mountaineers, who had so often insulted the majesty of the Roman empire, now redeemed themselves from the sin of rebellion, by ceaseless war on the usurpers of their former master's throne. The change of the Greek ritual into the service of the Latin church, was a subject of perpetual murmur and discontent. The feudal code of the kingdom of Jerusalem was violently imposed on the people, in utter contempt of their manners and opinions. The Greeks, too, were not admitted into any places of confidence in the government, and the nobility gradually retired from Constantinople, and associated themselves with the princes of the deposed royal family. Several of those princes formed states out of the ruins of the empire, and Manuel Paleologus,* the emperor of Nice, descendant of Lascaris, son-in-law of the usurper Alexius, had the glory of recovering the throne of the Cæsars, and of finally expelling the usurpers from Constantinople. On the Asiatic side of the Bosphorus the Latins never had much power.

The jealousy which Genoa entertained of her great rival, Venice, was one of the most active causes of the fall of the Latin empire. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries, commercial concessions had often purchased for Constantinople the military and naval aid of the sovereign of the Adriatic; and at the time of the fifth crusade, the empire appeared to acknowledge the equality of the republic.. The imperial throne gained the friendship of other Italian princes, and the Pisans as well as the Venetians had almost unlimited commerce with the Grecian states. Each of these allies had its church and its exchange in Constantinople; its consuls decided the causes of their respective citizens, and both nations enjoyed the rare and blessed privilege of exemption from payment of public taxes. In the middle of the

necessary, and pride forbad the Venetians from wishing to change their seat of government.

* The treachery of the count of Tholouse was accurately remembered. The barons said, that Raymond, after the election of Godfrey, was so highly indignant, that he persuaded many of the knights to return to Europe. The new and feeble state was consequently in the greatest peril. Villehardouin, No. 136.

† The debates of the electors were not minuted and published. In the absence of the detail, Du Cange rationally conjectures that the opinion was started and prevailed, that if the count of Flanders were chosen, he might expect the friendship of his former neighbours, the kings of France; but that the marquis of Montferrat could not support the empire by an equal assistance from the various divided sovereignties of Italy.

* He was the stock of the Paleologi, who reigned at Constantinople till the capture of that city by the Turks, in the year 1453.

every method of fraud and force to revenge the wrong. A crafty politician rather than a valiant warrior, Bohemond aimed at the annexation of Armenia to Antioch, by imprisoning its sovereign. He proposed a conference between himself and Livon, and desired that each prince should come unattended. Livon anticipated the treachery of his fellow sovereign, and concealed two hundred horsemen in the forest near the place of conference. After some moments had been passed in reciprocal courtesies and formal discussion, a troop of armed men at the signal of Bohemond appeared and surrounded Livon. The Armenian prince gave the note of alarm, and his soldiers started from their retreat. Their courage and numbers were irresistible, and they not only rescued their master, but took Bohemond himself prisoner. This event gave the preponderance of power to Armenia. The principality of Antioch was declared to be a fief of its successful rival, and before the two princes were set at liberty, Raymond, the eldest son of Bohemond, was married to Alice, a daughter of Rupin, and the issue of the marriage, the contending parties agreed, should inherit the states of Armenia and Antioch. About the year 1200 Raymond died, and left a son, named Rupin. Bohemond designed him for his successor, and his pretensions were recognized by the states of Antioch and Armenia. The regency of Tripoli was bestowed upon Bohemond, the younger son of Bohemond III., with a promise of the absolute possession of his vicarious state, if he should support young Rupin in his hereditary rights to Antioch. Bohemond the regent thought that on the death of his brother Raymond he should have been looked upon as the heir to the principality of Antioch. Discontent took possession of him, and quickly ripened into hostility; he revolted against his father, and by the aid of some Templars and Hospitallers drove the lawful owner from the banks of the Orontes. The old man, however, recovered his authority, for the regent was abandoned by his allies. Bohemond, the prince, died in the year of the pestilence in Egypt. The annals of Antioch are obscured with treachery and blood: and the cloud is particularly thick over the period of which we are writing. From some faint glimmerings of light it appears that Livon of Armenia recovered, but could not retain Antioch, and that the authority of Bohemond IV., the usurper, was generally paramount. In 1205, he acknowledged the feudal superiority of the new emperor of Constantinople,* and in the three subsequent years he exercised various rights of sovereignty.†

We may now return to the general history of Palestine. The successful heroism of the French adventurers before Constantinople alarmed the Muselmans, and Saphadin gladly concluded a treaty for six years' peace with the Christians. Sinners only and not heroes, repentant pilgrims and not hostile bands, were therefore the new visiters of the shores of Syria. The murderers of the bishop of Wurtzburgh expiated their crime in the Holy Land, and at the conclusion of various penances, a sentence of three years abode in that country was pronounced by the pope on a wretch, who avowed that during the famine in Egypt he had slain and eaten his own wife and daughter.‡ But Palestine soon again became the theatre of ambition and of glory. Almeric and his wife died, and Mary, the daughter of Isabella and Conrad of

* The largest part of the Flemish force which was destined for the general purposes of the fifth crusade did not join Baldwin. It sailed from Flanders to Marseilles, and then pursued its course to the Holy Land, while the rest of the Crusaders were conducting the first siege of Constantinople. The fate of most of the impatient Flemings was death: but some obscurity surrounds the circumstances of their history. Others allied themselves with Bohemond IV. The wife of Baldwin was at Antioch, and directly the news arrived of the elevation of her husband to the imperial throne, Bohemond saluted her by the title of empress, and did homage to her for his principality. Villehardouin, 52, 120. Sanutus, 203, 204. Cont. of Archb. of Tyre in Martenne, v. 656, &c.

† Cont. of Archb. of Tyre, v. 648. Sanutus, 201.

‡ In the scale of canonical punishments, the pilgrimage to Jerusalem or Rome was called the greater pilgrimage, as a penitentiary expedition to other holy places was the less pilgrimage. By the laws of King Henry I. of England, a priest who revealed the secrets of the Confessional was subject to the penalty of perpetual wandering. Du Cange, Glossary, art. Peregrination.

Tyre, was the new ideal queen of Jerusalem, while Hugh de Lusignan, son of Almeric by his first wife, was proclaimed king of Cyprus. Hugh had married the princess Alice, half sister of the young queen, and daughter of Henry, count of Champagne, and Isabella. There was not at that time any nobleman of rule or influence in Palestine capable of governing the state; and the ecclesiastical and civil potentates resolved, that Philip Augustus of France should provide a husband for Mary. The bishop of Acre and the lord of Cesarea were the deputies; and the French king received them with a kindness which corresponded to his sense of the distinction that was paid him. Philip Augustus fixed his eyes on John de Brienne, son of the count of Brienne in Champagne. The favourite was wise in council, and experienced in war, and well known among the knights of Europe. Though the sovereignty over Jerusalem was titular, yet the command of the Christian army in Palestine, and the possession of a young queen, so desirable as the ambassadors painted the daughter of Almeric, were circumstances so flattering to the imagination of an aspiring cavalier, that John de Brienne received the gift with joy; and the deputies were dismissed with the promise that in two years he would join them in Palestine with a powerful band.* The bishop of Acre and the lord of Cesarea were naturally disposed to exaggerate the success of their mission; and on their return to the Holy Land, their accounts of the impression which they had made on Europe elated the Christians to insolence, and depressed the Saracens into gloom. The truce of six years was on the point of expiring, and Saphadin offered to renew it, and to resign to the regency any ten castles or towns they might select, to be retained by them in perpetuity if the Saracens broke their faith. The knights of St. John, and those of the Teutonic order, argued strenuously for the acceptance of this offer; but the spirit of party was always the enemy of Palestine, and the Templars and clergy declared for war.†

At the appointed time John de Brienne arrived at Acre: the next day he received the hand of Mary, and shortly afterwards was crowned, and received the oaths of allegiance of the barons. Only three hundred knights had participated in his hopes of restoring the fortunes of the Holy Land, for the enthusiasm and love of glory of the western chivalry were diverted into new channels. England* and Germany were torn by internal disturbances, the court of France was watching the turn of events, and Pope Innocent employed the penitents in putting an end to the heresy of the Albigenses. The destroyers of heretics and of infidels were alike praiseworthy; and a crusade into the south of France was less dangerous than a voyage to Syria. From these various causes the Muselmans in Asia were forgotten or disregarded.† As peace had been refused, Saphadin marched an army to the country round Tripoli. The king displayed his valour in many a fierce encounter; and though he never conquered his foes, yet he broke the impression of the enemy, and saved his states from utter annihilation. He foresaw the approaching ruin of the holy cause; every day the Saracens made some acquisition; and the Latin barons, by every opportunity, and for every pretext, returned to Europe. He wrote, therefore, to the Pope that the kingdom of Jerusalem consisted only of two or three towns, and that the civil wars between the sons of Saladin alone suspended its fate.‡

* Sanutus, 205.
† Ibid. 206.

* Innocent's letter to John was short and cold. See it in Rymer, i. 104, new edit.

† "Pope Innocent III. having lately learned the trick of employing the army of pilgrims in by-services, began now to set up a trade thereof. He levied a great number of Crusaders, whom he sent against the Albigenses in France. These were reputed heretics, whom his holiness intended to root out with all cruelty: that good shepherd knowing no other way to bring home a wandering sheep than by worrying him to death. He freely and fully promised the undertakers the self-same pardons and indulgencies as he did to those who went to conquer the Holy Land; and very conscionably requested their aid only for forty days, hoping to chop up these Albigenses at a bit. The place being nearer, the service shorter, the work less, the wages the same with the voyage into Syria, many entered themselves in this employment, and neglected the other." Fuller, History of the Holy War, book iii. ch. 18.

‡ Sanutus, 206. Cont. William in Martenne, p. 680.

Every project of ambition which the daring genius of Gregory VII. had formed, was embraced by the ardent spirit of Innocent III. In raising a fabric of ecclesiastical policy on the ruins of gospel liberty, the importance of guiding the military arm of Europe was not lost sight of.* The commands of the Vatican were hurled upon every part of Europe, calling men to exterminate infidelity. In a circular letter to the sovereigns and clergy, the Pope declared that the time was at last arrived, when the most happy results might be expected from a confederation of the Christian powers. Such men as fought faithfully for God, would obtain a crown of glory; but those who, on the present urgent occasion, refused to serve him, would be punished everlastingly. "Jesus Christ has kindly pointed out to you the way for your redeeming yourselves from the vices and frivolities of the world. But he will condemn you of gross ingratitude and infidelity, if you neglect to march to his succour in a time when he is in danger of being driven from a kingdom which he acquired by his blood. The Muhammedan heresy, the beast foretold by the spirit, will not live for ever; 'its age is 666.' On the very spot, on Mount Thabor itself, where the Redeemer showed his future glory to his disciples, the Saracens have raised a fortress for the confusion of the Christian name. They hope, by means of this fortress, to possess themselves of Acre, and then to subjugate all the Holy Land, at present almost destitute of sacred soldiers." His holiness then remitted the punishment of sins, not only for those who went, but for such as contributed largely to the expenses of the enterprise. The protection of St. Peter was promised to the families and fortunes of the pilgrims. They who had bound themselves to pay usury were released from their oaths; and secular power should compel the Jews to remit their claims. Three years was the time for which the faithful were to enlist under the banners of Christ: and the wealthy clergy and nobility were to support the poor but faithful pilgrims. The maritime powers were to contribute their ships. The war against the Saracens was to be the permanent consideration of Europe. The laws should be put in force which forbad the sale of warlike materials to the enemy.* The indulgences were revoked which had been granted to those who quitted their homes in order to exterminate heresy in Provence, and infidelity in Spain.†

In a letter to the sultan of Aleppo, written in 1212, the Pope had complimented the Saracen upon his respect for Christianity, and implored him to regard with favour, and protect to the utmost of his power, the patriarch of Antioch and his church.‡ But when some probability

* He had also "the office of bearing the bag and what put into it, as contributed to this action from pious people, and expended but some few drops of the showers he received." Fuller, Holy War, book i. ch. 2.

* It seems to have been the general rule throughout the Crusades, that Christians should not sell military weapons to infidels. I observe that Charlemagne prohibited his subjects from selling arms to foreigners of any nation or religion. Capitularia, lib. iii. cap. 75, vol. ii. p. 186.

† This letter was encyclical through all Christian Europe. See Labbe, Concilia, vol. ii. p. 119—123.

‡ This complaisance of the Pope brings to recollection the politeness of Hildebrand. In 1076 the king of Morocco granted liberty to some Christians, and permitted them to live freely in his territories. Hildebrand wrote him a handsome letter of thanks. He says he is sure the king had been moved by the spirit of God; and that both he and the king worshipped, believed, and trusted in the same God, though the modes of their adoration and faith were different. See this curious epistle in Labbe, vol. xi. ep. Greg. lib. iii. ep. 21. Equally liberal with Hildebrand was the emperor Manuel Comnenus. He wished to conciliate the followers of the Arabian prophet: and for that reason he was anxious to expunge from the Greek cathechisms the anathema against the God of the Muselmans, whom the Christians chose to think was a different Being from the object of their own adoration. The sticklers for orthodoxy were alarmed; and the din of polemics resounded through the empire. A *moderate* party, however, reconciled the combatants; and it was agreed that the *imprecation* of the catechism should be transferred from the God of Muhammed to Muhammed himself, his doctrine, and his sect. Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History, cent. 12, part 2, chap. 3, sec. 17. "We must take care," says Zebedeus, the Roman catholic zealot, "that we fall not unawares into the heresy of Manuel Comnenus, emperor of Greece, who affirmed that Mahomet's God was the true God; which opinion was not only rejected and condemned by the synod, but imputed to the emperor as extreme madness; being reproached to him also

appeared that the successor of Urban could, like his great predecessor, arm Europe against Asia, Innocent wrote to Saphadin as the sultan of Cairo and Damascus, that the Holy Land was in possession of the Muselmans, and not on account of their virtue, but because of the sins of the Christians. The anger of Heaven was, however, tempered with mercy; and the time was at hand when that mercy would be shown in an especial manner. His holiness then in peaceful language solicited Saphadin to resign the Holy Land to the Christians, and not retain, out of false glory, a country which was the source of more inconvenience than profit to the Moslems.

The Crusade was preached in every cathedral, and in every church of Western Christendom. The Pope was earnest, and his legates were active. Among those who most loudly and successfully pleaded the cause of religion, was Robert de Courcon; a man inferior in talents and consideration to St. Bernard, but whose fanaticism was as fervent as that of Peter and Fulk. By parentage and birth he was an Englishman; but he had been educated in the university of Paris, and in that famous seat of learning had lived as a friend with a fellow student, who afterwards sat in the Papal chair, under the title of Pope Innocent the Third. The associate of his Holiness was promoted to various dignities of the church; his talents for business were employed by Innocent in clerical embassies, and his abilities as a public orator were matured under the care of Fulk de Nuilly. He was the papal legate in France, and after having appeased the foreign and internal distractions of that kingdom, he quitted Paris (in the year twelve hundred and fifteen), descended by the way of Burgundy to the southern provinces, left no quarter of the south unvisited; and then, after having traversed with speed and success the western provinces, the saint-errant returned to the capital. He signalized his zeal for the Christians of the east in the church of every town through which he passed. Twenty years before he had preached the same theme to the same people, as the humble assistant of Fulk. Clad in the Roman purple, and armed with the authority of the vicar of Jesus Christ, the cardinal gave every possible dignity to the office of missionary. But his prudence kept not pace with his zeal, for, like Peter the Hermit, he admitted every one to take the cross. Women, children, the old, the blind, the lame, the lepers, all were enrolled in the sacred militia. The high-minded cavaliers felt therefore a great repugnance at becoming his disciples, because such a confusion would naturally injure the success of an expedition, which required skilful co-operation. The multitude of the Crusaders was innumerable, and the voluntary offerings of money which were put into the charitable boxes in the churches, were immense. Philip Augustus contributed the fortieth parts of his revenues: and it is singular, that this money was to be employed for purposes of the holy war, agreeably to the directions of the kings and barons of France and England. But the alms of the people of France were not applied exclusively to sacred purposes. Robert de Courcon was openly convicted of peculation, and his papal friend was obliged to remit his own dignity, and intercede with the French prelates, in order to save the legate from punishment.*

The Pope, treading in the steps of his predecessors, convoked a general council for the purpose of chastising vice, condemning heresy, and of inducing the princes and people to undertake the sacred expedition. In the month of November, 1215, the religious and political authorities assembled in the church of the Lateran, and the greatness of their number, and their exalted rank, testify the zealous preaching of the Pope's legates. There were present the patriarchs of Constantinople and Jerusalem, the ambassador of the patriarch of Antioch, seventy-four metropolitan primates, and three hundred and forty

by the bishop of Thessalonica, in those bitter and strange words as are not to be named." Bacon's Advertisement touching a Holy War.

* Notice des Manuscrits, tom. vi. p. 603, 613 The talents and general moral conduct of D Courcon, in time, overcame this blot in his conduct. In 1218, he requested from Honorius the office of legate of the Crusade. Pelagius, bishop of Albano, had been already appointed: the Pope, however, added Robert to the commission.

bishops. The abbots and friars numbered eight hundred, but the representatives of the higher clergy could not be calculated. The emperor of Constantinople, the kings of France, England, Hungary, Jerusalem, Arragon, and the sovereigns of many other countries, were represented in the assembly. After some opinions differing from those of the established church had been pronounced odious and damnatory, war against the Saracens was declared to be the most sacred duty of the European world. The usual privileges, such as were mentioned in the Pope's letter, were accorded to the pilgrims. In order, say the decrees of the council, that his Holiness should not be considered a mere preacher of the duties of mankind, he gave to the purposes of the war thirty thousand pounds, besides the maritime expenses of the Roman pilgrims. The patriarch of Jerusalem, the Hospitallers, and Templars were to be the distributors of the papal bounty; and through the same agency, and for the same purposes, all the clergy (except those who were Croises) were for three years to contribute the twentieth part of their ecclesiastical revenues. Referring to the decrees of old councils, tournaments during the three years of the Crusade were forbidden, lest the representation of war should draw men's attention from war itself. Civil dissensions were to be suspended, and peace was to reign in the Christian world during all the time of the holy contest.* In the sermons which he preached to the council, Innocent declared his intention of visiting the Holy Land. The pulpits of Europe announced the grateful intelligence, and the people agreed with their pastors, that success would be certain, if they were led by the sovereign Pontiff.

The holy war was again the subject of poetry as well as of preaching, and the castles of the nobility resounded with the songs of the Troubadours.* "Great men are fired by the noble ambition of meriting the glory of this world, as well as the glory of heaven. You who dedicate yourselves to a pious pilgrimage will obtain both. Great God! The Turks have conquered and profaned the holy sepulchre. Let us feel to the bottom of our hearts this mortal disgrace. Let us impress upon our bodies the sign of the cross, and pass the seas; we have a firm and courageous guide, the sovereign Pontiff Innocent.† If there be any thing like loyalty, any thing like bravery in our hearts, we should wish to restore Christ to his inheritance: but we prefer, we love what is evil, and despise what is good. And why? There is no safety in our own country, and death in the Holy Land is the gate of life. Should we hesitate to suffer for him who did not disdain to suffer for us? Why do not the emperors and the kings terminate their discords and their wars? Oh, that they would make peace, that they would unite for the deliverance of the holy sepulchre, the Divine lamp, the true cross, the kingdom of Christ, which have been for many ages under the dominion of the Turks! At these words, who does not groan with shame and grief? Valiant marquis of Montferrat, your ancestors formerly covered themselves with glory in Syria. Spread, then, the sacred banners, pass the seas, and by your deeds of arms merit the admiration of men, and the approbation of Heaven."‡

* Concilia, vol. ii. 224, 233. The crusade (the sixth) consequent on the council of the Lateran (A. D. 1215) is divided into three parts. The expedition of Andrew, king of Hungary,—the war in Egypt,—and the campaign in the Holy Land of the emperor Frederic II. For the first two divisions, my authorities are Abulfeda, Bernardus, Sanutus, Matthew Paris, and the two Continuations of the archbishop of Tyre. The chronicle of Alberic, a contemporary (edited by Leibnitz), contains some curious particulars respecting the Germans. Another contemporary was Godfrey, monk of St. Pataleon, whose Annals are contained in the German historians, collected by Freher Marquard. But the richest materials are the third book of the Oriental History of James de Vitri, who was an eye-witness of the siege of Damietta.

* The Troubadours, though spread over most countries, were chiefly patronized by the counts of Provence, with whom the king of France was at war. The grateful minstrels wished to divert the course of hostility from the south of France to the Holy Land.

† Whether sincerity or artifice prompted the Pope, time would not admit of the disclosure. He died before the sailing of any part of the expedition.

‡ Raynouard, Choix des Poésies Originales des Troubadours, vol. ii. p. 73, &c. Paris, 1817.

The necessity of extirpating heresy, and quelling rebellion in the south of France, was the pretence of the French king for not embracing the Crusade. The emperor Frederic II. feigned to be the faithful son of the church, but his zeal cooled when Otho IV., his rival, died, and instead of travelling to Palestine, he remained in Europe, in order to establish his authority in Apulia and Sicily, and to advance the favourite project of himself and family, of making Italy the seat of the empire of the west.* A people who had been the scourge of the first Crusaders, took the lead on this new occasion. In the time of Peter the Hermit, the Hungarians were such young religionists, that they had not embraced half the superstitious usages which had been grafted on Christianity. But in the century that succeeded, they often breathed the hot air of fanaticism; and when the sixth holy war was preached, they aspired to the glory of recovering the sacred sepulchre. Their king, Andrew, incited by the example of his mother, Margaret, the wish of his father, and certain political considerations, made a vow to march to Jerusalem. The dukes of Austria and Bavaria, indeed all the ecclesiastical and secular potentates of Lower Germany, joined their forces to those of the monarch. The united army marched to Spalatro. The ships of Venice, and other ports of the Adriatic, transported them to Cyprus; and after having enjoyed for a while the pleasures of an island consecrated to Venus, and the more sober and religious welcomes of the ambassadors from the king of Jerusalem and the military orders, the holy warriors sailed for and arrived at Acre, in company with fresh crowds of Crusaders from Marseilles, Genoa, and Brundisium. The Muselman powers were astonished at, and unprovided for this sudden and large re-enforcement of the Latins. The sons of Saphadin were the lords of Syria, while Saphadin himself, retired from the constant toils of royalty, was contented with the respect of the army and people in times of difficulty and danger. The Saracens pressed to the country about Naplousa, but not in sufficient numbers to meet the new Croises, who ravaged the country, and slew thousands of their foes.* But they did not confine their cruelties to the infidels. The soil of Palestine, in the year in which the present Crusaders landed, had been less productive than in most seasons; the soldiers had carried thither no provisions, and when not engaged in distant excursions into the enemy's territories, they took the shorter course of robbing the private and religious houses of the Latins and Syrians. The Bavarians were marked as the principal actors in these disgraceful scenes. Pious exercises, however, re-established order. The ecclesiastical chief of the Latin Christians led the army in religious procession across the river of Kishon, to the valley of Jezrael. They bathed in the Jordan, made their pilgrimage to the lake of Genasareth, observed with devout awe the scenes of various miracles performed by Christ, and returned to Acre.† But they soon repaired their wasted strength, and trod with holy reverence the road to the scene of the transfiguration. The ascent to Mount Thabor, however, was difficult: and the summit was defended by a strongly garrisoned tower. Conducted by a Saracenian youth, and stimulated by their own enthusiasm, the armed pilgrims overcame every obstacle, and approached the walls of the fortress. Impetuous valour clamoured for an immediate and furious assault: but the experienced chiefs saw the remoteness of success, and contended that the troops should retire to Acre for the defence of their camp and stores, which would certainly be attacked by those swarms of Muselmans that every day were pouring into Palestine. This counsel was adopted.‡ In both these

* The Pope and emperor were struggling for supremacy, and the cunning pontiff thought he could get rid of his rival by commanding him to take the cross: and such was the state of the times, that Frederic would not have been considered a Christian if he had refused. Voltaire is right in saying, "L'empereur fit le vœu par politique; et par politique il différa le voyage." Essai sur les Mœurs des Nations, chap. 52.

* Abulfeda, iv. 261.

† James de Vit., 1229–30. Bernardus, 821.

‡ James de Vit., 1130. Herold, 91. Sanutus, 207. Bernardus, 822. Cont. William, 631. Abulfeda, iv. 263. The monkish writers generally ascribe to treachery those actions which mere prudence dictates. They make a bold assertion of treason, and never bring the slightest

expeditions the Christians made many prisoners, and such of them as were children were baptised by the bishop of Acre, and delivered into the charge of those Latin women who had devoted themselves to a religious life. Attached as much to pilgrimages as to war, the Crusaders went in holy order to Tyre and Sidon; but the inclemency of the season drove them into disorder, and the Saracens made dreadful havoc on their divided parties.* The Christians separated for the remainder of the winter. The kings of Cyprus and Hungary repaired to Tripoli; and if the people were grieved at the death of the former of these princes, their feelings were quickly changed into indignation against the latter. Neither the entreaties nor the threats of the clergy could persuade the unstable Andrew to remain in Palestine. Mere restlessness overcame every suggestion of duty. Taking with him most of his soldiers and stores, he traversed Armenio and the Greek empire, spent much time in collecting relics, and at last returned to his kingdom, which had been so deeply exhausted by this expensive expedition, that it did not for years recover its pristine strength. The weak and infirm pilgrims, and such as courted pleasure, went to Acre. The king of Jerusalem, the duke of Austria, and the master of the Hospitallers, took up a strong position on the plains of Cesarea. The Templars, the Teutonic knights, and Walter d'Avesnes, occupied Mount Carmel, and their station was defended by a tower which the Templars had formerly erected, for the defence and protection of the Jerusalem pilgrims.† In the spring of the following year they were joined by new and zealous Crusaders from the north of Germany. Cologne had been the rendezvous, and nearly three hundred vessels sailed from the Rhine. Many of the ships were wrecked by the violence of the autumnal winds, and the remainder anchored off the Portuguese shore. By the aid of the Germans, the queen of Portugal took Alcaçra from the Moors. Conscience and valour would be equally satisfied by the slaughter of Saracens, in whatever country they might be; and William I., count of Holland, entreated permission of the Pope to remain a year in Portugal. But Honorius ardently pursued the plans of which Innocent had laid the foundation. Most of the soldiers, too, wished to pass to the Holy Land; and as crosses were seen in the air pointing to the south, they sailed at the earliest appearance of spring.*

In the few flourishing days of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem, when projects of conquest, and not of mere defence, engaged the passions of warriors, the various cities of Syria, on account of the relative situation of countries, were generally more ambitiously regarded than those of Egypt. But subsequently to the fifth, and before the formation of the sixth Crusade, so small a portion of the Holy Land belonged to the Christians, that politics almost wore the same face as they did at the time of Peter's preaching. Various schemes were formed for the destruction of the Muselman power, and the court of the Vatican revived the politics of Almeric king of Jerusalem. Ambition and cupidity sighed for the possession of the potent and rich country of Egypt. Palestine would be abandoned, were the heart of the Muselman power assailed; and flying from the remembrance of the ensanguined plains of Syria, deeds of renown might be achieved in a land which was associated with few appalling ideas of Christian discomfiture. As soon, therefore, as the Cologne reenforcement arrived, the chiefs assembled in council, and it was agreed that siege should be laid to Damietta, which was looked upon as the key of Egypt.† It was situated on the Eastern bank of the Nile, about a mile from the sea;‡ it was

proof that there was any intercourse between the Saracens and Christians. The king of Jerusalem is thus strikingly mentioned by James de Vitry: "Rex quantum meruit ascendendo, tantum demeruit descendendo." But the king had displayed much personal courage, and he would not have declined the assault except for high and important reasons.

* James de Vit., 1130.

† James de Vit., 1130–1.

* James de Vit., 1132. Godef. Mon. ii., p. 385.

† Cont. William, p. 682. Godef. Mon. ii. p. 388.

‡ The modern Damietta is some distance to the south of the city which the Christians besieged, and which was destroyed by the Muselmans, A.D., 1250. Abulfeda, iv. 519. The Egyptians dreaded the re-appearance of the

of an oblong shape, and defended on every side, except on those parts which were near the Nile, by a triple wall. A double wall, and a tower in the midst of the river, connected with the city by a chain, formed the defence from naval attacks.

A voyage of a few days brought the Christian army within sight of Damietta. The soldiers landed, and encamped on the western side of the Nile. The duke of Austria, the knights of St. John, and the troops of Germany and of the Teutonic order, endeavoured to take the tower, for the purpose of facilitating an attack on the city's walls next the Nile. But their ladders broke, many of the soldiers were precipitated into the water, and the noise of the Egyptian brazen drums and trumpets announced to the camp the fate of the escaladers. Ingenuity assisted valour, and a priest of Cologne, aided by the Teutonic knights, built an immense wooden castle, on the basis of two vessels lashed to each other. The chiefs of the army declared, that all, which skill or expense could furnish, had been used, and that the world had never witnessed so noble a work. By processions round the cross, by fasting and prayer, Heaven was propitiated; in the spirit of fanaticism, or of excellent policy, a saint's day, that of St. Bartholomew, was fixed for the new assault; and in order to banish envy and discontent, and to excite emulation, the gallant band destined for the attack was selected from every nation in the army. At the appointed time the duke of Austria, and three hundred soldiers, took their stations in the galleys, and on the drawbridge at the top of the tower, and the vessels moved from their anchoring ground towards the castle, amidst the acclamations of their comrades in the camp, and the benedictory vociferations of the priests. The cavaliers made their assault with all the courageous fury which their peculiar circumstances could inspire. The battle lasted for twenty-four hours, and the city of Damietta and the Christian camp resounded at different times with the shouts of victory and the lamentations of defeat. In spite of every precaution, the Muselmans set fire to the ladders of the Franks, and the ensigns of the duke of Austria fell beneath the triumphant banner of the Saracens. The acclamations of the people of Damietta enraged the duke and his troops, and the clamorous appeals to Heaven of the patriarch and his clergy, kept their courage unallayed. The catapults and balistæ shook the walls of the castle to their foundations, and the garrison were happy in surrendering to the discretion of the besiegers.*

Before the joy of the Christians had subsided, news arrived of the death of Saphadin. The power of his house had lately been strengthened by the death of the sultan of Mosul, the last great supporter of the name of the Atabeks. But Saphadin did not live to complete the addition of all Mosul to his empire of Damascus and Egypt. The brother of Saladin has been variously represented, according to the different feelings with which he was regarded. But the Crusaders had such a limited knowledge of oriental affairs, that their invectives cannot be opposed to the reputation which he acquired for virtue and ability. By his own historians he is styled a child of fortune, not that they meant to exclude mental talents from his character. His success was apparent, but the means through which it was obtained were unknown, and the ignorant world attribute to chance, events that in truth were the result of either refined and artful policy, or secret treachery and murder. He was a usurper; yet, as was the case, when all the competitors for the throne were sanguinary and remorseless, the higher the abilities, the more signal the success. The brother of Saladin was splendid in his apparel; he preserved all the magnificence and dignity of an oriental court; and left a full and ample treasury.† His second son Coradinus, the prince of Syria and Palestine, did not proclaim the death of his father till he had secured himself in the possession of the royal coffers. Discord and rebellion were universal throughout Egypt, when the

Franks, and choked the entrance of the harbour, to prevent the anchorage of large vessels.

* Bernardus, 825, 888. Godef. 388, and James de Vit. 1133–4, who says, that the tears of the people put out the flame which the Greek fire had made: extinxerunt ignem fidelium lachrymæ.

† De Guignes, livre 13. Abulfeda, iv. 265 — 271.

news arrived of the death of Saphadin; and his son Camel, lord of that country, was compelled to fly into Arabia for protection from his mutinous people.*

After the surrender of the castle of Damietta, the acquisition of the city appeared so easy an achievement, that the besieging army sunk into inertness and dissoluteness. The Germans fancied that the success to which they had so much contributed was equivalent to the performance of their vow, and many of them returned to Europe. But the siege of Damietta was not delayed for want of men. Italy sent forth her choicest soldiers, headed by Pelagius and Robert de Courcon, as legates of the pope. The counts of Nevers and la Marche, the archbishop of Bordeaux, the bishops of Meux, Autun, and Paris, headed the valiant youth of France. The English troops were led by the earls of Chester and Arundel, William Longespee, earl of Salisbury, and the baron Harcourt, men celebrated for their heroism and nobility.† For some months after the arrival of this re-enforcement distress and discord raged amidst the Europeans. The Nile in its overflow injured their camp, and pestilence and famine thinned their ranks. The cardinal Pelagius distracted their attention from foreign enterprise by the claims which he set up to the distinction of commander-in-chief. Robert de Courcon fell a victim to disease, and the death of this haughty and ambitious prelate materially detracted from the power and influence of his equally imperious coadjutor. In this time of inaction among the Crusaders, Coradinus came into Egypt for the purpose of quelling a rebellion raised by a soldier of fortune, and re-instated his brother Camel. But before those objects could be achieved, the Christians had time to recover from their misery and folly and prepare for the renewal of the attack upon Damietta. They attempted the passage of the river, but many of their vessels were destroyed by the Greek fire from the walls. The shore presented a triple line of soldiers, and the bravest of the Christian troops dreaded the attack. But on the night previous to the morning which was fixed for the decision of the cause, a rebellion broke out among the Muselman soldiers, their posts were deserted, and when daylight appeared the Christians were struck with the general confusion which prevailed among the enemy. The chieftains immediately armed their people, the passage of the Nile was soon effected, and they occupied the enemy's camp, singing the hymn, "we praise thee, O God," in full assurance that Heaven had rewarded their virtues and their prayers. The Templars pressed forwards to the city's walls, but the Muselmans in the mean time had rallied round Camel, rebellion was extinguished in a moment, and no further advantage was gained by the Crusaders. The Saracens made frequent sallies. They attacked a bridge which the Christians had thrown across the Nile; but the duke of Austria, with the Templars and Teutonic knights, repulsed them. The clergy acted as surgeons as well as priests, and though the day was Palm Sunday, the only procession, says an eye-witness, which the Crusaders made, was one of lances, and swords, and shields. After this victory the duke of Austria, and many knights, returned to Europe; but their loss was repaired by the bishop of Mantua and new pilgrims from Italy, and plentiful supplies of arms and provisions. From May to August there was a long series of noble endeavours on both sides. The Pisans, Genoese, and Venetians made several attacks on the walls from the ships; but it was not ordained that those nations should be the safety of Israel.*

* Abulfeda, 271.

† Annals of Waverly in Gale, vol. 2, p. 185. M. Paris, 255. The earl of Salisbury mentioned in the text was the son of king Henry the Second by fair Rosamond. His Christian name was William, and his wearing a longer sword than was usual gave him his surname.[a] His half brother, king Richard the First, gave him in marriage Ela, eldest daughter and coheiress of William de Eureux, earl of Salisbury and Rosemer; and also raised him to the title of earl. Ela was granddaughter of the Patric earl of Salisbury, murdered by Guy de Lusignan. See ante, p. 137, note. Longespee was a firm friend of king John, and afterwards of Louis the French monarch: but when John died he forsook Louis, and did homage to Henry the Third. Dugdale's Baronage, vol. 1, p. 176.

a Thus, his epitaph, as reported by Matthew Paris, p. 277, says

Flos Comitum Willielmus obiit, stirps regia, longus
Ensis vaginam cœpit habere brevem.

* Bernardus, 834.

The Saracens fought many a well contested battle with the Christians in their camp. All the Crusaders contended with the bravery of men whose souls were strung by religion and valour, and if any soldiers distinguished themselves above the rest, to the Templars may be given the praise of pre-eminent heroism. The issue of most of those conflicts was adverse to the Moslems. Despair seized the people of Damietta. Hunger and disease were within their walls, and in addition to their misfortunes the Nile did not reach its usual height.

The sultan of Syria had heard with dismay of this perilous state of circumstances. The loss of Damietta appeared inevitable, and he dreaded the speedy appearance of the Christians in Jerusalem. But he resolved that they should never make that place a station of defence. He destroyed the walls, and much of the town; but the tower of David, and the temple of the sepulchre, were saved, on account of veneration to the prophets, a religious exception which made some liberal Christians of the time declare, that the name of heretics was more applicable to the Saracens than that of infidels. The sultan of Syria had anticipated the fall of Damietta, the sultan of Egypt despaired of its defence, and no wisdom could calculate the magnitude of the effects which its capture might produce. Prudence suggested the policy of negotiation, and the Latins were therefore offered the piece of the true cross, the city of Jerusalem, and all the prisoners in Syria and Egypt. The Muselmans were to rebuild the walls of the sacred city. Of the whole kingdom of Palestine, they only proposed to retain the castles of Karac and Montreal, as necessary for the safe passage of the Meccan pilgrims and merchants. The evacuation of Egypt was the equivalent expected from the Christians for these important concessions. All the legitimate consequences of the Crusades were at the command of the soldiers of the cross. The king, the French, the earl of Chester, and the Teutonic knights hailed with joy the prospect of the termination of the war. But the legate, the bishops, the Italians; the Templars, and the Hospitallers were deaf to councils of moderation. They contended that no faith could be reposed upon the promises of infidels, unless peace was made at the point of a victorious sword. The siege had already lasted seventeen months, and it would be disgraceful to fly from the fair prospect of success. Unhappily for the general interests of the Christian cause, the mild suggestions of policy were disregarded amidst the clamours of thoughtless valour. Hostilities were recommenced. The besiegers interrupted all communication between the Egyptian army and the garrison of Damietta. Resistance was fruitless, but the Muselmans were too brave and too proud to surrender. The legate and the king assaulted the walls, and soon entered the city, with the same ruthless feelings as had maddened the early Crusaders, when they first leaped on the battlements of Jerusalem. But revenge sought its victims in vain. Damietta was one vast charnel-house. Of a population, which at the beginning of the siege consisted of more than seventy thousand souls, three thousand only were the relics. The conquerors mached through a pestilential vapour. The streets, the mosques, and the houses were strewed with dead bodies. The rich and the poor, the master and the servant, lay, with no reference to distinction. The children at the breast had drawn the last remnants of life from their mothers, and were crying for sustenance. The clergy consigned them to the Christian women, but in most cases the cries of infants had been the last struggles of nature, and they suffered the fate of their parents. From scenes of death the Christians turned to plunder. Damietta was as rich a city as any in Islamism, and the terrible anathemas of the legate could not prevent self-appropriation of spoil. Dominion over the place was given to the king of Jerusalem. The splendid mosque was converted into a Christian church, and dedicated to the Virgin and all the Apostles. But the soldiers were soon compelled to return to the camp, for pestilence was in the city. Life and liberty were granted to the surviving Muselmans, on their performing the horrid and melancholy task of cleansing the city from the remains of their relations and friends.*

* Alberic Chron. 503, 505. Godef. M.

So great was the terror which the loss of Damietta spread among the Muselmans, that the fortress of Tannis surrendered. By this acquisition, the way into Palestine was open. But instead of urging their advantages, the army passed the winter in luxury and in discord, and in the spring more than half of the soldiers returned to Europe. The power of the legate was supreme, and the king of Jerusalem retired in disgust to Acre. The duke of Bavaria, and many knights from Germany and Italy, arrived, as soon as the weather would permit the passage; but they disdained to submit to the command of a bishop, and Pelagius was compelled to solicit with humility the return of the king. John de Brienne repaired to Damietta, and a council was held on the subject of hostile operations. The legate argued that Egypt was the most powerful of all the Muselman states; that if that country should be conquered, Syria and Palestine would yield without effort. His compeer admitted that their successes at Damietta had laid the foundation for the conquest of Cairo. But he contended, that if all Egypt could be taken, the Christians were unable to retain it. The great object of the Crusaders was the recovery of the Holy Land. That object ought to be purchased at as little an expense of blood as possible. After every victory the soldiers were eager to return to Europe, and the garrisoning of Egypt would require so many troops, that none would be left to march into Syria. But the king's policy did not accord with the ambition of the prelate; Pelagius charged with cowardice those who refused to march to Cairo, and the threats of excommunication served instead of arguments to change or to overrule the opinions of the friends of the king.. The conquest of Egypt was resolved upon, and the army marched by the eastern side of the Fatimite branch of the Nile, till their progress was arrested by the canal of Ashmoun. On the southern side of that canal the Muselman forces were posted. Every sultan of Syria had sent assistance to their brother in the faith, and the allied troops under Camel could cope with the Latins in the field. The sultan, however, would not trust his kingdom to the caprice of fortune. He offered peace to the Christians on nearly the same terms as those which had been proposed previously to the last assault on Damietta. The legate refused with indignation these noble offers: but instead of crossing the canal, and giving the enemy battle, he remained for more than a month inactive on his post, expecting the unconditional surrender of the sultan. During this time the Nile had rapidly increased in height. The Muselmans opened the sluices, inundated their enemy's camp, and Pelagius saw his army gradually wasting, and all communications with Damietta cut off. The Christians could neither advance nor retreat; and to use the humble simile of a Templar, they were enclosed like a fish in a net. When the overflowings of the Nile had swept away all the tents and baggage Pelagius sent an embassy to the Muselman camp, imploring a safe return to Acre, and offering to surrender Damietta and Tannis to the Muselmans. The sultan of Damascus, and many other members of the Saracenic council, thought that this occasion should be taken for destroying the Christian troops, in revenge of the repeated cruelties and treacheries of European nations. But the sultan of Cairo contended, that the Moslem world was in such a distracted state, in consequence of the invasion of the Tartars, that every thing should be done to prevent the west from thinking of new crusades. Damietta, too, was still occupied by some thousands of Christians, who could sustain a siege as long as that which the Muselmans had endured. It behooved the latter, therefore, to profit by the turn of fortune; for as the Muselmans had been under arms for three years, the continuance of their patience and discipline could not be depended upon. Camel's counsels of moderation were adopted, and hostages were interchanged for the performance of the treaty. But the inhabitants of Damietta, when the news of peace reached them, refused to deliver up the city; nor was it till they learned that further delay would cause also the surrender of Acre itself, that they submitted to their fate.

388—400. Abulfeda, iv. 271, &c. Bernardus, vii. 828—838. Cont. William, 684—688. James de Vitry, lib. 3. Herold, cap. 6, lib. 3.

The distress of the Christian army was mitigated by the humanity of Camel. The king of Jerusalem was one of the hostages, and in an interview with the sultan, he wept for the miserable state of his army. "Why do you weep?" inquired the sultan; "I have reason to weep," replied the king; "for the people whom God has given into my charge, are perishing in the midst of the waters, or dying of hunger." The sultan shed tears of pity, and opened the Egyptian granaries for their relief. When, after eight months' possession by the Latins, Damietta was delivered into the power of the Muselmans, the hostages were exchanged, and the Christian army retreated to the sea-coast, through the road by which they had advanced in full confidence of victory. The barons of Syria, and the military orders, retired to Acre; and the volunteers returned to Europe.*

The high spirit of the people of the west was undismayed. A strong feeling of contempt for the infidels made them attribute their ill success to any cause rather than Turkish valour and conduct. The pride of the legate received its full share of censure. But the Pope cast all the odium on the emperor Frederic, a man who had thrice sworn to redeem the Holy Land, and had compromised with his conscience by merely sending soldiers and provisions. Frederic despised the thunders of the Vatican; but although he was not awed by force, he could not resist Papal artifice. Honorius soothed his irritated mind, and received him again as a faithful son of the church. Herman de Saltza, master of the Teutonic order, returned to Europe, and gave the emperor the hope of being the redeemer of Palestine. Violante, the daughter of the king of Jerusalem, could easily be obtained in marriage, and her father would cede his rights, which he was wearied of endeavouring to convert into an actual and firm dominion. The emperor and the Pope approved of this project. John de Brienne, and the patriarch of Jerusalem, were summoned to Europe, and in a council held at Ferentino, in the Campagna di Roma, the marriage was concluded upon. Frederic accepted from the king of Jerusalem a renunciation of all his claims to the Holy Land, as the dowry of Violante; and he pledged his honour to the Pope, the cardinals, and the masters of the Hospitallers and Teutonic knights, that he would within two years travel with a powerful army into the east, and re-establish the throne of Godfrey of Bouillon. For the succeeding five years, rebellions in Italy, and the insurrections of the Saracens in Sicily, detained the emperor from his purpose. Violante arrived in Europe, and soon resigned her kingdom and her charms to the ambitious and amatory Frederic. The holy war was preached throughout the west, and Honorius threatened with eternal punishment those who drew their sword for any object except the great concern of Christendom. But Louis VIII. and the French despised his threat. After having waged a war with England, they turned their arms into the south of France, endeavoured with pious zeal to extirpate heresy, and Louis contented himself with paying the testamentary donations which Philip Augustus had made to the patriarch, and the Templars and Hospitallers.*† Italy was torn by the contests of petty republics; but in England the preachers of the crusade were so earnest and so eloquent in their exhortations, that sixty thousand men at arms, besides old men and women, assumed the cross.† Palestine and Egypt heard with shame and sorrow of the various causes of delay. The Christian residents in Cairo and Alexandria were treated with extraordinary rigour after the fall of Damietta. They were not even allowed to repair their churches, or to carry the image of the cross in a funeral procession. The Muselmans compelled them to perform the meanest offices, and no considerations of pity could save them from prison, if the amount of the toleration tax had not been strictly paid. The patriarch of Alexandria assured the Pope, that the

* Abulfeda, iv. 303, 308. Cont. of the Archbishop of Tyre, 688, 694. Herold, lib. iii. c. vii., ix. M. Paris, 260, 265. In M. Paris there are some letters from Templars in the east, to their friends in the west, full of curious details. Bernardus, 838, 844.

* Sanutus, lib. iii. cap. x.

† M. Paris, 285.

world did not so ardently expect the coming of Christ, as the Holy Land looked for the arrival of the emperor. Honorius did not live to witness the event of his exertions, but his successor, Gregory the Ninth, was equally furious in the cause. He pressed the emperor to hasten his voyage, and since, by reason of some concessions which Honorius had induced the allies of Papacy in Italy to make, the emperor was free of action, an imperial edict was published, declaring that the army would quit Brundisium in August. A diet of the empire was held at Aix la Chapelle; the archbishops of Mentz, Triers, Cologne, Saltsburg, Magdeburg, and Bremen, and their suffragans; and the dukes of Austria, Bavaria, Carinthia, Brabant and Lorraine, were the most distinguished of the new votaries of fanaticism and romance.

At the time appointed for the sailing of the expedition, Brundisium and its vicinity were crowded with soldiers. But the heats of summer destroyed the health of the people of the north; thousands died, and of those who endeavoured to return to their homes, the greatest part perished through poverty or disease. Although the emperor did not escape the common illness, yet he embarked at Brundisium. But after sailing for three days, additional infirmity compelled him to return. Gregory inherited the papal virtues of violence and ambition. On Michaelmas day he mounted the pulpit of the church of Anagni, and after enlarging on the important results of St. Michael's victory over the Dragon, and declaring that that event was only a type of the Christian and Saracenian states, he pronounced a sentence of excommunication against the emperor, for declining to combat the enemy of God. The bull was circulated throughout Europe,* and the Pope was strong in his expressions of self-commendation for his tenderness to the emperor, in drawing against him the medicinal sword of St. Peter. Frederic wrote letters to the kings and princes of Europe, highly expressive of his indignation at such unworthy treatment. He bitterly censured the rapacity and avarice of the Romish church, and contrasted the general cruelty of its conduct with the spirit of meekness upon which the church of Christ was founded.*

The thunders of the Vatican rolled again and again over the head of the emperor, but the author of them suffered more than the object. The Roman barons were indignant at the unworthy treatment which the successor of Charlemagne, the protector of the church, had received; and they allowed his vindication to be publicly read in the capital. The emperor sent troops into the papal territories, who ravaged the march of Ancona, and the patrimony of St. Peter. Such of the Hospitallers and Templars (the firm friends of the Pope) as had estates in the imperial dominions in Italy, were plundered and dispossessed.† The emperor heavily taxed his subjects, both churchmen and laity, for the expenses of the holy war. The Easter of the year 1228 was celebrated by him and his barons at Barletta, in Apulia, with great pomp; and in an assemblage which was afterwards held there, he provided for the necessities of his kingdom during his absence in Palestine. In the same season of Easter, the Pope endeavoured to renew the censure of the church against Frederic: but the barons incited the people to mutiny, and even compelled the successor of St. Peter to take up a temporary abode in Perugia. In defiance of Gregory's warnings against his entering on the crusade, till he should be relieved from the censures of the church, Frederic embarked at Brundisium in August, and arrived shortly afterwards at Acre.‡ His pre-

* A curé at Paris, instead of reading the bull from the pulpit in the usual form, said to his parishioners, "You know, my brethren, that I am ordered to fulminate an excommunication against Frederic. I know not the motive. All that I know, is, that there has been a quarrel between that prince and the Pope. God alone knows who is right. I excommunicate him who has injured the other: and I absolve the sufferer." The emperor sent a present to the preacher, but the Pope and the king blamed this sally: le mauvais plaisant was obliged to expiate his fault by a canonical penance.

* M. Paris, 291, 293.

† The soldiers employed on these occasions were Saracens, subjects of the emperor in Sicily. Like their master, they derided the papal bulls.

‡ Before Frederic's departure, his wife Violante died in giving birth to a son named Conrad.

ance was heard of with as much satisfaction by the sultan of Egypt as by the Christians. Camel dreaded the ambition of his brother Coradinus, and he considered that the friendship of the European potentate would afford him additional security. But the negotiation was conducted with secresy, and the Italians, not suspecting the existence of so singular a friendship, wondered that Frederic should sail to Palestine with only twenty galleys. The joy of the Christians at the arrival of the emperor was soon checked by letters which the patriarch received from the Pope, prohibiting the faithful from obeying a rebellious son of the church. The Teutonic knights feared no clerical censures; and at their head, and of some other soldiers, the emperor quitted Acre, went to Jaffa, and repaired the fortifications of that important city. He then made further advances towards Jerusalem. Though the Templars and Hospitallers refused to join the army whilst an excommunicated emperor commanded it, yet a lurking desire of military glory urged them to follow him at a distance. His necessities, and the inclinations of the knights, gave rise to a conference; and, as usual, principle gave way to will, and it was agreed that the obligation of the cavaliers to support the cause of Christianity might be reconciled with their duty to the Pope, if the orders of the council of war were issued in the name of God and Christendom. The necessity of being prepared for every event, rendered this humiliating circumstance necessary to the emperor. Ever since he had been in Palestine, there had been negotiations carrying on between him and Camel. But before they were concluded, the sultan of Damascus died, and Camel, finding himself rid of a powerful enemy, became reserved in his communications with Frederic.

While matters were in this state, news was brought to the emperor of an effectual method which the Pope had taken of preventing him from continuing the war in Palestine with the enemies of Christ. The Pope's troops, of whom John de Brienne (the father-in-law of Frederic!) was one of the chief commanders, burnt the imperial towns in Italy, imprisoned, tortured, and robbed the people. The duke of Spalatro, the emperor's lieutenant, had been unable successfully to resist, though the imperial army had been but little impaired by Frederic's foreign expedition. These circumstances made the emperor anxious to return to Europe; and when fortune withdrew her smiles from Camel, a treaty was immediately signed. For ten years the Christians and Muselmans were to live upon terms of brotherhood. Jerusalem, Jaffa, Bethlehem, Nazareth, and their appendages, were restored to the Christians. The holy sepulchre likewise was given to them; and the people of both religions might offer up their prayers in the place of devotion, which the former class called the temple of Solomon, and the latter named the mosque of Omar. The address of Frederic more effectually promoted the object of the holy wars than the heroic phrenzy of Richard: many of the disasters consequent on the battle of Tiberias were wiped away, and the serious and habitual hopes of Europe, for the permanent settlement in Asia, seemed to be realized. But the barons of the Holy Land breathing interminable war, and secretly envying superior genius, avowed indignation that a Christian sovereign should accept the friendship of the infidels. The patriarch and clergy hated an excommunicated prince; a man, too, who had given license to the Saracens to adore their God in a Christian temple. With some appearance of reason, however, they contended that the treaty was not binding on the Muselmans while the approbation of the sultan of Damascus was withheld. But, despising the blood-thirstiness of the barons, and the cruel bigotry of the priests, Frederic asserted his royal prerogatives; and, as he had acquired some of the old possessions of the Bouillon family, he avowed his intention of being crowned in the Holy City agreeably to constitutional forms. Some persons, discontented with the conditions of the treaty, wished to betray him into the hands of the sultan of Egypt. The guilt of this treachery lies between the Hospitallers and the Templars. Camel read the letter which conveyed to him the news, exclaimed to his associates, "See the fidelity of these Christian dogs;" and despatched a friend to Frederic with the paper which he had re-

ceived.* The emperor repaired to Jerusalem; but no hosannahs welcomed his approach. By the command of the patriarch no religious ceremonies were performed in the churches during his stay. Even the German prelates preferred their spiritual to their temporal allegiance; and the emperor, accompanied only by his courtiers and the Teutonic knights, went to the church of the sepulchre. He boldly took the crown from the altar, and placed it on his own head, and Herman de Saltza pronounced a laudatory oration. Orders were then given for the restoration of the city's walls,† and the emperor returned to Acre. In that city, too, there was every demonstration of sorrow at his appearance. Mass was performed in secret; the churches were deprived of their ornaments; the bells were not rung, and the dead were interred without any religious ceremony. But by some well-measured acts of severity, a semblance of respect was at length shown to the emperor; and he then returned to Europe, leaving the priests and people to thank Heaven for his departure.‡

* M. Paris, 102.

† This is affirmed by the imperial historians. The papil annalists state the reverse; and that the offers of the Templars and Hospitalians to contribute to the expense were despised. The treaty, as reported by Abulfeda, contains a provision, that the walls should not be rebuilt. In a letter which, after his return to Europe, Frederic wrote to all his brother kings, in reply to the complaints of the Pope, he mentions the liberty of the Christians to rebuild the walls. M. Paris, 301.

‡ Few parts of the Crusades are more difficult to understand, and to reduce into a clear and intelligible form, than the Expedition of Frederic. He was villified by the Templars and Hospitallers, and other friends of the Pope; and their narratives of events are more numerous than those of the imperial party. He gained more for the Christians than any prince had acquired since the first establishment of the kingdom; and if the Pope had not hated him worse than his holiness hated the Saracens, and thereby caused his return to Europe, there is every probability that, after the death of the sultan of Damascus, the emperor would have brought matters to an issue completely triumphant. Gregory IX. and his clergy had the effrontery to tell the world that Frederic had left the sepulchre of Christ in the hands of the infidels. But the fact was, that it was given to the Christians. The temple of Solomon, indeed, or rather the mosque of Omar, was left in the hands of the Muselmans; a right of visiting it, however, being allowed to the Christians. For Frederic's expedition I have followed the Chronicle of Richard de S. Germano, in the seventh volume of Muratori, Rer. Scrip. Ital. Corio, Istoria di Milano, p. 215, &c., the second, fifth, sixth, and seventh chapters of the sixteenth book of Giannone Istoria di Napoli, and Abulfeda, vol. iv. p. 335—353. My obligations to Matthew Paris and other authors have been noticed.

* See p. 191, ante.

CHAPTER XV.

THE SEVENTH AND EIGHTH CRUSADES.

Royal controversies in Palestine.—Council of Spoletto.—March of Hospitalians from London.—French lords take the cross.—State of Palestine.—Unsuccessful result of the French Crusade.—Crusade of the earl of Cornwall.—The English redeem the Sepulchre.—The Korasmians gain it from the Latins, and devastate Palestine.—Council of Lyons.—Louis IX. takes the cross.—English Crusaders.—Jealousy and treachery of the military orders.—The French sail to Cyprus.—They arrive off Damietta.—They land and capture Damietta.—Licentiousness of the French.—Arrival of the English Crusaders.—The army takes the road to Cairo.—Inability to cross the Ashmoun Canal.—They are shown a ford—Impetuosity of the Count d'Artois.—His dispute with the Templars and William Longsword.—Dreadful events in Massoura.—Distresses of the French.—The king is made prisoner.—Is ransomed.—The French go to Acre.—New hopes by reason of the Moslem dissensions.—Those dissensions quelled.—Failure of the Crusade.—Louis returns to France.

The title of sovereign over Jerusalem was so venerable in the eyes of the religious part of the world, that princes were not deterred from aspiring to it by the circumstance, that the whole of Christian Palestine consisted only of a few towns. After the departure of Frederic, the princess Alice,* at that time the widow of Hugh de Lusignan, went from Cyprus to Syria, and claimed the crown of her ancestors. But the military orders were firm in their loyalty to the imperial house of Suabia, and resisted the partisans of the pretender till the governor sent an army into the east. His generals, however, repaid the fidelity of the cavaliers by taxing and oppressing them: but nature vindicated her rights; the superiority of the Germans was disowned; they were driven from Acre, and sought refuge in Tyre. The emperor severely reprehended the tyranny of his officers; and knowing that his in-

fluence materially rested upon the confidence which existed between himself and the military orders, he restored to the latter the estates in Sicily of which he had unjustly deprived them. At his solicitation the Pope, to whom Frederic was now reconciled, despatched the archbishop of Ravenna to the Holy Land as the messenger of peace, and the imperial authority was restored.* But the Christians in Asia were never free from the mildew of civil discord, or the blast of foreign war; and they were compelled to warn their brethren in the west, that a new and general crusade must soon be undertaken. The talents of Saladin and his brother were equal to the management of their vast empires; but their successors preserved only the name of authority in their distant provinces; and many powerful emirs would not consider themselves included in Frederic's treaty of peace. The Christians were often invaded and robbed by the Saracens; and on one occasion, ten thousand pilgrims, in their procession from Acre to the Holy City, fell victims to Turkish violence.†

The council of Spoletto decreed that fresh levies should be sent into Asia on the expiration of the truce with Camel.‡ The Franciscans and Dominicans were the bearers of the resolutions to the princes and people of Christendom. But it was soon apparent that the recovery of the Holy Land was not the paramount consideration in the mind of Gregory IX., for the preaching of the crusade once more became the means of filling the papal coffers. By the different engines of persuasion and compulsion, the missionaries gained numberless converts, and then allowed the unwilling, and compelled the wealthy Croises to give the church great largesses in exchange for the vow. The once humble friars grew so rich by these exactions, that their pride and magnificence were detestable in the eyes of the people. These disgraceful scenes were acted in England for two years; but the indignation of society at the avarice of the Pope was so strong, that the preaching ceased. Some of the English nobility were inflamed by the love of warlike praise, and took the cross with no intention of submitting to a pecuniary commutation. The earl of Chester, and also Richard, earl of Cornwall, brother to king Henry III., prepared to measure lances with the Saracens.* The desire of crusading was influenced by events in Palestine. A truce between the sultan of Aleppo and the Templars expired with the life of the Muselman prince; and when his successor renewed the war with them, they sustained so severe a defeat, that every commandery in Europe sent them succours; and even the Hospitalians resolved to avenge the death of their rivals. Three hundred knights and a considerable body of stipendiaries went from London. Preceded by their prior, they left their residence in Clerkenwell in military procession. On their way to the city's bridge they received and repaid the salutations of the crowds of spectators; and with their caps in their hands, they commended themselves and their cause to the prayers of the people.†

The spirit of crusading burnt in France, particularly in the middle and southern provinces. Thibaud,‡ at once count of Champagne, and, in right of his third wife, king of Navarre; Hugh, duke of Burgundy; Henry, count of Bar; Peter, count of Brittany, and many other barons, assembled at Lyons, in order to concert the means of giving effect to their common desire. But a legate of the Pope interrupted their councils with announcing the commands of his master for the dissolving of the assembly, and the return of the members to their homes.

* Sanutus, lib. iii. pars. 11, cap. 13.

† Sanutus, lib. 3, pars. 11, cap. 13.

‡ Labbe, vol. xi. p. 481. The Crusade (the seventh,) consequent on the council of Spoletto, had two parts: — The expedition of the count of Champagne, and that of Richard, earl of Cornwall. My authorities are Abulfeda, Sanutus, Matthew Paris, and the public letter of Richard, earl of Cornwall.

* M. Paris, 337, 339, 364, 365.

† M. Paris, 374. The Hospitallers could well afford this succour to their companions in arms. Writing the history of the year 1244, M. Paris says that the Hospitallers had nineteen thousand manors in Christendom, and the Templars nine thousand. Now, although it may be difficult to estimate the value of these estates, yet the notice of M. Paris is the first attempt at specification in the old writers, and deserves regard, as it shows the comparative importance of these two orders.

‡ The poetry of this man is mentioned in note B b, Appendix.

The Barons remonstrated against this versatility of opinion in an infallible guide. In obedience to papal commands, they had resolved to take a perilous journey: they had collected stores of provisions and arms; and the purchase of these necessaries had been made by the sale or mortgage of their estates. The nuntio was contumeliously dismissed; and the impetuous multitude would have exposed their feelings in open violence, if they had not been restrained by the grave and temporate clergy. The union of purpose for a crusade seemed complete, when ambassadors from the emperor implored the French barons to wait till Frederic could strengthen and lead their bands. Enthusiasm was chilled; and irresolution had some plea for hopelessness in this attempt at procrastination. But most of the nobility pressed forwards to Marseilles, and hoisted sail for the Holy Land. Indignant at this contempt for his wishes, the emperor prohibited the governors of Apulia and other countries from affording aid to the Crusaders. This measure prevented many parties of cavaliers from pursuing the voyage; but it did not impede those fanatical and romantic warriors, the king of Navarre, the duke of Burgundy, and the counts of Bar and Brittany, from continuing their course to Acre.* The events which had lately occurred in Palestine made the task of these barons as arduous as any in the fabled enterprises of knighthood. The kingdom itself was to be regained, and the holy sepulchre once more to be redeemed. News of the warlike preparations of Europe had been communicated to the sultan of Egypt; and the first moment when the faith of treaties opposed not a hostile course, he drove the Latins out of Jerusalem, and overthrew the tower of David, which, until that time, had always been regarded as sacred by all classes of religionists. After this capture Camel died: various princes of Syria and Egypt asserted their pretensions to the vacant throne; but the military spirit was too active among the Muselmans, to allow the Christians rationally to hope that they should eventually profit by these dissensions. The count of Champagne advanced from Acre towards Ascalon with the intention of repairing its fortifications. The war began by a successful irruption of the count of Brittany into the Damascene territories. But in the vicinity of Gaza three hundred Frenchmen, who wished to imitate the glory of the cavaliers of Brittany, were defeated by a smaller number of Turks. The count of Montfort was slain, the count of Bar was taken prisoner; and this defeat struck such terror into the mind of the king of Navarre, that he returned to Acre. As hostilities had failed, the French endeavoured to obtain their objects by alliance with the Saracenian princes: but as they were without a head or centre of union, they negotiated like individuals, and formed alliances incompatible with that unity of design which it was necessary for them to maintain. The Templars obtained a promise of the restitution of the Holy Land, from the emir of Karac, a dependant on the sultan of Damascus, by engaging on their parts to defend him from his Egyptian rival. The Hospitallers, the king of Navarre, the count of Brittany, and others, entered into a treaty of friendship with the sultan of Egypt.*

Whilst the Christians of Asia were busied in the intrigue of negotiation, the English barons assembled at Northampton, and in order to prevent their spiritual lord from turning their arms to the aid of his wars in Italy and Germany they repaired to the church of All Saints, and bound themselves by oath to conduct their levies straight to Palestine. The Pope renewed his endeavours to persuade the English to commute their piety for gold, but his ministers, the Franciscans and Dominicans, were only treated with contempt; and in the spring of the year 1240, Richard, earl of Cornwall,†

* M. Paris, 461, 462, 465. Sanutus, lib. iii. pars. 11, cap. 15.

* Sanutus, lib. iii. pars. 11, c. 15. M. Paris, 474. Abulfeda, iv. 449.

† The Christian name of the earl of Cornwall alarmed the Saracens. The very word, Richard, was dreaded in Syria; so great was the terror which Cœur de Lion had spread. M. Westminster, p. 303, 304. Syrian mothers used to frighten their children into goodness by telling them that king Richard was coming. The lion-hearted warrior was also dreaded by horses; for if a courser started, the rider would exclaim "dost thou think that king Richard is in that bush?"

William Longespee or Longsword,* Theodore, the prior of the Hospitallers, and many others of the nobility, embarked at Dover for France. They were accompanied from London to the sea-coast by king Henry and his court, and their departure was blessed with the prayers of the bishops. The French monarch received the army with distinction and favour; its march through France resembled a triumph by reason of the congratulations of the people, and the embarkation was completed at Marseilles in defiance of the prohibition of the Pope. The arrival of Richard and the other barons at Acre, took place shortly after the signature of the discordant treaties between the Templars and the emir of Karac, and the Hospitallers with the sultan of Egypt. The English were astonished to find that the king of Navarre and the count of Brittany had fled from the plains of Syria, when they received intelligence of the departure of re-enforcements from Europe. The emir of Karac, too, could not fulfil his treaty, or even restore to the Templars the prisoners which had been made in the battle of Gaza. Richard marched to Jaffa, but as the sultan of Egypt (then at war with the sultan of Damascus) sent to offer him terms of peace, he prudently seized the benefits of negotiation. With the consent of the duke of Burgundy, the master of the Hospitallers, and other lords of high degree, he accepted a renunciation of Jerusalem, Beritus, Nazareth, Bethlehem, and mount Thabor, and most of the Holy Land. An exchange of prisoners was to cement the union. The earl of Cornwall retrograded to Acre, and unlike the king of Navarre, who left Palestine careless whether the Saracens observed or despised their treaty, Richard took such active measures that the sultan of Egypt immediately ratified the conditions. The great object of the Crusaders seemed now to be accomplished. Palestine belonged to the Christians. Richard returned to Europe, and was received in every town as the deliverer of the holy sepulchre. From neglect or inability he had not induced the Templars to consent to *his* completion of the hopes of the west: and in spleen and revenge the cavaliers renewed those unfraternal altercations with other knights which had hastened the ruin of the kingdom in the time of Saladin.*

The Hospitallers opened their treasury for the re-edification of the walls of Jerusalem. The patriarch and clergy entered the sacred city, and reconsecrated the churches.† For two years Christianity was the only religion administered in Jerusalem, and the faithful began to exult in the apparent permanent downfall of infidelity, when a new enemy arose more dreadful than even the Muselmans. The great Tartarian princes, Zingis Khan and his successors, had obliterated the vast empire of Korasm; and the expelled and defeated Tartars fled to the south. The storm rolled on towards Egypt, the Korasmians demanded a settlement; the sultan was the only Moslem prince who entered into treaties with those barbarians; and he advised them to fix themselves in Palestine.‡ He sent one of his principal

* This William Longespee was the son of the earl of Salisbury, who went to the Holy Land in 1219. The companion of the earl of Cornwall was never earl of Salisbury. He claimed the earldom, but right was not done him. Dugdale, Baronage, i. 777, and Brookes' Catalogue of Kings, &c. p. 296, fol. 1622. Both William Longespee and Richard earl of Cornwall were professed heresy extinguishers. In 1225 they assisted Louis in his wars against the Albigenses.

* M. Paris, 463, 470, 479. The public letter of Richard contains a narrative of the events of the Crusade, p. 503—505, 511, 534. Sanutus, lib. iii. pars. 11, cap. 16. William of Salisbury returned about a year after Richard. M. Paris, 516. It seems from the Arabic accounts that the sultan of Damascus, and not the sultan of Egypt, conceded Palestine to the Franks. Macrisi in Joinville, p. 234. It is, however, clear that the English were formidable as a third party between the two sultans, and that they made much of their political situation.

† M. Paris, 543. Macrisi in Joinville, 234.

‡ This is the occasion of the Korasmian war, as appears from a public letter of the clergy of the east to the clergy of the west, preserved in M. Paris, p. 566. The master of the Hospitallers (p. 548) says that the Korasmians were requested and commanded by the sultan to invade Palestine. The emperor Frederic (p. 546) charges the Templars with having violated the treaty which the earl of Cornwall had made with the sultan of Egypt, and traces to that cause the hostility of the Korasmians. Though every thing which fell from the emperor, respecting the Templars, must be received with suspicion, on account of his indignation against them for their conduct to the German or Teutonic knights.

emirs, and a large body of troops as their guides and coadjutors, and at the head of twenty thousand horses, Barbacan, the Korasmian general, entered the Holy Land. The Christians in Jerusalem heard with dismay that the Tartarian tempest had reached their territories. On the principle that it was wise to oppose one barbarian to another, the knights summoned the sultans of Elms and Damascus to overthrow the common enemy of mankind. But the requisition was not complied with, and it was evident from the ruined state of the walls that Jerusalem was no longer tenable. The cavaliers, and many of the inhabitants, abandoned the sacred city. The Korasmians entered it, spared neither lives nor property, and violated both Christian and Muselman sanctuaries. In the wantonness of cruelty they disinterred the departed great, and made a cremation of venerable remains. The insulting fanatics of savageness murdered priests round the altars, exclaiming, while they stabbed the holy men, "let us pour their blood on the place where they poured out wine in commemoration of their crucified God." As crafty as ferocious, they planted a banner of the cross upon the walls, and, deceived by this joyful appearance, several thousand of the fugitives returned to the city, but only to partake of the miserable doom of their friends.* The repeated solicitations of the Templars at length brought four thousand soldiers from their Syrian allies. The united Christian and Muselman forces were so far inferior to the Tartars, that policy required a course of measures perfectly defensive. But the fury of the patriarch precipitated the army into the gulf of destruction. The awful conflict raged for two days. The soldiers of Damascus and Elms were soon slain, or scattered. The loss of every part of the army was great, almost beyond example. Seldom had the Latins rued in one battle the death of the two grand-masters of St. John and the Temple. Only sixteen Hospitallers, thirty-three Templars, and three Teutonic cavaliers remained alive and free. These soldiers fled to Acre, and that city became the refuge of the Christians. After having razed the fortifications of Ascalon, and the castle of Tiberias, the Korasmians and Egyptians encamped on the plains of Acre, devastated the country, and slew or led into captivity all straggling Franks. Jaffa was next attacked, and Sir Walter de Brienne, lord of that city, who had been taken in the late battle, was exposed on a gallows to the view of the inhabitants, and they were assured of his continuance in that degrading situation until the castle should be surrendered. But the count in general self-oblivion urged his soldiers to the virtue of firmness, and added that no confidence could be placed in the promises of the furious and inexorable sultan. The gallant Walter was led as a captive to Cairo, and the Egyptians, incapable of admiring greatness, basely murdered their heroic and fallen foe. A united force of Korasmians and Mamelukes conquered Damascus, and Europe heard with dismay that the Muselman power was again consolidating. But the members were soon separated, for the sultan of Egypt, faithless as cruel, denied his allies a permanent settlement on the shores of the Nile. The soldiers of fortune flew to the banner of the Damascene prince, and assisted him in his efforts to recover his capital. But the cause of the Mamelukes was felt as the common interest of the Moslem world, and all Syria, as well as all Egypt, was in arms in order to exterminate the northern barbarians. In a general engagement the Korasmians were defeated and scattered. Barbacan was slain, and southern Asia recovered from its panic and distress.*

The superstition of a French king,

yet there can be little doubt that the red cross knights did commit such hostilities, for they were friends only with the sultan of Damascus and the emir of Karac. The emperor might be right in his facts, but he was certainly wrong in his conclusions, for no measures of the military orders could have prevented the Korasmians from ravaging and destroying Syria and Palestine.

* On this subject see the several letters in Matthew Paris, quoted in the last note; and Macrisi, p. 235. The narratives differ in some points respecting the mode of destruction; but the result is clear.

* Joinville, 209–211. Sanutus, lib. iii. pars. 12, cap. 2. De Guignes, livre 14. M. Paris, 599, and the letters already cited.

and the successes of the savage Korasmians, gave birth to the eighth Crusade. Pope Innocent IV. convoked a general council at Lyons; the bishop of Beritus described the effects of the Tartarian storm, and left his ecclesiastical brethren to conclude, whether one effort should not be made for a restoration of things to the state in which Richard earl of Cornwall had left them. It was accordingly resolved that a Crusade should be preached throughout Christendom, and that for four years peace and seriousness should reign over Europe. Such of the faithful as did not expose their persons in the holy cause were to give the subsidiary aid of treasure; and the contribution to be made by the cardinals was fixed at a tenth, and that of the other ecclesiastics at a twentieth part of their yearly revenues.*

The Pope wrote to Henry III. king of England, urging him to press on his subjects the necessity of punishing the Korasmians.† But the spirit of crusading raged more strongly in France than in any other country of the west; and it revived in all its fierceness of piety and chivalry in Louis IX. Agreeably to the temper of the times, he had vowed, whilst afflicted by a severe illness, that in case of recovery he would travel to the Holy Land.‡ In the delirium of his fever, he had beheld an engagement between the Christians and the Saracens; the infidels were victorious, and the brave king of a valiant nation fancied himself called upon to avenge the defeat.* The victories of the Korasmians were a realization of part of his dream, and his preparations had anticipated the decrees of the Lyonese council. The cross was likewise taken by the three royal brothers, the counts of Artois, Poitiers, and Anjou, by the duke of Burgundy, the countess of Flanders, and her two sons, the count of St. Paul, and many other knights.† By serious arguments and bland persuasions, the royal advisers endeavoured to turn their master from the perilous enterprise. But his warlike heroism and religious devotion were stimulated, rather than checked, at the thoughts of danger, and he burnt with the noble desire of wiping from his escutcheon the stains of the timidity of Louis VII. and Philip Augustus.‡ If it were the policy of the Syrian Muselmans to oppose the torrent of success of the sultan of Egypt and the Korasmians, the French, who saw almost all the Holy Land laid desolate, and who were on the point of being driven from it, were not less animated to defend a country, the conquest and possession of which had cost them so much blood. The interests of religion, the glory of their arms, the necessity of defending their colony in the east, and

* The usual privileges were granted to the Crusaders. M. Paris, p. 580--595, gives a full account of the proceedings of this council at Lyons. The subject is interesting to the English reader, on account of the spirited remonstrances of the English barons against the rapacity of the Romish church. The tax for the support of the Crusade was warmly opposed at the council, because the people remembered the way in which the Pope had applied their former contributions. M. Paris, 595.

† Rymer, i. 254, new edit.

‡ The crusade of St. Louis (the eighth crusade) has for its authorities M. Paris, the history of St. Louis, by Joinville, seneschal of Champagne; and Macrisi, the Oriental Chronicle and other Arabic historians, collected and translated by the Parisian editors of Joinville, 1761. Joinville, as a historian, is precisely of the same character as Villehardouin: and fortunately Charles Du Fresne Du Cange enriched both works with numerous and valuable notes. I shall generally quote Mr. Johnes' translation.

* This vow was made about the year 1244. Nangis and Chronicle of St. Denys, cited in Du Cange's notes. From the moment of his resolving to go to the Holy Land, St. Louis quitted all pomp of dress: he exchanged his purple for black, a royal for a religious habit. During the crusade he abstained from wearing scarlet, vair, or ermine. The example of the monarch gave efficacy to the laws regarding simplicity of dress, and the lord of Joinville assures us, that, during the whole time he was attending the king on his crusade, he never once saw an embroidered coat of arms. The French barons, however, when resident in Damietta, were less rigid in morality than in dress.

† M. Paris, 600, and Joinville.

‡ M. Paris tells a story singularly indicative of the king's zeal for a crusade: "One night during the Christmas festival (A. D. 1245), Louis caused magnificent crosses, fabricated by goldsmiths, to be sewn on the new dresses, which, as usual upon such occasions, had been bestowed upon the courtiers. The next day the cavaliers were surprised at the religious ornaments which had been affixed to their cloaks; piety and loyalty combined to prevent them from renouncing the honours which had been thrust upon them, and the good king obtained the title of the hunter for pilgrims and fisher for men."

the rights of property and old possession, naturally led them to new efforts.*

Sentiments of respect for the king of France were not felt in his country alone; the people of England revered his name, and avowedly in imitation of his example, the bishop of Salisbury, William Longespee,† Walter de Lucy, and many other English nobles and gentlemen, were crossed. William Longespee was, or feigned himself, poor, and went to Rome to solicit the aid of the Pope. "Your holiness sees that I am signed with the cross; my name is great and of note, William Longespee, but my fortune is not equal to the dignity of my family. The king of England, my relation, and liege lord, has bereft me of the title and estate of earl of Salisbury; but he has done this judicially, and not in his displeasure, or by the impulse of his will; therefore I cast no blame on him. But I am compelled to fly to your compassionate heart for aid in this distress. We see that the noble Richard, earl of Cornwall, although not signed with the cross, yet, through the favour of your holiness, has received large sums of money from those who are signed, and, therefore, I who am signed and in want, do entreat the like kindness." As the Englishman did not require the coffers of the Vatican, the Pope received him with favour, admired his eloquence and chivalric accomplishments, and gave him letters of license to plunder his crusading countrymen. Longespee returned to England, and extorted more than a thousand marks from the religious, while the less scrupulous or more powerful earl of Cornwall was insatiable in his avarice, and gained from one archdeacon alone, six hundred pounds.‡

Political circumstances§ detained St. Louis in France for three years; but the money and troops which he sent to the Holy Land invigorated the hopes of the Latin Christians. The ranks of the military orders were recruited by hired troops and regular knights from the different stations in Europe. In one endeavour to strengthen themselves, they failed. In former wars, the cavaliers who died on the field, and those who were made prisoners, were considered equally lost to the cause, for the order of which they were members never thought of ransoming their brethren. But at this exigent moment rules were made to bend to circumstances, and a deputation of the Hospitallers and Templars waited on the sultan of Egypt: but he rejected their offers of gold. He expressed his detestation of a perfidious class of men who would formerly have betrayed their emperor. "Their mutual animosity is stronger than their hatred of their enemies. The Templars and Hospitallers are both traitors and cowards. They violated the treaty which I made with the king of England's brother, whom they called, in contempt, the boy. In the last great battle their standard-bearer was the first man who fled. By the rules of military knights the capuce and girdle are all that should be offered as a ransom, and I will not strengthen their numbers by accepting their money. God has delivered them into my hands, and I will punish them." After this interview, the Egyptian ministers assured the envoys, that the only way of obtaining the release of their friends was the intercession of the emperor. The sultan loved and esteemed him, and the slightest expression of his will would be followed by immediate gratification.*

On the 12th of June, 1248, Louis, attended by his three brothers, went to the abbey of St. Denys, and received from the Pope's legate the oriflamme,†

* De Guignes, iv. 112. The songs of the minstrels reflected the opinion of the age; and we have evidence from a chanson of Rutebeuf, a French rhymer of the thirteenth century, that the world were not only weary of crusading, but saw the folly of it. The subject is discussed by a Crusader and a Non-crusader. See Appendix, Note, C c.

† The same William Longespee who had accompanied Richard, earl of Cornwall, to the Holy Land, in the year 1240.

‡ M. Paris, 638, 639.

§ M. Paris, 578, 645. The Pope and the king made the clergy of France, for three years, contribute a tenth of their revenues for the service of the crusade. M. Paris, 620.

* These interesting circumstances respecting the friendship between the emperor and the sultan of Egypt, are recorded by M. Paris, p. 610. In a letter of the sultan to the Pope, on the subject of a negotiation (a fruitless one) for peace, he mentions his own friendship and that of his father for the emperor. M. Paris, 621. See ante, p. 202.

† The oriflamme, or aurea flamma, was the

the alms' purse, and pilgrim's staff. He sailed from France at the end of August, and arrived in September at Cyprus, the appointed rendezvous for his barons and their vassals.* The king remained eight months in Cyprus, employed in organizing his troops, in works of piety, and particularly in healing the breaches in charity between the military orders. The Venetians and other people assisted the French with provisions; on one occasion the supplies of the emperor Frederic preserved the army, and the grateful king implored the Pope to absolve a man who had been benevolent to the soldiers of the church. The ambassadors of a Tartarian prince appeared before Louis, offering their master's aid to root the Saracens and Pagans out of the Holy Land. The king sent a magnificent present to his ally, in order to bribe him to become a Christian. Two black monks, who understood the Arabic language, were charged with the missionary office, and their eloquence and embroidered representation of some of the mysteries of Christianity were to effect the conversion of the Scythian savage and his court.* In the spring of the year 1249, the soldiers of Louis were mustered, and his ships prepared for sea; fifty thousand men formed his military force, and eighteen hundred was the number of his transports, palandars, and store ships. They set sail for Egypt; a storm separated the fleet; and the royal division, in which were nearly three thousand knights and their men at arms, arrived off Damietta.

The shores were lined by the sultan's troops, who astonished the French by the clangour of trumpets and brazen drums. The heralds of the king of France instantly went to the sultan, Nodgemeddin (a son of Camel) near Ashmoum, and spared no language of exaggeration in describing the power of their master. The only way to avoid the tempest was to receive priests who would teach the Christian religion to the people of Egypt:† otherwise he would pursue them every where, and God

banner of the abbot and monastery of St. Denys. It was carried by the counts of Vixen and Pontoise, who were the leaders of the vassals of that church till the reigns of Philip the First, or of his son Louis the Fat, who became counts of Vixen. From that time the French kings were protectors of the church of St. Denys, but, as the saint himself was protector of the kingdom, the king carried into the *public* wars the standard of him whose aid they invoked. In the time of Charles VII. the white ensign superseded the use of the oriflamme. The standard of St. Denys, like all other church banners, was slit in different parts from the bottom, ornamented with fringes, and fastened at the top of a pike by a cross bar that kept it extended. The lance was gilded, and the colour of the materials of the standard was red: from these circumstances the name of the Oriflamme was given to the standard. Menage, Dict. Etymol. and Du Cange, Dissert. 18.

* Among other noblemen who joined Louis, was the seneschal of Champagne, and about twenty knights. Before Joinville's ship left Marseilles, the priests and clerks on board chanted hymns, and the mariners set their sails in the name of God. When they were out of sight of land, the seneschal thought that a man must be a great fool, who should put himself into maritime dangers, who has wronged any one, or has any mortal sins on his conscience; "for when he goes to sleep in the evening, he knows not if in the morning he may not find himself under the sea." For two nights and a day they endeavoured to pass a huge mountain off Barbary. A discreet churchman relieved their distress, by the assurance, that in case of any unpleasant circumstance in his parish, all was set to rights by making a procession three times on a Saturday. This fact was mentioned on a Saturday, and accordingly a procession was made round the masts of the ship; such men as were ill were supported. Faith had its reward, for the mountain was soon loss sight of. Joinville, p. 116, 118.

* Joinville, 120.

† It was very seldom that the Christians thought of converting the Muselmans. When the sword failed, then they resorted to arguments. The occasion will excuse me from departing from chronological order, and saying, that in the year 1285, Pope Honorius IV. in his design to convert the Saracens to Christianity, wished to establish schools at Paris for the tuition of people in the Arabic and other oriental languages, agreeably to the intentions of his predecessors. In every subsequent project for a Crusade, it was always proposed to instruct the Saracens *sword in hand*. The council of Vienne in 1312 recommended the conversion of the infidels, and the re-establishment of schools, as the way to recover the Holy Land. It was accordingly ordered that there should be professors of the Hebrew, Chaldaic, and Arabic tongues in Rome, Paris, Oxford, Bologna, and Salamanca: and that the learned should translate into Latin the best Arabic books. It was not till the time of Francis I. that this decree was acted upon. He founded the royal college, and sent even into the east for books. See Du Boulay, Hist. de l'Université de Paris, tom. iii. page 472.

should decide on whom the country should be given. The sultan replied that he also knew the use of arms, and like the French, inherited valour. The cause of the Muselmans was that of justice; and the Koran declared, that they who made war unjustly should perish. The armies of the Christians might be more numerous than the Mameluke bands; but the word of God also said, "How often have most numerous armies been destroyed by a handful of soldiers!"*

Some of the knights wished to dissuade the king from landing, till the appearance of their brethren in arms: but the remembrance of the late storm made him dread further maritime dangers. Accordingly, on the second day after their arrival, Louis commanded the disembarkation: he himself leaped into the water; his shield was suspended from his neck, his helmet was on his head, and his lance on his wrist. His soldiers followed him to the shore; and the Saracens, panic-struck at their boldness and determination, made but a slight show of defence, and fled into the interior of the country. Although Damietta was better prepared for a siege than in those days when it had sustained an attack of eighteen months' duration, yet the garrison sought safety in the fleetness of their horses. They were received at Cairo with the indignation which their cowardice merited; and the sultan (who had repaired thither from Ashmoum) strangled fifty of the chiefs. The people of Damietta loaded themselves with their most valuable effects, set fire to the part of the city in which their merchandize and plunder were collected, and then took flight for Cairo.† Louis fixed his residence in the city; a Christian government was established; and the clergy, agreeably to old custom, purified the mosques. According to ancient usage, one-third part of the spoil should have been allotted to the general in chief, and the remaining portions had been usually divided among the pilgrims: but, at the suggestion of the patriarch of Jerusalem, Louis ordered that the corn and provisions should form a magazine for the common benefit of the army: and he retained to himself the rest of the moveable booty.*

Neither the religious character of the war, nor the importance of preserving military discipline, had any effect on the conduct of the holy warriors. The barons emulated each other in the splendour of their banquets, and the commonalty abandoned themselves to the lowest vices. So general was the immorality, that the king could not stop the foul and noxious torrent.† The Saracens effected that change which considerations of virtue could not accomplish: for their gradually accumulating force in the neighbourhood of Damietta made the Christians return to watchfulness and order. The hope of the reward of a piece of gold for an enemy's head, inspirited the Muselmans to many enterprises of difficulty and danger; but Louis prevented at length their incursions into his camp, for he surrounded it with deep ditches, and his cross-bow men galled the approaching parties of Muselman cavalry. The French looked with impatience for the count of Poitiers and the arriere ban of France, the remainder of the force which had sailed from Cyprus, and had been driven to Acre in the tempest.‡ At the recommendation of the seneschal of Champagne, the three processions of the worthy dean of Maura were ordered;§ and before the third Saturday the count of Poitiers reached Egypt; and, fortunately for him, says Joinville, he did not

* Macrisi, 239, &c.

† Joinville, 126, &c. Macrisi, 239, &c.

* This residue was not worth more than six thousand livres. Louis drew great obloquy to himself by dividing the plunder in a manner which the good old customs of the Crusades did not warrant. Joinville, 120—128.

† Les barons, chevaliers, et autres, qui deussent avoir bien gardé leur bien, et l'avoir espergné pour s'en secourir en lieu et en temps, se prindrent à faire grans banquets les ungs aux autres en habondance de viandes delicieuses. Et le commun peuple se print à forcer et violer femmes et filles. Dont de ce advint grant mal. Car il failut que le roy en donnant congié à tout plain de ses gens et officiers. Car ainsi que le bon roy me dist, il trouve jusques à ung gect de pierre prés et à l'entour de son paveillon plusieurs bordeaux, que ses gens tenoient. Et d'autres maulx y avoit plus, que en ost qu'il eust jamés veu. Joinville, Hist. du Roy Saint Loys, p. 32, edit. Paris, 1668.

‡ This is Joinville's account: he could scarcely have been mistaken in a matter of this nature: but Vincent de Beauvois and Nangis say that the count of Poitiers left France in the middle of August, and sailed direct to Damietta.

§ See note, p. 310, ante.

arrive earlier, for, during the space of the two preceding Saturdays, there had been such continued storms at sea before Damietta, that twelve score vessels, great and small, were wrecked and sunk, and their crews drowned.* The French also were joined by two hundred English knights, led by William Longespee, whose valour rose on every call to war against the Muselmans.† Some of the barons in the council at Damietta thought that it would be wise to attempt the city and port of Alexandria; but the count of Artois and the most enterprising spirits proposed that they should advance to Grand Cairo itself. The king adopted the opinions of his brother; and at the close of November, the army commenced its march to the capital of Egypt. Until their approach to the vicinity of Massoura, they overcame the open and insidious enmity of the Saracens. Soon after his departure from Damietta, the king accepted the proffered aid of five hundred horsemen of the sultan, and commanded his army to respect their guides. Vainly thinking that this order was inflexible to circumstances, the Saracens attacked the Templars, who formed the van of the army. But the valiant knights rallied round their grand master, and invoking God to aid them in this perilous conjuncture, they rushed upon and destroyed their treacherous foes. Sacedeen,‡ the Egyptian emir, and his army were encamped on the opposite side of the Ashmoum canal, which the French in vain endeavoured to cross. Under the cover of two chas-chateils they commenced a causeway over the canal: but the Saracens ruined in a day the work of a month; and even crossed the Nile by one of the passages which were familiar to them, and gave battle to the enemy. The counts of Anjou and Poitiers repulsed, but could not rout them; for their military machines enabled them to remain on the defensive.* The ships on the sea-coast were stripped of all their spare timbers; and, at an immense cost, two new chas-chateils were erected. But on the very day they were set up, the Saracens burnt them with the Greek fire.† The Christians had now no hope of passing the canal by means of a causeway; but their despair was relieved by a Bedoween, who offered, for the recompense of five hundred besants, to show them a ford. The impetuous count of Artois offered to effect a passage, and, with the aid of the two military orders, to secure the march of the army. He was entrusted with the important charge; and, at the head of fourteen hundred knights, and William Longespee and his troops, he followed the steps of the guide. They threw themselves into the water; and, after having overcome some slight resistance of the Turks, mounted the opposite bank. The count pursued the foes even as far as their camp. Fortune accompanied his steps, and the infidels fled. Some concealed themselves for a while in Massoura, and many sought remote distances. If the count of Artois had listened to the counsels of the leaders of the military friars and red-cross knights, he would not have advanced from the river until the main body of the army arrived. By sad experience they knew that bravery and cowardice were perpetually vacillating in the breasts of the Turks, and that fury generally succeeded panic. The sight of Massoura, deserted by many of its inhabitants, could not be viewed with calmness; and ardent heroism regarded prudence as the mask of pusillanimity. To the representations of the grand master of the Templars, that the flight of the Turks proceeded only

* Joinville, 130, &c.

† M. Paris, 644, 678. While Longespee was in the Holy Land, Henry III. at the instigation of the Pope, had the Crusade preached in England, and wrote to the Irish bishops, desiring them to preach it in their respective dioceses. The result does not appear. Rymer, i. 274.

‡ Nodgemeddin died shortly before the Christians left Damietta. Sacedeen was only the commander of the Egyptian forces, whom the widow of the late sultan and her friends had appointed. Every thing was done in the name of Nodgemeddin, because his son, Toorun Shah, was not arrived. Sacedeen's military qualities had gained him the honour of knighthood from the emperor Frederic.

* The torrents of Greek fire alarmed the Christians, and destroyed their cats. A terrified spectator described this fire as in appearance like a large tun; and its tail was of the length of a long spear: the noise which it made resembled thunder; and it seemed a great dragon of fire flying through the air. Joinville speaks of the Greek fire as if it had been hitherto unknown to the Franks. On the contrary, the Turks had used it even in the first Crusade.

† Joinville, 134—138.

from an accidental alarm, and not a permanent impression of terror, the count replied, that such an opinion could only spring from treachery. "It is not without reason," he continued, "that we have been repeatedly told that the Templars, and Hospitallers, to show their own importance, and to exhaust the coffers of Europe, prevent a conclusion from being put to the war. For fear of being subject to the western kings, they have either poisoned many lords and princes, or delivered them into the hands of the enemy. Who is there that does not know with what difficulty the emperor Frederic escaped their snares and ambushes?" In a noble manner of mixed dignity and indignation, the Christian knights replied, "Do you think, great prince, that we have abandoned our fortunes and homes, that we have taken the religious habit in a strange land, only to betray the cause of God, and to lose our own salvation?" "Display your banner," exclaimed the master of the Templars to his standard-bearer, "arms and death must decide our fate and honour. We were invincible while we were united; but a spirit of division will destroy us." William Longsword interposed with the language of conciliation, urging the claims to attention which the experienced grand master possessed: but opposition still further inflamed the rage of the count; and, in the delirium of passion, he transgressed the bounds of chivalrous courtesy. "Behold the cowardice," he exclaimed, "of those men who wear tails.* How happy it would be for us if the army were quit of them." Longsword would not show that he felt the insult, and mildly, yet firmly, observed, "Count Robert, I will go so far in danger to-day, that you shall not even dare to touch the tail of my horse." The soldiers rushed into Massoura; and heroic envy mocked at discipline and co-operation. But the enemy seeing their squadrons scattered, recovered courage; and the green standard of the prophet was raised in sign of ferocious hostility. With all the appalling din of Tartarian war, the Mamelukes burst upon the French. The count of Artois rallied his forces in the town. The Egyptian chief invested Massoura; and, with ability equal to his spirit, placed a body of troops in such a station, as to intercept the communication between the count and the king. The soldiers in Massoura engaged the French. The inhabitants partook of the perils of the day, and poured upon their enemy, with deadly effect, burning coals, boiling water, and stones. The count survived not to witness all the dreadful issues of his rashness. William Longespee and a numerous band of gallant men also perished.* The grand master of St. John fell into the enemy's hands; and the master of the Templars was happy in escaping with the loss of an eye. On the side of the enemy Sacedeen was slain; but his station was quickly filled by a chief of equal bravery and conduct. The king and his army crossed the ford, and prevented the total rout of the Christians. His battle-axe and German sword† dealt death wherever they fell. The valiant master of the Templars was slain in this renewed engagement. Egyptian and Christian annalists have claimed the honour and rewards of victory for their respective sides; but in truth the result of the battle appears to have been indecisive.‡ The Saracens, however, cut off all communications between St. Louis and Damietta. Famine and disease appeared in the Christian camp, and the French described the latter of these evils as having sprung from a pestilential air emitted from the dead bodies of their friends and foes, and from eating eel pouts which had fed on corpses in the river.§ Negotiations for peace were

* See note D d.

* Joinville places the number that the French lost at three hundred knights: the Oriental Chronicle says one thousand four hundred. According to M. Paris, p. 686, of the military orders, only three Templars, four Hospitalians, and three Teutonic knights survived.

† The German swords were usually long, and are mentioned in opposition to the short swords of the French. Du Cange on Joinville, 328.

‡ Joinville, 155. Macrisi, 247.

§ From this poisonous diet, "and from the bad air of a country where it scarcely ever rains, the whole army was infected by a shocking disorder, which dried up the flesh on one's legs to the bone, and our skins became tanned as black as the ground, or like an old boot that has long lain behind a coffer. In addition to this miserable disorder, those afflicted by it had another sore complaint in the mouth, from eating eel pouts that rotted the gums. Very few escaped death that were attacked, and the surest symp-

opened between the contending powers, and the exchange of the lordship of Jerusalem for that of Damietta formed the basis of the treaty. The king offered either of his brothers as a hostage for the delivery of Damietta to the Egyptians; but the sultan objected, and all hopes of peace were abandoned, because the Christians would not consent to the delivery of their king as the hostage. The miserable condition of the French army not only forbad all thoughts of victory, but imperatively called for a retreat to Damietta. The retreat was ordered; but those who attempted it by the river were taken by the enemy, and the fate of such as proceeded by land was equally disastrous. While they were occupied in constructing a bridge over the canal, the Muselmans entered the camp and murdered the sick. The valiant Louis, though oppressed with the general calamity of disease, sustained boldly, with Sir Godfrey de Sergines, the shock of the enemy, and threw himself into the midst of them, resolved to perish in defending his troops. The brave Sergines, who never left him, succeeded at last in drawing him from the foe, and conducted him to a village, where his lassitude and wounds sunk him into insensibility and helplessness. In that state the Muselmans made him prisoner. Charles, count of Anjou, Alphonsus of Poitiers, and indeed all the nobility fell into the enemy's hands. The sultan clothed the king and the nobles with robes of honour, and treated them with kindness and generosity.* But many of the unfortunate men who were ill, and therefore useless, were killed by their new masters, in defiance of the command of Saladin, and the general usage of oriental nations, not to put to death any one to whom they had given bread and salt. Other prisoners saved their lives by renouncing their religion; the Saracenic commander indulged the fanaticism of his people by allowing the converts to be received, though he well remembered the sage remark of Saladin, that a Christian was never known to make a good Moslem, nor a good Saracen a Christian.* So great were the calamities of the French in this attempted retreat, that twenty thousand were made captives, and seven thousand were slain or drowned.

As a ransom for the noble prisoners the sultan offered to accept of some of the baronial castles in Palestine, or those which belonged to the Templars and Hospitalians. But the King and his peers replied that the liege lord, the emperor of Germany, would never consent that a Pagan or Tartar should hold any fief of him; and that no cession of the property of the knights could be made, for the governors of their castles swore on their investiture that they would never surrender their charge for the deliverance of any man. The king was even threatened with torture, but as the Muselmans saw in him no symptoms of fear on which they could work, they proposed to make a pecuniary ransom. Louis offered to pay ten thousand golden besants, which were equal to five hundred thousand livres, for the deliverance of his army, and that as the royal dignity could not be estimated by a vulgar scale, he would for his own freedom surrender the city of Damietta.† The sultan was liberal in the fulness of his joy at such a completion of his victories, and remitted

toms of its being fatal was a bleeding at the nose."—"The barbers were obliged to cut away large pieces of flesh from the gums to enable the patient to eat. It was pitiful to hear the cries and groans of those on whom the operation was performed: they seemed like to the cries of women in labour, and I cannot express the great concern all felt who heard them." Joinville, 159, 162.

* Joinville, 162, &c. De Guignes, iv. 117, 119. After saying that he was taken prisoner, the seneschal of Champagne describes his feelings on the occasion. "I soon began to tremble, so that my teeth chattered as well from the fright I had as from the disorder." Joinville, 166.

* Joinville, 170. "Pure Paganism and native infidelity, like white cloth, will take the tincture of Christianity; whereas the Turks are soiled and stained with the irreligious religion of Muhammedanism, which first must with great pains be scoured out of them." Fuller's Holy War, book 4, ch. 3.

† The king at first said, if the sultan would be contented with a reasonable ransom, he would write to the queen to pay it for himself and his army. The Saracens inquired the reason of his wish for this preliminary. He answered that it was but reasonable he should consult with the queen, for she was his wife and companion. Joinville, 173. The treaty, however, was concluded without her knowledge. She quitted Damietta for Acre soon after the captivity of the king.

a fifth part of the pecuniary ransom.* Peace was to continue for ten years between the Muselmans and the Christians, and the Franks were to be restored to those privileges in the kingdom of Jerusalem, which they enjoyed before the landing of Louis at Damietta. The repose which succeeded the treaty was interrupted by the murder of the sultan; but after a few acts of hostility the successful emirs, and their Mamelukes, renewed with a few changes the conditions of amity.† One moiety of the ransom was to be discharged before the king left the river, and the other on his arrival at Acre. The sick at Damietta, with the stores and baggage, were to be retained by the sultan till the last portion of the ransom should be paid. Damietta was accordingly surrendered. But the Mamelukes were more savage and unprincipled than any preceding enemies of the Latin name. They burnt all the military engines, murdered the sick, and some of the most ferocious thirsted for the blood of the Christian potentates. They concealed their malignity under the mask of piety, and declared that as they had committed a sin by destroying their sultan, whom by their law they should have guarded as the apple of their eye, so their religion would be injured if they suffered a Christian king to live. But other chiefs disdained any compromise with vice, and refused to participate in an act which never could be blotted from the records of time. The counsels of justice prevailed, and the Christians were relieved from their fears that a treaty would not be acted upon. The earls of Flanders and Brittany, the count of Soissons, and others embarked for France. The royal treasure at Damietta could not furnish the stipulated portion of the ransom. The new grand master of the Templars opposed the institutes of his order to the king's request for a loan of the funds of the society, and contended that he could not divert them from their regular and appointed purposes. But state necessity trampled over mere statutable forms, and the chest of the Templars was seized by the royal officers. The king's person was redeemed, and the French went to Acre.*

Before Louis could determine to what part of the holy regions before him he would direct his march, political news from France compelled him to inform his council, that he was divided between his duty to Europe, and his ardent wish to perfect the glorious work which he had begun. The cause of Palestine was the paramount principle in the breasts of the French lords: some of them urged the propriety of his return to the west, for the purpose of recruiting the sinews of war; others presumed to think that his private treasures were not in the exhausted condition of the state finances, and that stipendiaries could be hired in Greece. "My lords," said the king, "I feel equally thankful to those who have advised our return to France, as to those who have recommended our stay in the Holy Land. But, I believe, that should we remain here, the dangers of my kingdom will not, for that reason, increase; for my lady mother, the queen, has a sufficiency of men at arms to defend it. I have thought much on what the knights of the country say, that if I depart, the kingdom of Jerusalem will be lost, since no one will remain here after me. Now, my lords, having told my resolution, let such speak out boldly as wish to continue with me; my treasures shall support them. God be with those that may not choose to stay." Many of the council were astonished at this resolution of the king, and were

* Du Cange, 20th Dissert. on Joinville. Le Blanc (cited in L'Art de vérifier les Dates, 1. 584) makes the ransom of St. Louis equivalent to seven millions of livres modern French money.

† The lord of Joinville, and some others, expected instant death from a party of Saracens that entered their galley. "With regard to myself, (he says,) I fell on my knees at the feet of one of them; and, making the sign of the cross, said, 'Thus did St. Agnes.' Sir Guy d'Ibelin, constable of Cyprus, knelt beside me, and confessed himself to me, and I gave him such absolution as God was pleased to grant me the power of bestowing; but of all the things he said to me, when I rose, I could not remember one of them." Joinville, 176.

* The expedition of St. Louis into Egypt resembles in many respects the war in Egypt thirty years before. In both cases the Christian armies were encamped near the entrance of the Ashmoum canal; they could not advance, and the surrender of Damietta was the price of safety. The errors of the cardinal Pelagius seem not to have been recollected by St. Louis.

divided in their patriotism and their allegiance.*

The sultan of Damascus, a relation of the murdered Egyptian lord, solicited the aid of Louis to revenge the murder, and stimulated his virtue by the promise, that, in the event of victory, he would deliver to the Christians the city of Jerusalem.† The king replied, that he would send to the Mamelukes at Damietta, to know whether they would repair their violations of the treaty, and that, in case of their refusal, he would assist the sultan of Damascus. On intelligence of this negotiation, the people of Damietta restored to the king all the knights and common soldiers whom they had detained in prison. Louis wisely profited by circumstances, and declared that he would not enter upon a truce with the Egyptians, until they had absolved him from the payment of the remaining moiety of the ransom, and restored to him the heads of those Christians on the walls of Cairo, who had fallen in the battle near Massoura, and such Christian children as they had forced to become Muselmans.‡ The emirs and Mamelukes complied with these terms, and, on condition of the alliance of the French king, they engaged to deliver up to him Jerusalem itself. Louis remained a year at Cesarea, and rebuilt its houses and repaired its fortifications.§ Jaffa was the next object of his care, and, in the course of time, he enclosed it with walls, and made its strength equal to its importance. The numerous forces of the sultan of Damascus prevented the Mamelukes from joining the king; but his allies returned to him the heads of the slain, and also the children that he had demanded. The war between the Egyptians and Syrians had raged with dreadful violence, and with various success, till they buried their mutual animosities in the common detestation of the French. By the mediation of the caliph, the Muselmans made peace; Egypt and Jerusalem were to belong to the Mamelukes; and the countries beyond the Jordan to the sultan of Syria.* But the united infidels did not pursue their schemes of destruction with that vigour and ability which had distinguished the fierce and dreadful movements of Noureddin and Saladin. They might have swept the feeble and exhausted Christians from the shores of Palestine; but they merely ravaged the country round Acre; and then proceeded to Sajecte, in whose strong castle were Louis and most of the army. The blood and property of the citizens satisfied the Moslems, who departed without trying the valour of the French in garrison.

Perpetual disappointment gradually desiccated the spring of hope, and the king turned his mind to France. His friends marked his change of purpose,† and news from Europe of the death of his royal mother, the regent of his king-

* Joinville, 188, 191. On every affection of the mind, the warriors in Villehardouin and Joinville shed tears. They were as great weepers as Homer's heroes.

† Joinville, 193.

‡ Joinville, 198, 199, 216.

§ The military force of Louis did not much exceed four thousand men. The king's two brothers returned to Europe; and, in order to retain a respectable army; Louis was obliged to be liberal of his treasure. Thirty-five knights banneret of Champagne were killed in various battles of Egypt. The king retained the remainder of Joinville's force, during six months, for two thousand livres. Afterwards, Joinville declared that "he would not take any more of his money, but would offer other terms; which were, that Louis would promise never to fly into a passion for any thing which might be said to him by the seneschal, who, in return, would engage to keep his temper whenever any of his requests were refused." Joinville, 192, 205. The general rates of pay in the French army, were, for a knight banneret, twenty sous tournois a-day; that of knights, bachelors, and esquires banneret, ten sous each; that of simple esquires, five sous; of gentlemen on foot, two sous; of serjeants on foot, twelve deniers; and of cross-bow men, fifteen deniers. Du Cange, Diss. ix.

* De Guignes, livre xxi. Joinville, 212.

† Joinville relates a story somewhat amusing, expressive of his own good-humoured cunning. Previously to the arrival of the news mentioned in the text, he went on a pilgrimage to our lady of Tortosa, who performed all manner of miracles, except when she was busy in assisting the French king. Louis had desired the seneschal to purchase some camlets, which he wished to give the Cordeliers in France. Joinville fancied that this wish proceeded from an inclination to return, but he kept his conjectures in his own bosom, and, when the purchase had been made, and some knights asked him what he meant to do with so many camlets, the old soldier satisfied inquiry, by professing that he should turn merchant, and should endeavour to gain a profit by the resale of the camlets.

dom, made him openly proclaim his resolution to return. The patriarch and barons of Palestine offered him their humble thanks and praise for the great good and honour he had conferred on the Holy Land; and, shortly after Easter, he embarked for the west. Louis IX. gathered no new laurels in his transmarine expedition. All that was great and chivalric in France had been spread out in martial array, and had met with little else than discomfiture and defeat.*

CHAPTER XVI.

THE LAST CRUSADE, AND LOSS OF THE HOLY LAND.

State of Palestine after the eighth Crusade.—War between the Templars and Hospitallers.—Progress of the Mamelukes of Egypt in the conquest of Palestine.—History of Antioch.—Antioch taken by the Egyptians.—Louis IX. prepares for his second Crusade.—Crusading spirit in England.—Departure of Louis from France for the Holy Land.—He disembarks near Tunis.—His death.—Prince Edward leaves England.—He passes the winter in Sicily.—Arrives at Acre.—Captures Nazareth.—His cruelty.—Distresses of the English.—Edward wounded by an assassin.—He makes peace with the Mamelukes, and returns to England.—Vain effort of Gregory IX. for a new Crusade.—Council of Lyons.—Further progress of the Mamelukes.—Last Siege of Acre, and total loss of Palestine.

All the blood which had been shed, and all the treasure which France had lavished for the crusade of St. Louis, did not long preserve the Christians in Palestine from the hostilities of the Muselmans, and, as no new succours arrived from Europe, the barons and knights were compelled, in some cases, to keep within the shelter of their fortresses, and at other times to make disadvantageous treaties with their foe.* Although it was evident that nothing but unanimity in the holy warriors could preserve the remnants of the kingdom of Godfrey of Bouillon from annihilation, yet the Christians wasted their strength in party collisions, instead of watching the politics of the Saracenian courts, and gathering those branches of power which their enemies,† in their ambitious feuds, continually broke from the tree of Islamism. The haughty republicans of Italy would never enter into any common bond of union, and the Venetians, the Pisans, and the Genoese had frequent hostile encounters, respecting the possession of churches to which each nation asserted her claims.‡ The two great military orders only forgot their mutual jealousies, when in the field they were opposed to the Muselmans; but, in every interval of peace, the knights, incapable of any exertions or thoughts but those which war inspired, gratified their arrogance and restlessness in disputes touching military prowess and precedency. As reason did not give birth to those altercations, she did not control the decision. The jealousy and rancour of the Hospitalians and red-cross knights was frequently aggravated by irregular skir-

* In the course of Louis's stay at Jaffa, the sultan of Damascus sent him permission to visit Jerusalem. The king ardently desired to behold the sacred places, and was slow in allowing considerations of policy to conquer selfish feelings. The reason which dissuaded him from the journey, was, that if he should perform a pilgrimage to Jerusalem without delivering it from the enemies of God, every subsequent crusading monarch would think a similar proceeding sufficient, and would not consider himself obliged to perform more than what the king of France had done. St. Louis was also reminded, that Richard Cœur de Lion refused to behold Jerusalem as a pilgrim.

* M. Paris, 785.

† The divisions among the Latins in Palestine were a fruitful source of public calamity. They are noticed by all the writers contemporaneous with, and immediately subsequent to, the Crusaders, as productive of the ruin of the kingdom. The general opinion of Europe on the history of Palestine, is expressed by Petrarch:—

Poi venía solo il buon duce Goffrido,
Che fè l' impressa santa, e i passi giusti.
Questo, di ch' io mi sdegno e 'ndarno grido,
Fece in Gierusalem con le sui mani
Il mal guardato e già negletto nido.
Ite, superbi e miseri Christiani,
Consumando l' un l' altro, e non vi caglia,
Che 'l Sepolcro di Cristo è in man di cani.
Del Trionfo della Fama, cap. ii.

The twenty-third sonnet and the second canzonet of Petrarch are fine pieces of poetry, and interesting proofs of the author's crusading zeal.

‡ Chron. F. Pipini in Muratori, Scrip. Rer. Ital. ix. 712. James de Vitry marks with severity the money-getting and jealous passions of the Italian republicans. P. 1089 in Bongarsius.

mishes, and, at length, the kindred squadrons met in a general engagement. Victory sat on the helms of the cavaliers of St. John: few prisoners were taken, and scarcely a Templar escaped alive.* But new companions from Europe gradually filled the places of the deceased brethren. New occasions demanded all their valour and skill, and civil discord was lost amidst the more honourable war with the real enemies of the state. A blood-stained revolution in Egypt had placed the Mameluke chief Bibers, or Bendocdar,† on the throne of that country; he was well disposed to lead his savage Mamelukes against the Christians; and his ferocity did not want the excitement which the military orders gave it, of refusing, contrary to treaty, to deliver to him some Muhammedan prisoners.‡ His soldiers, as savage as the Korasmians, demolished the churches of Nazareth, and the fortress and church on Mount Thabor. They made their way to the gates of Acre with fire and sword, and such of the Christians as were immediately slain were not so much objects of compassion as the prisoners, on whom the Turks inflicted every description of torture, in order to force a change of religion. Though Acre itself was saved for a few years, yet Cesarea did not escape the wide-spreading calamities.§ Through these dreadful scenes the military orders fought with their usual heroism, and in the sieges of the strong fortresses of Azotus and Saphoury, the spirit of devotion which they manifested to their cause had never been equalled. The small force of ninety Hospitallers held possession of the former of these places. The number gradually diminished on each renewed assault, and when the Turks mounted the breech, they trampled on the bodies of the last of the knights. After ravaging the neighbourhood of Acre, Tyre, and Tripoli, the Egyptians laid siege to the fortress of Saphoury. The fall of that place was inevitable, and the prior of the Templars therefore agreed to capitulate, and, on the surrender being made, the knights and garrison, altogether amounting to six hundred men, were to be conducted to the next Christian town. The sultan was invested with lordship over the fortress, but he violated the conditions of the surrender, and left the knights only a few hours to determine on the alternative of death or conversion to Islamism. The Prior and two Franciscan monks were earnest in fixing the faith of the religious cavaliers, and, at the appointed time for the declaration of their choice, they unanimously avowed their determination to die rather than incur the dishonour of apostacy. The decree for the slaughter of the Templars was pronounced and executed; and the three preachers of martyrdom were flead alive.*

Before we continue our view of the calamities of Palestine, a retrospect must be taken of a principality whose fate was closely connected with that of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem. Bohemond IV. continued to be the reputed lord of Antioch, from the years 1206† till the time of his death in 1233. But for many years during this interval he did not exercise any royal authority, for he was a tyrant, and was both hated by the people and excommunicated by the clergy. His nephew Rupin, and the right heir, was aided by the papal legate, who was present at the great siege of Dalmietta, in the year 1218, and made several attempts to recover his thrones of Antioch and Tripoli; but he died some years before Bohemond, in a prison at Tarsus, into which he had been cast by Constantius, nominal regent of Antioch, and guardian of Isabella, daughter and successor of Livon, king of Armenia. From Bohemond IV. and his first wife Plaisance, daughter of the lord of Gabala, Bohemond V. descended. To him succeeded Bohemond VI. It does not appear that the family of the Bohemonds were entire masters of the principality and county from the year 1233 till their absorption in the Egyptian power. It is certain that Bohemond V. was reigning over Antioch and Tripoli in 1244, when he became tributary to the Korasmians: and that in 1253 Bohemond VI. was made a knight by St. Louis, and was considered

* M. Paris, 846.

† The full name of this gentleman was Al Malek al Dhaker Rokneddin Abulfeth Bibars al Alai al Bundokdari al Saheli.

‡ De Guignes, livre xxi.

§ Sanutus, lib. iii. c. vii.

* De Guignes, liv. xxi.

† See p. 190, ante.

lawful prince of Antioch, though he was a minor, and under his mother's tutelage. But it is equally certain that at times, from 1233 to 1288, Frederic* and Conrad, a son and grandson of the emperor Frederic II. had possession of all or part of the states of Antioch and Tripoli.†

We may now resume the thread of the general history. Jaffa and the castle of Beaufort were the Mameluke conquests which succeeded in point of time to those of Azotus and Saphoury.‡ The tempest at length burst upon the state of Antioch; and the city of that principality yielded without even the formality of a siege.§ The reproach of treachery is alternately cast upon the patriarch and the inhabitants; and heavy is the disgrace of causing an event which occasioned the destruction of forty thousand, and the captivity of one hundred thousand Christians. Bibars ravaged the country round Tyre; but being equally religious as cruel, he gave the Franks a respite by pilgrimizing to the holy places in Arabia. He soon, however, resumed his fell purpose of exterminating the Christians; Laodicea and many other places submitted to him; and the knights of St John gained immortal honour by their brave, though fruitless, defence of the fortress of Karac, between Arca and Tortosa.‖ The prince of Tripoli preserved his title by the sacrifice of half of his territory. Acre was saved in consequence of the reported succour of the king of Cyprus. Bibars returned to Cairo, hastily fitted out a fleet for the conquest of the island, which was without the presence of its monarch. But his ships were lost in a tempest; Cairo was overwhelmed with sorrow, and none of his efforts could re-establish affairs.*

Before the news of the capture of Antioch reached Europe, the people of the west had contemplated a new crusade. St. Louis thought that his first expedition to the Holy Land brought more shame on France than good on the Christian cause; and he feared that his own personal fame had withered. The Pope encouraged his inclination for a new attempt; and, in a general assembly of prelates, nobility, and people at Paris, the king exhorted his hearers to revenge the wrongs which Christ had so long suffered.† England was at that time in a state of repose, and her martial youth were impatient of indolence. The king held a parliament at Northampton; the legate of the Pope acquainted the assembly of the necessity of preserving what yet remained to the Christians of the Holy Land; and prince Edward, with the earls of Warwick and Pembroke, received the holy ensign from his hands.‡ The assumption of the cross by the heir of the English throne spread great joy throughout France. He was invited to Paris; the co-operation of the English and French was determined upon; and Louis lent his youthful ally thirty thousand marks on the security of the customs of Bourdeaux.§ The prelates and clergy of England agreed to contribute a tenth of their revenues for three years; and, by a parliamentary ordinance, a twentieth part was taken from the corn and moveables which the laity possessed at Michaelmas. A crusade had for many years been popular in England. During the first expedition of St. Louis, and soon after the departure of William Long-

* Prince Frederic was the illegitimate son of the emperor Frederic II. Whether the mother of this prince was an Armenian or Antiochean princess, is very doubtful. If the former, she might have been the daughter of Haiton, king of Armenia; but if the latter, it is almost impossible to conjecture her family history. Prince Frederic was frequently called Prince of Antioch, a title he would have claimed in either case, for the lordship over Antioch was boasted of by the Bohemonds, and also by the Armenian chiefs. Giannone, Istoria di Napoli, lib. 17, ch. 6. Henninges, Theatrum Genealogicum, tom. iv., pars. 1, p. 47, pars. 3, p. 462. Haiton, Hist. Orient. Appendix.

† A very thick cloud hangs over the history of Antioch; and few writers have taken the trouble of endeavouring to pierce it. See M. Damiani's Essay on the Vicissitudes of Antioch during the time of the Crusades in the fifteenth volume of the Archæologia.

‡ Sanutus, lib. 3, pars. 12, c. 6, 8. Plagon, p. 737.

§ Sanutus, lib. 3, pars. 12, c. 9. De Guignes, vol. iv. p. 143.

‖ Sanutus, lib. 3, pars. 14, cap. 2.

* De Guignes, livre 21.

† William of Nangis, in the fifth volume of Du Chesne, p. 384, &c. After the king's return from Palestine, he was more simple in his dress than ever; and he gave up the luxuries of gilt spurs and stirrups. Joinville, 233.

‡ Waverly in Gale, vol. ii. p. 225.

§ Wikes, 290. Cont. of M. Paris, 857. See the treaty between Louis and Edward, in Rymer, i. 481.

sword, Henry III. engaged to fight under the sacred banners. But he was slow in preparing to go to the Holy Land; and the public murmured the suspicion that he had only assumed the cross as a pretence for collecting money. Avowing that duty to a heavenly master was paramount to allegiance to a king of earth, they who had taken the badge of fellowship met at Bermondsey, near London, in order to unite their counsels and resolves. It was found that five hundred knights had been crossed; and the number of inferior people could not be counted. The holy warriors resolved to commence their voyage at Midsummer; but the king had anticipated all their proceedings; and he declared that if they dared to march without him, the thunders of the Vatican should be hurled against them. Some people submitted to, and others clamoured at, this menance of papal interference; and the religious ardour of the most enthusiastic was cooled by the king's delays, and the news of the disastrous events in Egypt. The Pope and king were deaf to the reproaches of the French nation, that indifference to Christianity could be the only motive for obstructing the pious wishes of the English people.* The king's poverty was ever the alleged cause of his remissness; and two years after his dissolution of the association of English knights, he endeavoured to extort money from the clergy, on the pretence of a journey to Syria. But they resisted his demands; reproached him with avarice and violation of oaths; and warned him of the fate of St. Louis, who was at that time in the hands of the Saracens.* But the military spirit of the people rose above the calculating duplicity of the king; and though he disregarded, yet they were deeply affected by the appeals and entreaties which the clergy, barons, and military orders made to him to perform his engagement with God.†

Anticipating the laurel of victory, or the crown of martyrdom, St. Louis spread his sails for the Holy Land.‡ Sixty thousand soldiers were animated by their monarch's feelings of religious and military ardour; and we may remark among the leaders the lord of Flanders, Champagne, and Brittany, whose ancestors had so often distinguished themselves for martial spirit and ability in fighting the battles of the cross. The fleet was driven into Sardinia; and at that place a great change was made in the plan of operations. The king of Tunis had formerly sent ambassadors to Louis, and expressed a wish to embrace the only true religion. His Christian ally thought that the presence of a large army would prevent the Moors from offering any violence to the inclinations of the king. Northern Africa had formerly paid a pecuniary tribute to the sovereign of the two Sicilies; and Charles of Anjou, the reigning monarch, concealing his selfishness under the garb of piety and justice, strongly urged his brother to restore the rights of Christendom. The soldiers, too, now more greedy of plunder and revenge than zealous in bigotry, entreated to be led to Tunis, a city that popular rumour had described as abounding in wealth, and which, as the faithful friend of Egypt, had long been hated by Europe. The subjugation of the Muselmans in Africa was declared to be a necessary preliminary to success in Palestine; the French

* M. Paris, 670, 671. "About this time (1250) many thousands of the English were resolved for the holy war, and would needs have been gone, had not the king strictly guarded his ports, and kept his kingdom from running away out of doors. The king promised he would go with them; and hereupon got a mass of money from them for this journey. Some say that he never intended it, and that this only was a trick to stroke the skittish cow to get down her milk. His stubborn subjects said that they would tarry for his company till Midsummer, and no longer. Thus they weighed out their obedience with their own scales, and the king stood to their allowance. But hearing of the ill success of the French, both prince and people altered their resolution, who had come too late to help the French in their distress, and too soon to bring themselves into the same misery." Fuller, History of the Holy War, book iv. ch. 17.

* M. Paris, 717, 720, &c.

† Rymer, i. 308. 321. In 1252, however, Henry wrote to the three great military orders, that he would go to the Holy Land at the end of four years, i. 282.

‡ Like the two preceding Crusaders, the ninth and last great transmarine expedition was partly composed of Englishmen and partly of Frenchmen. My authorities are Sanutus, William de Nangis, Matthew of Westminster, Wikes, the chronicle of Mailros, Hemingford, the continuation of Matthew Paris, and Abulfeda.

soon reached the first object of their hopes; and the camp and town of Carthage* were the earliest rewards of victory. But every sanguine expectation was damped when a pestilential disease spread its ravages through the Christian ranks. The great stay of the Crusades fell. During his illness Louis ceased not to praise God, and supplicate for the people whom he had brought with him. He became speechless; he then gesticulated what he could not utter: he perpetually made signs of the cross, stretched himself on the floor, which was covered with ashes; and in the final struggle of nature he turned his eyes to Heaven, and exclaimed, "I will enter thy house, I will worship in thy sanctuary."†

Before this calamitous event, prince Edward, Edmund Crouchback, earl of Lancaster, four earls, four barons, and the English division, had not only arrived in Africa, but had left it for Sicily, in despair that their French compeers would ever march to Palestine.‡ The defection of his allies would have justified prince Edward in returning to England: but he embraced the prospect of undivided glory; and he swore that although all his soldiers should desert him, he would go to Acre attended only by his groom. The winter season was passed by him in military exercises, and in the various occupations of chivalry, and in the following spring he turned his prow up the Mediterranean, and arrived at Acre. The whole of the forces of Edward did not exceed one thousand men. But the prowess of the Plantagenets was dreaded by the Muselmans; and they feared that another Cœur de Lion was come to scourge them. The sultan of Egypt departed from the vicinity of Acre, which he had devastated with fire and sword. All the Latins in Palestine crowded round the banner of the English prince; and he took the field at the head of seven thousand men. The city of Nazareth was redeemed; and he surprised and defeated a large Turkish force. Edward was brave and provident, and owed his success as much to his skill as to his courage. But he was not less cruel than any preceding hero of the holy wars; and he gave a dreadful earnest of that savage implacability which Scotland afterwards so often rued. The barbarities which stained the entry of the Christians into Jerusalem, two centuries before, were repeated in a smaller theatre of cruelty in Nazareth.*

But the march of victory was closed, for the English soldiers were parched by the rays of a Syrian sun, and their leader was extended on the bed of sickness. The governor of Jaffa was the apparent friend of Edward, but the sultan's threat of degradation, if further commerce were held with an infidel, changed courtesy into malignity, and his brutal zeal for the display of his loyalty must have satisfied even the suspicious bosom of a tyrant. He hired the dagger of one of those assassins who had escaped the proscription which the Tartars, mercifully for the world, had made of the followers of the old man of the mountain. The wretch, as the bearer of letters, was admitted into the chamber of his intended victim. The purpose of his errand being accomplished, he drew a poniard from the concealment of his belt, and aimed a blow at Edward's breast. After receiving two or three wounds, the vigorous prince threw the villain on the floor, and stabbed him to the heart.† The dagger had been steeped in poison, and for some hours Edward's fate was involved in

* Ce n'est pas un des moindres exemples des jeux de la fortune, que les ruines de Carthage aient vu mourir un roi chrétien qui venait combattre des Muselmans dans un pays où Didon avait apporté les Dieux des Syriens. Voltaire, Essai sur les Mœurs des Nations, ch. 58.

† Nangis, p. 386—389, 393. Epistle of the bishop of Thunes, an eye-witness. Martenne, vi. 1218. Sanutus, lib. 3, pars. 12, cap. 10.

‡ Annals of Waverley, in Gale, vol. ii. p. 225. Continuation of M. Paris, 859. Hemingford, iii. 589.

* Hemingford, iii. 590. Chronicle of Mailros, i. 241.

† After alluding to Prince Edward's exploits in the Holy Land, Ben Jonson says,

"For which his temper'd zeal, see Providence
Flying in here, and arms him with defence
Against th' assassinate made upon his life
By a foul wretch, from whom he wrests the knife,
And gives him a just hire; which yet remains
A warning to great chiefs, to keep their trains
About them still, and not, to privacy
Admit a hand, that may use treachery."
Prince Henry's Barriers. Works, vii. 169.

danger. The fairy hand of fiction has ascribed his convalescence to one of that sex, whose generous affections are never restrained by the chilling calculations of selfishness. But the stern pen of history has recorded that his restoration to health was the simple result of surgical skill, co-operating with the salient spring of a vigorous flame.* The English soldiers burned to revenge on the Turkish people the dastardly act of the assassin. But Edward checked them, and forgot his own injuries when he reflected, that were he to sanction murder, the humble, unarmed pilgrims could never claim the protection of the Saracens. After the English prince had been fourteen months in Acre, the sultan of Egypt offered peace, for wars with the Moslem powers engrossed his military strength. Edward gladly seized this occasion of leaving the Holy Land, for his force was too small for the achievement of great actions, and his father had implored his return to England.* The hostile commanders signed accordingly a treaty for ten years' suspension of arms; the lords of Syria disarrayed their warlike front, and the English soldiers quitted Palestine for their native country.

At the time when Palestine began to breathe from the horrors of war, hope once more raised her head in consequence of the election to the chair of St. Peter falling upon Theobald, archdeacon of Liege. The choice of the cardinals was made known to him while he was in Palestine. He had witnessed with sorrow and indignation the dreadful extremities to which the Christians were reduced, and in the tumult of the passions his reason did not allow him to measure objects by their practicability. He impatiently transported himself to Italy, and so ardent was his zeal that his endeavours for a Crusade even preceded his introduction to the Pontificate. The trumpet of war again was heard among the nations. The blast was, however, only faintly echoed. The republics of Pisa, Genoa, and Venice, and the city of Marseilles, agreed to furnish a few galleys, and twenty-five thousand marks of silver were obtained from Philip the Hardy on mortgage of the Templars' estates in France. The masters of the military friars and red-cross knights went to Rome, and convinced their papal friend that these succours would be too inconsiderable to enable the Christians to drive the infidels out of Palestine. Again was the Christian world assembled, and the council of Lyons decreed the obligation of a new crusade; that the clergy should pay a tenth of their revenues for six years, and that boxes should be placed in churches for the voluntary oblations of the laity. Rodolph of Habsburg, was wise in uniting himself with the Pope, and gaining papal support in his new dignity of emperor of Germany. Philip the French king, Michael Palæologus, and Charles, at once count of Anjou and king of the two Sici-

* Chronicon F. Pipini in Muratori, Rer. Script. Ital. vol. 7, p. 705, 714. Matthew of Westminster, p. 400, ed. Franc. 1601. P. Langtoft's Chron. p. 227. Wikes, p. 97. Hemingford, p. 591. Contin. of Matthew Paris, 859. The story of Eleanora's sucking the venom from her husband's wound would always have been considered a fable, if that respectable writer, Camden, (vol. 2, p. 103, Gough's edit.) had not mentioned it as an historical fact. Camden took it from a Spanish historian, who wrote two hundred years after the event. Hemingford expressly says, that the grand master of the Templars immediately sent his royal friend some precious drugs to stop the progress of the venom. A mortification was however apprehended, and an English physician undertook to cut out the bad part. The prince ordered Edward and John de Vesey to lead Eleanor out of the room, and those knights, not very gentle to the lady's feelings, told her it was better that she should shed a few tears, than that England should for ever mourn. Hemingford, p. 501. "It is storied," says Fuller, "how Eleanor, his lady, sucked all the poison out of his wounds without doing any harm to herself. So sovereign a remedy is a woman's tongue, anointed with the virtue of loving affection. Pity it is that so pretty a story should not be true (with all the miracles in love's legends), and sure he shall get himself no credit, who undertaketh to confute a passage so sounding to the honour of the sex. Yet can it not stand with what others have written." Fuller's Holy War, book 4, ch. 29. The story most likely took its rise from the circumstance that in the middle ages chirurgical knowledge was an elegant female accomplishment. The fair practisers of leechcraft were of course in high repute, "and it is probable that their attentive and compassionate solicitude may have frequently proved more efficacious than the nostrums of the faculty, even when assisted by the magical power of amulets, or the more orthodoxy energy of holy water."

* See the letter in Rymer, vol. 1, p. 487, new edition.

lies, also embraced the cause. Philip inherited the piety of his father; and Michael, who, thirteen years before, had taken Constantinople from the Franks, was eager to embrace any occasion of obtaining the favour of the western princes. Charles pretended anxiety to repair the disasters which the imprudence of his brother the count of Artois, during the first crusade of St. Louis, had occasioned, and he thought that the duties of a sovereign devolved upon him, because in the council of Lyons, Mary, princess of Antioch, daughter of Bohemond IV. ceded to him her rights over the kingdom of Jerusalem.* But Pope Gregory died within two years after the sitting of the Lyonese council, and all thoughts of a crusade were dropped when the life of its great promoter closed. Palestine, however, was at peace, and the Christians therefore indulged their vanity, and engaged their passions, in disputing about the pageantry of power. Hugh III. king of Cyprus, a lineal descendant of the princess Alice, had been crowned king of Jerusalem at Tyre, a short time before the death of Conradin, the last unhappy descendant of that house of Germany, of which three emperors had supported and adorned holy wars. The Templars befriended Charles of Anjou, but the Hospitallers, with more virtue than was generally shown, declared that they could not fight against any Christian prince, and contended that the claims for succession to the kingdom ought to be deferred till the kingdom itself should be recovered. In the fourth year of the peace which the valiant prince Edward had gained for Palestine, the Mameluke chief and king Bendoctar, died. In the reign of Keladun, the third sultan in succession to him who had torn so many cities from the Christians, the war was renewed. The restless Franks in the fortress of Margat plundered and insulted some inoffensive Muselman traders, an emir of Egypt made a gallant, but fruitless attempt to revenge this violation of the law of nations, and his master swore by God and his prophet that he would avenge the wrong; and after a few years of dreadful preparation the living cloud of war burst upon the Christians. Margat was captured; but so brave had been the resistance of the knights that it procured them a safe and honourable retreat to the neighbouring town of Tortosa, and the sultan, dreading even the possibility of future opposition, razed the fortress.

With rapid and certain steps the power of the Latins approached its fatal termination. The city of Tripoli, that last remaining satellite of the kingdom of Jerusalem, was taken; its houses were burnt, its works dismantled, and its people murdered or retained in slavery. Acre once more became the principal possession of the Christians. The sultan concluded a treaty of peace with Henry II. of Cyprus, who had driven away the lieutenants and soldiers of Charles, and had been acknowledged king of Jerusalem.* Nothing but total ruin could quench the heroic spirit of those cavaliers, who thought to fall in the ensanguined field was the height of glory and virtue. Undismayed by the victories of the sultan, the grand master of the military friars took the occasion of the cessation of hostilities, and crossed the Mediterranean, in order to infuse his martial spirit into the people of the west. Pope Nicholas IV. heard with coldness the dismal tale. He declined to open the treasury of St. Peter for the advancement of the Christian cause, and he gave his noble friend only fifteen hundred men, the off-scourings of Italy. Circular letters were sent to the different European potentates, but the light which once shone upon the holy cause had waned; cavaliers no longer thronged round the cross, and the grand

* Giannone (l. 20, c. 2, s. 1) is incorrect in stating that the princess ceded her rights to Antioch. The Angevine kings of Naples and Sicily founded their title to the crown of Jerusalem on the marriage of Frederic with Violante, and on the cession mentioned in the text. But when Conradin died, the race of the Suabian dynasty became extinct, and the title to the throne of Jerusalem went to the princess Alice (whom we have already mentioned), the daughter of Henry count of Champagne and Isabella. The princess Alice carried her rights into the family of the kings of Cyprus, and those rights had precedence of the claims of the princess Mary, the daughter of the youngest daughter of Isabella. In short, the family of Anjou had no juster claim to the throne of Jerusalem than they had to the throne of the two Sicilies.

* Sanutus, lib. iii. pars. 12, cap. xx. De Guignes, livre xxi. In the year 1287, two years before the loss of Tripoli, Bohemond VII., count of that place, died.

master was compelled to return to Palestine, accompanied only by his Italian banditti. When they arrived at Acre, the city was in the greatest state of turbulence. Within its walls were crowded the wretched remains of those kingdoms and principalities which had been won by the blood of the west. Every distinct people occupied a particular division, and, in the assertion of individual privileges, general interests were forgotten.* The Mamelukes of Egypt regarded, with an eye of fanatical hatred and rapacious ambition, the shelter of the Christian powers. The principles of Islamism would have justified the sultan in making war, but the criminal conduct of his foe gave him secular reasons for commencing hostilities. Acre was crowded with people beyond its means of support, and some of the wretched inhabitants robbed and tortured the Muselman merchants who occasionally visited the city with provisions, under the protection of the acknowledged friendship which existed between the Egyptians and the Christians.† No redress was made for this violation of justice. The sultan died before his preparations of vengeance were completed; but his son Khatil was not less anxious than his father to exterminate the infidel miscreants. Nearly two hundred thousand Mameluke Tartars of Egypt marched into Palestine, and encamped before Acre, exactly on the same ground upon which a century before assembled Europe had stood. To avoid the dreadful consequences of war, a large part of the population embarked in the numerous vessels which at that time rode at anchor in the harbour, and the defence of the place was left to the care of about twelve thousand soldiers, chiefly the knights and serjeants of the military orders. The garrison was speedily re-enforced by a few hundred men, headed by Henry II. of Cyprus, who boasted the ideal title of king of Jerusalem. But there was no magic in the name of royalty, and in this exigent state of affairs, the troops looked for the direction of Peter de Beaujeau, grand master of the Templars. He accepted the charge, and his first action of rejecting the bribes of the sultan inspired the animating conviction, that Acre would never fall in consequence of the treachery of the commander. But the Mamelukes were equal in valour, and superior in discipline, to their foes, and their number was appallingly formidable. Unable to defend, with equal effect, the circuit of walls, the Christians beheld their towers yielding to the mines and battering rams. The "cursed tower" fell; the king, whose station was at that part of the fortifications, requested the Teutonic knights to relieve his attenuated band, and he promised to return to his post on the following morning. But the pusillanimous monarch fled to the port, and seizing a few ships, sailed to Cyprus. With the morn, the Mamelukes renewed the attack. Most of the German cavaliers died upon the breach; the others slowly left the walls, the firmness of their little phalanx checked the foe. The Hospitalians chased back the Mamelukes, and even forced them headlong into the ditch. But the sultan was prodigal of blood. His battalions marched to the breach, and in a few hours the entry into the city was repeatedly lost and won by the Christians and infidels.

While Acre was bleeding with these vicissitudes, the master of the Hospitalians and his knights secretly left the city, made a short circuit, and rushed into the enemy's camp. The sultan,

* Old Fuller has given a faithful picture of the state of Acre. "In it were some of all countries; so that he who had lost his nation, might find it here. Most of them had several courts to decide their causes in, and the plenty of judges caused the scarcity of justice, malefactors appealing to a trial in the courts of their own country. It was sufficient innocence for any offender in the Venetian court that he was a Venetian. Personal acts were entitled national, and made the cause of the country. Outrages were every where practised, no where punished; as if to spare Divine revenge the pains of overtaking them, they would go forth and meet it. At the same time they were in fitters about prosecuting their titles to this city, no fewer than the Venetians, Genoese, Pisans, Florentines, the kings of Cyprus and Sicily, the agents for the kings of France and England, the princes of Tripoli and Antioch, the patriarch of Jerusalem, the masters of the Templars and Hospitallers, and (whom I should have named first) the legate of his Holiness, all at once, with much violence contending about the right of right nothing, the title to the kingdom of Jerusalem, and command of this city, like bees, making the greatest humming and buzzing in the hive when now ready to leave it." Holy War, book iv. chap. xxxii.

† G. Villani.

skilful soldier, was not surprised, and the knights were repulsed. The chief of the military friars received the melancholy news, that the grand master* of the Templars had been killed by a poisoned arrow; that most of his valiant soldiers had been slain, and that the city had fallen. Under the cover of a few cross-bow men, the knights of St. John, seven only were the remnant, embarked, and left forever the scene of their virtue and their valour. Their brethren in arms, the Templars, were equally brave, and their fate was equally disastrous. Their resistance was so firm, that the sultan was compelled to promise them a free and honourable departure. But the insults of some low Saracenian people irritated the cavaliers: the sword again was drawn, and such of the Templars as survived the conflict, fled into the interior country. The unarmed population of Acre hurried to the coast; but the elements co-operated with the devastating spirit of the Turks, and the tempestuous waves refused shelter to the fugitives. While gnashing with despair, the people beheld their town in flames. The ruthless hand of death fell upon them, and the sea-shore of Palestine again drank torrents of Christian blood.

Tyre, Beritus, and other towns, were awed into submission. The Turks swept all Palestine, and murdered or imprisoned all the Christians who could not fly to Cyprus. The memory of the Templars is embalmed, for the last struggle for the Holy Land was made by the red-cross knights. Such as escaped from Acre went to Sis, in Armenia. A Muselman general drove them to the island of Tortosa, whence they escaped to Cyprus, and the cry of religious war no longer rung through Palestine.†

* The grand master of the Templars receives high praise from G. Villani. The hero every night repaired the breaches in the "cursed tower;" but he was at length killed by the enemy, and, in consequence of his death, confusion again arose, and the city was lost. G. Villani, lib. vii. c. 144.

† Sanutus, lib. iii. pars. xii., ch. xxii., xxiii. The history of the siege of Acre, by a contemporary, in Martenne, Vet. Scrip. Amp. Coll. vol. i. p. 782. De Guignes, Hist. des Huns, &c. livre xxi. Lusignano, Istoria dell' Isola di Cipro, p. 55, &c. Palestine was not more celebrated for virtue at the close of the Crusades, than at any period during their continuance. Speaking of the loss of Acre, G. Villani says, "Et questo pericolo non fu sanza grande et giusto giudicio di Dio, che quella città era piena di più peccatori huomini, e femine d' ogni dissoluto peccato, che terra, che fasse tra' Cristiani." G. Villani, lib. vii. c. 144, p. 337, vol. i.

* Rymer, i. 774, 749, new edition.

CHAPTER XVII.

EXTINCTION OF THE CRUSADING SPIRIT. FATE OF THE MILITARY ORDERS.

State of Europe at the close of the Crusades.—Reasons of the ceasing of Crusades.—Last appearances of the crusading spirit.—King Henry IV. of England.—Harry Monmouth.—Fate of the military orders.—The Teutonic knights.—The knights of St. Lazarus.—Knights of St. John.—Imprisonment of the Templars in France.—Proceedings against the Templars at Paris.—Process against the Templars in England.—In Germany.—In Italy.—Council at Vienne.—The order suppressed.—Confiscation of its estates.—Execution of the grand master.—Innocence of the Templars.—Causes of the suppression of the order.

The loss of the Holy Land did not fill Europe with those feelings of grief and indignation, which the fall of Jerusalem, a hundred years before, had occasioned. The flame of fanaticism had slowly burnt out. During the thirteenth century, the territorial possessions of the Christians in Palestine gradually diminished; the expeditions and re-enforcements were in consequence less vigorous, for, both politically and personally, the people of the west declined in their interest in respect of the affairs of the east. Pope Nicholas IV. endeavoured to revive holy undertakings; but the kings of Europe were deaf or disobedient. After his arrival in England, prince Edward had wished to return to Palestine,* and continue his military career, but he had just entered into the agitated sea of Scottish politics when Acre fell into the hands of the Egyptians. The delivery of the Holy Land was, however, a phantom always dear to his imagination, as opening an ample subject for religious and knightly enterprise. In the decline of life he vowed a second expedition, but, finding his dissolution approach, he devoted the prodigious sum of thirty thousand pounds for the equipment and support of a proud corps of knights that

were to carry his heart to Palestine.* Philip IV. of France could never be awakened by any summons to religion and honour: and since the extinction of the Suabian family, the succession to the German throne had been so irregular, that the emperors were perpetually involved in civil dissensions. The politics of the commercial states of Italy did not accord with religious wars. Pisa had fallen before Genoa. The conquering town thought not of Syria; for it had enjoyed, since the Greeks had regained Constantinople, the ascendancy of the commerce of the Black Sea. As Genoa was allied to the Grecian emperor, Venice sought the friendship of the Muselmans. The Mamelukes gave their Christian brothers a church, an exchange, and a magazine in Alexandria: and the Venetians carried on the lucrative but disgraceful trade of furnishing the Egyptian market with male and female slaves from Georgia and Circassia.†

From the commencement,‡ till past the middle of the fourteenth century, the Popes repeatedly sounded the charge; but the west in most cases disregarded the summons of its ghostly instructor; and it was evident that, although the papal rulers could fan, they could not create the sacred flame. Yet the world did not repent of the miseries it had occasioned, or think that war is nothing but homicide and robbery. It was not that people were less military or less superstitious than before, that they could not be stimulated to new efforts, for arms were as much the delight and occupation of Europe in the fourteenth century, as they had been in the twelfth; and two ages had thickened rather than removed the cloud of corruption which enveloped the pure form of religion. But the idea of the impossibility of ultimate success had long been gradually and silently stealing over Europe; and the world was weary of consuming its blood and treasure in the pursuit of barren honour. The great Crusade in Egypt, in the year 1218, was almost the last occasion when barons and knights, as individuals, led their vassals to the holy war. Great efforts indeed were often made by sovereigns; but there were but few of those popular expeditions to Palestine, which distinguished the first century and a half of the Crusades. At the time when the loss of the Holy Land became known in Europe, the people had not recovered from the astonishment and terror with which the victories of Zinghis Khan and his successors had filled the west. Part of Russia, the whole of Poland, Silesia, Moravia, Hungary, and all the countries to the eastward of the Adriatic Sea, fell a prey to barbaric desolation. Several of the Popes attempted in vain to soften the ferocity of these new foes; but the papal

* See note E e.

† Dante reprobates his contemporaries for joining the Saracens, and also for carrying on trade with the enemies of the Christian name. If Boniface VIII. be the Pope alluded to in the following extract, the censure seems misplaced, as he endeavoured to create a new Crusade.

Lo principe de' nuovi Farisei,
Avendo guerra presso a Laterano,
E non con Saracin, nè con Giudei,
Che ciascun suo nemico era Cristiano,
E nessuno era stato a vincere Acri,
Ne mercatante in terra di Soldano.
Dell' Inferno, canto 27.

The chief of the new Pharisees meantime,
Waging his warfare near the Lateran,
Not with the Saracens, or Jews (his foes
All Christians were, nor against Acre one
Had fought, nor traffic'd in the Soldan's land.)
Cary's Translation.

Villani supports the idea that the mercantile Christians in Egypt aided the Saracens. The instances of treachery alluded to by Dante, I am not able to support by any historical testimony.

‡ There was some pretence for the preaching of a Crusade by Pope Boniface VIII. in the year 1300. Cazan, the mogul sultan of Persia, resolved to exterminate the Mamelukes of Egypt. He allied himself with the kings of Georgia, Armenia, and Cyprus. In 1299 the fortune of war smiled on the allies; but still the success not being so great as what he had expected, Cozan sent to the Pope, soliciting the more powerful alliance of the princes of the west, and agreeing that when Palestine was recovered, it should be retained by the Christians. Philip the Fair and Boniface were in high disputes respecting the limits of ecclesiastical and royal jurisdiction; and therefore the project, though warmly patronised by the Pope, proved abortive. In the interim, the tide of victory flowed in favour of the Egyptians. Cazan died about the year 1303, just when he had summoned to his side the Christian princes of Cyprus and Armenia, and was about to attack the Mamelukes. I cannot find any mention in Haiton or Abulfeda of the common story, that during the reign of Cazan, the Hospitaller and other knights landed on the shores of Palestine, and marched to and occupied Jerusalem for a short time.

legates were dismissed with the tremendous command, for Rome herself to submit her neck to the Mogul yoke. The western world knew indeed that most of the Tartars were pagans; and although some sanguine spirits conceived the hope of their powerful union with the Christians against the Muselmans, yet the circumstance of their appearance in Europe as conquerors, created a general dread of foreign nations; and as the Saracenian states, as well as some Christian ones, floated into the abyss, the people dreaded the new enemies whom they should have to encounter in their transmarine expeditions. The impractability of preserving a Latin dominion in that city in Palestine, which was as dear to the Muselmans as to the Christians, would have had more influence over the latter, if they had been less devoutly fond of pilgrimages,* and if veneration for religious places had been softened into respectful regard. The idea was also opposed by some of the best feelings of the heart. The connexions of kindred and country bound Syria to Europe; and the knights of the west acknowledged the claims which their relations in the Holy Land urged upon them for succour. By marriage and descent, too, the rights to property in the Asiatic Latin kingdom were often enjoyed by Europeans; and in many respects Palestine resembled a colony of Europe. The continuance of Crusades was therefore a natural circumstance. Hope of success would soon have died away, the healing influence of time would have removed the moral epidemic, if repeated and unsuccessful efforts had been made for the redemption of the Holy Land. But a fanatical ambition was fostered by partial success; and when Jerusalem flourished as a Christian city, the pride of possession became the new and master-spring of action; and honour called for the preservation of sanguinary conquests.

It was the policy of the Church of Rome to encourage the spirit of crusading, because they who skilfully administer to public prejudices, become in time masters of the people. In unenlightened days, ecclesiastical influence ended in spiritual tyranny. Until the time of Innocent III. the Popes pursued this clear road to power; but, as we have already seen, that aspiring prelate taxed the clergy immediately, and the people indirectly, on pretence of defending Palestine, and from that moment papal influence began to decline. The money enriched the coffers of St. Peter; the world was indignant at this misapplication of its contributions: and as levies were made at the calls of the wishes and wants of the pontiffs, and not always at the times when the cord of sympathy was strung, the people, both clergy and laity, grew weary of the occasion and the pretence of taxation. On another part of the subject, too, the avarice of the Popes broke the spirit of crusading. Among the encouragements to the first sacred war was the decree of the council of Clermont, that a journey to the Holy Land should be as efficacious to the spiritual health of a pilgrim as all the penances which the church could enjoin: and we have the evidence of so late a writer as Villehardouin,* the great historian of the fifth Crusade, that the promise of this indulgence had, even in his days, considerable influence. But the rapacious clergy thought that that which was granted could be sold, and that money as well as travelling might be taken in exchange for remission of canonical penances.

* Indeed, after the first Crusade, pilgrimages increased. They were undertaken for purposes of penitence and devotion. The church of St. James in Gallicia, and the tombs of the apostles in Rome, were favourite objects as well as Jerusalem. At the close of the thirteenth century, the festival of the jubilee was instituted, and hundreds of thousands of persons repaired to Rome for the purpose of receiving a general indemnity for past offences. Pilgrimages, as acts of external religion, have ever been defended by writers of the Roman Catholic communion. Therefore Milton, in his Limbo of Vanity, says, with contempt and indignation,

"Here pilgrims roam, that strayed so far to seek
In Golgotha him dead, who lives in Heaven."

Paradise Lost, iii. 476.

The passion for visiting the holy places at Jerusalem did not cease among the English till late in the reign of Henry VIII. There exists a manuscript "Pylgrymage of Syr Richard Torkynton, Parson of Mulberton, in Norfolk, to Jerusalem, in 1517." A Fellow of Eton College, towards the close of the fifteenth century, went twice to Jerusalem, and celebrated mass there cum cantu organico. Warton's History of English Poetry, vol. ii., p. 427, note.

* See page 174, ante.

The prelates began this scandalous traffic, but it was soon snatched from their hands by the Popes; and the successors of St. Peter made the indulgences of higher value than the humble bishops could pretend to do, by including the remission of punishments in a future world in the pardons which they sold. While the Popes levied taxes on pretence of succouring the Holy Land, it was their policy to encourage the fashion of crusading: but their avarice was also tempted by the profitable sale of indulgences, a traffic which was at once the cause and the effect of the decline of the holy wars.* Indulgences could be obtained on easier terms than by making long and perilous journeys to Palestine.

Another great cause of ruin to the Crusades had its birth at Rome. Through the whole of the thirteenth century the Popes frequently armed the people of the west, both against heretics and against the political enemies of the papal see: and, in each of these cases, the privileges of Crusaders were granted to orthodox warriors. Clement IV. went one step further; for, in the course of the disputes between Charles of Anjou and Manfred for the throne of the two Sicilies, the Pope actually diverted from their religious purpose, to his own secular objects, thousands of pilgrims who had been crossed. It is needless to dilate upon the actual injury to Palestine, and the scandal and ridicule which were cast on holy wars, when the soldiers of the cross became the regular army of the court of Rome.

Freedom from debt and taxes, and other general privileges of Christian warriors, had but little influence in keeping alive the sacred flame. The exemption from taxes was seldom regarded by the civil authorities, and was never permitted to be extended to levies on the land. For crimes, and also for questions relating to landed property, people might be impleaded in secular courts.*

Though Europe in general felt that in the fall of Acre all was lost, yet despair did not immediately complete its triumph, for chivalry and policy sometimes endeavoured to revive the religious spark. If Pope John XXII. had not been too open in the display of his avarice, and too prodigal in the commutation of vows for money, the knights of Germany would once more have fought under the glorious ensign of the cross.† A threatened invasion from England (A. D. 1328) deterred Philip de Valois from leaving his country‡ for Palestine, and a large body of Crusaders was dispersed when (A. D. 1364) John the Good of France died, on whom the Pope intended to have conferred the title of commander of the new Crusaders.§ The politic Henry IV.‖ of England wished to "busy giddy

* The Christians in the Holy Land frequently complained against the Popes for granting indulgences for wars with the Germans and French. They said that the only cross which his Holiness regarded was the one on the French coin. "Le Pape prodigue des indulgences à ceux qui s'arment contre les Allemands. Ses légats montrent parmi nous leur extrême convoitise; nos croix cédent aux croix empreintes sur les tournois, et l'on échange la sainte croisade contre la guerre de Lombardie; j'aurai donc le courage de dire de nos légats qu'ils vendent Dieu, et qu'ils vendent les indulgences pour de coupables richesses." Le Chevalier du Temple, citod in Raynouard, Choix des Poésies Originales des Troubadours, vol. ii. p. 75, Introd.

* The property of a Crusader was vested in the church during his absence. The claims of his creditors were suspended. As this was a subject of inconvenience, people found it necessary, or were compelled, to resign all crusading privileges. This renunciation appears in charters dated in 1272, but it was probably of earlier use.

† Baluzii, Vitæ Pont. Avig. I. 15. 594, II. 552.

‡ Some successes of the Turks upon the Christians in Armenia filled all Europe with alarm. Philip king of France and the king of Arragon were at Rome; the Pope preached before them, and exhorted them to put on the cross against the Saracens. His eloquence prevailed, and various other potentates, then at Rome for the celebration of Easter, were moved also by the call to devotion and valour. The preparations of the French king were more extensive than those of any of his predecessors in the holy wars. The maritime towns in the south of France equipped a navy, and three years' provisions were collected for forty thousand soldiers. Philip negotiated with Hungary, Venice, and Genoa for the safe conduct of the pilgrims, whose number, it is said, was three hundred thousand. English politics, however, rendered the design abortive. Froissart, vol. i., chap. 26 and 27.

§ Baluzius, passim.

‖ Besides Henry IV. when young, had endeavoured to implant Christianity in Lithuania vi et armis. After his accession to the English throne, he gained the friendship of the clergy by aiding them in putting down the followers of

minds with foreign quarrels," in order to divert his people from looking too nearly into his state, and to retain their newly sworn allegiance. Both his maritime and military preparations were considerable; but the hand of nature stopped him, before he could attempt to commence his new religious career.* His son Henry V. pursuing his father's principles, though not his details of policy, took advantage of the civil discords of France, and the Peers of England "wasted the memory of former days" in the vain attempt of endeavouring to subjugate a rival nation. If length of life, and national peace, had been allotted to Harry Monmouth, it is more than probable that he would have "commenced new broils in stronds afar remote." In his last moments he declared it to be a Christian duty to build the walls of Jerusalem, and avowed the long concealed purpose of his breast to have led an army to Palestine, if he had lived in times of political tranquillity.†

Such were the last appearances of that martial phrenzy which so long agitated Europe: and here the history of the holy wars would naturally close if curiosity did not suggest an inquiry into some of those military and religious orders which arose from the spirit of pilgrimages and crusades, and whose existence forms one of the most prominent characteristics of the middle ages. The knights of the Teutonic order were fixed in their conquest of Prussia, some years before the loss of the Holy Land. Their love of war was not extinguished: they carried both the sword and the Gospel into Pomerania; and the eastern part of that country was definitely ceded to the order by a treaty of peace in the year 1343. The town of Dantzic, the capital of the new conquest, was considerably aggrandized under the dominion of the knights, and became one of the principal places of commerce on the Baltic. Pressed forward again by religion and ambition, they made war on the infidel Lithuanians,* but it was not till the beginning of the fifteenth century, and after rivers of blood had flowed, that the Pagans lost their independence, and relinquished their national superstition. But the oppressive government of the knights; their intestine divisions; and their heavy imposts, the unhappy result of wars continually reviving, encouraged the nobility of Prussia and Pomerania to confederate, and to seek the protection of the kings of Poland. The torch of war was rekindled, the knights were defeated, and by the peace of Thorn in 1466, all Pomenaria, and indeed all the country which is generally called Polish Prussia, was ceded to Poland. The order was allowed to preserve the west of Prussia by the tenure of feudal service to the kings of Poland. The idea of subjection was odious to high-minded cavaliers, and at the commencement of the sixteenth century the grand master, Albert of Brandenburg, asserted in the

Wickliff. He prudently united himself to the papal see, and naturally thought of Crusades.

* Holingshed (vol. ii. part i. p. 529, &c.) does not seem to credit Fabian's story that Henry, finding himself in the Jerusalem chamber, exclaimed, "Praise be given to God, for now I know I shall die here in this chamber, according to the prophecy of me, declared that I should depart this life in Jerusalem." A story of this description had been flying about the world, and was occasionally applied to public characters. Pope Silvester II. had been warned that he should not die till he had celebrated mass at Jerusalem. The Pope mistook this for the city so called, unwittingly celebrated mass at Rome, in a church named Jerusalem, and being deceived by the equivocation of the name, met a sudden and wretched end. Harris' Philological Inquiries, part iii. ch. 8.

† Monstrelet, vol. v. p. 371, 8vo. Johnes' edit. Henry V. acted like his father respecting the clergy. As he had no objection to broil or roast the Lollards, he could not have been averse from murdering the Saracens.

* It was less difficult to travel into the north of Germany than to cross the seas to Palestine; the idolators too were not so invincible as the Turks. When the military men of Europe wanted employment, they joined their arms to those of the Teutonic knights. Chaucer describes his knight as having gained renown in Pruce (Prussia), in Lettawe (Lithuania, and in Ruce (Russia). Prologue to the Canterbury Tales, v. 52—55.

"Full worthy was he in his lordes werre
And therto hod he ridden, no man ferre,
As well in Christendom as in hethenesse,
And ever honoured for his worthinesse.
At Alisandre he was whan it was wonne,
Ful often time he hadde the bord begonne[a]
Aboven alle nations in Pruce.
In Lettowe hadde he reysed[b] and in Ruce,
No Christen man so oft of his degree."

[a] He had been placed at the head of the table on account of his great merit.
[b] Made a military expedition.

field the independence of his order. The equality of the two powers was manifested by a suspension of arms upon liberal conditions, but religion changed the face of politics, the sworn foe of infidelity listened to and adopted the doctrines of Luther, tore himself from his order, and agreed to live in perpetual friendship with the king of Poland, by a treaty concluded with him at Cracovia, the 8th of April, 1525. The bold avowals of liberty and independence were subdued by the offer of a hereditary crown, and Albert of Brandenburg accepted Teutonic Prussia from his uncle Sigismond I. king of Poland, on those conditions of fealty which he had before pretended his honour could never submit to. The Teutonic knights thus lost Prussia; their name appears on few occasions in the history of Europe, and the order became only a "cheap defence of nations."*

On the ruin of the Christian cause in Palestine the hospital of St. Lazarus was destroyed. Various Christian princes had enriched the order: but as St. Louis and his successors were its greatest and most efficient friends, the seat of its power was in France. In the course of time the disease of leprosy† became less common and the cavaliers of St. Lazarus relaxed the severity of their institutions. Pope Innocent VIII., in the year 1490, endeavoured to suppress the order. In Italy, perhaps, he succeeded, but not in any other country; and the order subsisted in different degrees of power till the pontificates of Leo X. and Pius IV., who restored to it all its privileges. In the days of Gregory XV., the Italian part of the order was joined to the new order of St. Maurice, and the duke of Savoy was appointed its head. The bull was resisted by the knights of France, and till the reign of Henry IV. they were independent, and elected their own grand masters. But that monarch created a new institution called the order of the Holy Virgin of Mount Carmel, and for the purpose of investing it with dignity he destroyed the unity of the knights of St. Lazarus. All their wealth and their titles were added to the new society, and their ancient ordinances were revoked.*

As war with the infidels was the great duty and passion of the military orders, and as their glory was closely involved with the fate of Palestine, their martial energies were not quickly damped by the apparent success of their foes.† After the loss of Acre, the knights of St. John and the Temple, from every preceptory and commandery in Europe, flocked to Cyprus, impatient for glory and revenge. Bulls for a new crusade were issued from Rome by Pope Nicholas IV., but Europe would not respond to the wishes of the papal court. The military friars soon quitted their settlements in Cyprus, for the king denied them those privileges which they enjoyed in other countries. The grand master of the Hospitallers gained the friendship and the purse of Pope Clement V. and drew a flattering picture of

* L'Art de vérifier les Dates, vol. iii. p. 538, &c. Koch, Tableau des Revolutions de l'Europe, vol. i., p. 203, 286, 410—413, vol. ii. p. 139, &c. "Les Polonois" (M. Koch judiciously observes) "en se débarrassant de l'ordre Teutonique qui leur avoit fait ombrage, et en lui substituant la maison de Brandebourg, ne croyoient pas se donner un voisin encore plus dangereux, qui conspireroit un jour la ruine et l'anéantissement de la Pologne." Vol. ii. p. 141.

† It is generally said that leprosy was introduced into Europe by the Crusaders on their return from the Holy Land. This is incorrect; the disease was known much earlier, for in the year 757, at a council held at Compiegne, leprosy was allowed as a sufficient cause to dissolve a marriage. Of the fact that leprosy existed in the west long before the æra of the holy wars there are several proofs in Muratori, Antiquitates, Italiæ, Med. Ævi. Diss. 16, vol. i. p. 906—908. Of course the Crusades increased the number of cases of leprosy. Ophthalmy was another disease more common in Europe during the Crusades than before them, because the intercourse was greater between Europe and Asia during the holy wars than in any commercial æra. The great number of Crusaders who returned blind from Egypt, made St. Louis found a hospital at Paris for them. To the calamities already mentioned as occasioned or augmented by the warfare between the East and West, the small-pox must be added, as, according to the best opinions, that disorder was introduced into Europe by the Saracens.

* Trouissaint, Mém. de l'Ordre Notre Dame de Mont Carmel, &c.; and Helyot, Hist. des Ordres, vol. i., chap. 32 and 54.

† "What though the field be lost?
All is not lost: the unconquerable will
And study of revenge, immortal hate,
And courage never to submit or yield."

Christian prosperity, if the cavaliers of St. John could set up their banners in some island in the Mediterranean. Rhodes was fixed upon. Fifteen years subsequently to the loss of Acre, a new crusade was published, and the volunteers were invited to repair to Brundisium. The king of Sicily and the republic of Genoa furnished transports. The grand master headed the army, but it was not until after they had sailed, that the Crusaders knew the object of the armament. Rhodes was at that time in the power, partly of the Greeks and partly of the Saracens. The soldiers landed: many battles were fought, and the army of the invaders was at last reduced to the military friars. Their undaunted chief borrowed money from the Italian bankers, hired new soldiers, recommenced his attacks, and the whole island submitted to his authority. The subsequent history of the knights of St. John is interwoven with the general history of Europe, and is not within the scope of the present work.*

While the military friars were planning the acquisition of an equivalent to their loss in Palestine, most of the red-cross knights gradually left Cyprus, returned to their different commanderies, and lived in security and indolence. But circumstances soon made the Templars repent that they had not, like the Hospitallers, attempted a renewal of hostilities with the infidels. Philip the Fair, king of France, acquainted Pope Clement the Fifth, that the order of the Knights Templars had been accused of heresy and various other crimes against religion and morals. Some members* had charged their fraternity with the different abominations of treachery, murder, idolatry, and Islamism. The Pope, in reply, correctly said, that these charges were incredible and unheard of.† But, at length, overawed by the power, or seduced by the artifices of Philip, his Holiness assented to the necessity of an inquiry, and added, that if for their crimes the Templars should be punished, their estates must be applied to the religious purpose of succouring the Holy

* It may, however, be interesting to notice the fate of the order in England. The knights were of high consequence, for in the time of Edward IV. the prior was the first lay baron, and had a seat in parliament. By statute 32 Henry VIII. chap. xxiv. the order, both in England and Ireland, was dissolved, on the alleged reason, that the knights adhered to a foreign jurisdiction. A yearly pension of one thousand pounds was settled on Sir William Weston, the prior. Seventeen knights had annuities, varying from two hundred to thirty pounds each, and some of the goods and chattels of the priories. Ten novices had also ten pounds a year each. The amount of the pensions was two thousand eight hundred and seventy pounds, nearly the annual value of the estates. The pensions were said to be handsome, on account of the high birth and honourable breeding of the knights. The reader must be surprised at the small number of the knights in England; and as the Hospitalians had been enriched by the property of the red-cross knights, their estates were not surprisingly large. The prior died on the very day (7th May, 1540) of the dissolution of the order. "His hospital," says Fuller, "and earthly tabernacle were buried together, and gold, though a great cordial, could not cure a broken heart." The monastery at Bucklands was dissolved, and the prioress received from the king a gratuity of twenty-five pounds, and the grant of a life annuity of fifty pounds. Fuller, Church History, p. 344, 345. Willis's History of the Mitred Abbies, vol. ii. p. 129, 134. Weaver, Fun. Mon. p. 431. Queen Mary restored the order, and made Sir Thomas Tresham lord prior, in return for some important services which he had rendered to her. Queen Elizabeth, however, completely and finally suppressed the society. Stow's London edit. 1720, book iv. p. 62, 63. Bridges' History of Northamptonshire, vol. ii. p. 69.

* Accounts vary respecting the names and number of the knights who made the accusation. It is agreed, however, on all hands, that the men who were so zealous in the cause of virtue were themselves deeply criminal. Baluzius, Vitæ Pontif. Avig. tome i. p. 99. Villani, Storie, lib. iii. cap. 92, p. 429.

† "Ad credendum quæ tunc dicebantur, cum quasi *Incredibilia* et *Impossibilia* viderentur, nostrum animum vix potuimus applicare, quia tamen plura incredibilia et INAUDITA, &c." Lettre de CLEMENT V. à PHILIPPE-le-Bel, de 9 kal. de Sept. an. 2 de son Pontificat. This extract I have made from a work by M. Raynouard, which I have found of much use in this part of my subject. The title of the work is, "Monumens Historiques relatifs à la Condamnation des "Chevaliers du Temple et l'Abolition de leur Ordre. Paris, 1813." Of M. Raynouard's Tragedy of (the condemnation of) the Templars, I can say nothing in praise. The plot is meagre and uninteresting. Long speeches of middling poetry will not compensate for the want of delineation of character. Without incident and situation, there can be no dramatic effect, and, consequently, no display of the passions. The tragedy was acted with applause some years ago at Paris. For an analysis and a critical notice of it, see the Edinburgh Review, vol. ix. article 14.

Land, and should not be converted to any secular object. Sanctioned then by the church, in his apparent wish for the execution of justice, Philip the Fair took the bold step of imprisoning all the Knights Templars whom his officers could discover in France, and of sequestering their property. The Pope was indignant that any authority, save that of Rome, should interfere with a military order, which was out of royal, or ordinary episcopal, jurisdiction; but some signs of submission on the part of Philip restored harmony between the spiritual and temporal powers. The church was the nominal guardian of the sequestered estates; but most of the actual administrators were the subjects of the king. Clement then circulated a bull throughout Christendom, by which instrument of papal authority, nuntios and the resident clergy were commanded to inquire into the conduct of the knights. His Holiness says, that, pressed by public clamour, and by the declarations of the king, the barons, the clergy, and the laity of France, he* had examined seventy-two members of the order, and had found them all guilty, though in various degrees, of irreligion and immorality. The Pope also threatened with excommunication every person that harboured, or gave counsel or money to the knights.† The Pope's commissioners at Paris summoned before them such of the members of the order as were in the city, and promised life, liberty, and fortune to those who would avow the crimes imputed to their society. The inquisitors even presented forged letters of the grand master, by which they were required to make the avowal. Such of the knights as yielded to blandishments and threats were pardoned, but the torture was applied to those who denied the charges, and thirty-six knights in Paris heroically braved the horrors of the rack, and maintained the innocence of the order, till death closed their sufferings and their virtue. Some survived the torture, and they were cast into prison and exposed to the most extreme miseries of hunger and thirst. Others confessed in the midst of corporeal agony,* and afterwards recanted their confessions. The same scenes were acted in different parts of France. These proceedings were only preliminary to the decision which the commissioners were to make upon the general subject of the innocency or guilt of the French part of the order. The assembly met at Paris. James de Molai, the grand master of the society, was dragged from the prison into which the French king had thrown him, and was repeatedly importuned to confess the sins of himself and his brethren. He requested the consultory assistance of advocates; for he said that he was an illiterate knight, and more skilled in war than in forensic subtlety. But the court sternly denied his request, because in charges of heresy the accused persons were always acquited or condemned without the aid of counsel. De Molai then defended his order from the general accusations of irreligion. He declared, that thrice a week they gave alms, and that no people had shed more blood than they had shed for the defence of Christianity. The commissioners replied, that, without faith, all their good works and valour were useless.† The grand mas-

* The examinations were not made by the Pope himself, but by his cardinals and other officers.

† "Nos enim omnes et singulos, cujuscunque præeminentiæ sint, dignitatis, ordinis, conditionis, aut status, etiam si pontificali præfulgeant dignitate, qui supra dictis Templariis, vel eorum alicui, scienter, *publice, vel occulte, præstabunt, auxilium, consilium, vel favorem*, &c. *Excommunicationis sententia innodamus.* Datum Tolosæ 3 Kal. Januarii Pontif. nostri anno quarto."

* The cool and deliberate tormentors not only took an account of the words which fell from the knights when tormented, but even noted down their tears and their sighs. "Che il notario scrive non solamente tutte le riposte del reo, ma anco tutti i ragionamenti e moti che farà e tutte le parole che egli proferirà né tormenti, anzi *tutii i suspiri tutti le grida, tutti i lamenti e la lagrime* che manderà." *Il sacro Arsenale*, cited in Raynouard, p. 33, note.

† "Ha hated all good works and virtuous deeds,
And him no less than any like did use:
And, who with gracious bread the hungry feeds,
His alms, *for want of faith*, he doth accuse."

"Deluded people," as a prelate of the Church of England has said, "that do not consider that the greatest heresy in the world, is a wicked life; and that God will sooner forgive a man a hundred defects of his understanding, than one fault of his will."

ter rejoined that he had faith, and accordingly repeated the Roman catholic creed with firmness and energy. The court declared that he had confessed various crimes, and they read to him a paper, purporting to be the details of his examination, as taken before the cardinals and legate of the Pope, at Chinon.* But Molai most vehemently denied the accuracy of the document.† Some of his brother knights were examined. They all bore testimony to the virtue of the order, and appealed to the dying cries of their tortured friends, as witnesses to the truth. Nine hundred knights presented themselves to the commissioners, and declared their intention and ability to defend the society. This avowal compelled the commissioners to make distinct and formal charges against the order. The Knights Templars were then accused of renouncing, at the time of their matriculation, God, Jesus Christ, the Virgin, and all the saints. It was said, that the brethren used often to spit and trample on the cross, in proof of their contempt of Christ, who was crucified for his own crimes and not for the sins of the world. Out of their disdain of God and his Son, they adored a cat,‡ and certain wooden and golden idols.* The master could absolve brethren from sins. All those matters were agreeable to the statutes of the order; they were in old and general usage; and there was no other mode of reception than the performance of certain acts, many of which were opposite to nature, as well as contrary to law. To these charges the Templars returned a general and firm denial; and, in consciousness of innocence, called for an acquittal, except the accusations could be substantiated. In violation of the benign forbearance of legal inquisition, the knights had been seized like sheep intended for the slaughter; their property taken from them; and, without any respect for their rank or station in the world, they had been cast into loathsome dungeons. As if the existence of truth and the capacity of preserving it were necessarily united, they had been tortured, and the strength of each man's nerves discovered. On the assurance that the king would destroy the order, whether the result of the examinations were favourable or hostile to its continuance, many knights had yielded to pain and hopelessness, stayed the hand of the executioner, confessed every crime, and, upon their confessing of which, royal pardon and protection were proffered. The prisoners had been deprived of the habits of the order; spiritual succours were denied to such brethren as were ill, and no funeral solemnities graced the burial of the dead. All these facts were so public and notorious, that it was impossible to controvert or palliate them. The order of the Knights Templars was eminent for its virtue and its discipline:

* It is singular that the Pope did not personally examine the grand master, and the other great officers of the order, who were all at Chinon, a place not far distant from Poitiers, the residence of the Pope. Clement gave out that some were ill, and could not travel. He might surely have examined the others.

† There is no doubt, however, from the declarations of the grand master on the scaffold at Paris, that some confessions of guilt had been extorted from him.

‡ This feline worship is a curious circumstance. The accusers of the Templars were as refined in their cruelty as the enemies of the Cathari; who, wishing to prove criminalty by etymology, said that those heretics took their name, "a catto, quia osculuntur posteriora catti; in cujus specie, ut aiunt appareret iis Lucifer." Alanus de Insulis, p. 146. Paris, 1622. To charge the Templars as a matter of offence with adoring a cat is singular, considering that in the middle ages animals formed as prominent a part in the worship of the time as they had done in the old religion of Egypt. Every body has heard of the feast of the ass. The cat also was a very important personage in religious festivals. At Aix in Provence, on the festival of Corpus Christi, the finest tom cat of the country, wrapt in swaddling clothes like a child, was exhibited in a magnificent shrine to public admiration. Every knee was bent, every hand strewed flowers or poured incense, and Grimalkin was treated in all respects as the god of the day. But on the festival of St. John, poor tom's fate was reversed. A number of the tabby tribe were put into a wicker basket, and thrown alive into the midst of an immense fire, kindled in the public square, by the bishop and his clergy. Hymns and anthems were sung, and procession were made by the priests and people in honour of the sacrifice.

* None of these idols were ever found. How sensible is the remark of Bayle: "S'ils (les Templiers) étaient assez impies pour renoncer à la religion Chretienne qui était celle de leur naissance, comment auraient-ils pu se confier à une idole!" Bayle, Nouvelles de la Rép. des Lettres, Oeuvres Diverses, vol. i., p. 646. See further, note F f.

and when the chances of war had thrown any of them into the hands of the Muselman foe, and the deplorable choice was offered of apostacy or death, where could an instance be found of want of religious heroism? and would they have been martyrs for Christianity, had they not believed in Christ? — The commissioners continued their violation of the substantial forms of justice; they relied for the truth of the charges upon the despotism of those who had been tortured, or bribed into confession: and some of the recreant knights basely persisted in their asseverations. But the court was almost ashamed into decency when a cavalier, Humbert du Puy was his name, instead of bending before pretended justice, passionately declared that he had been thrice tortured, and for thirty-six weeks had been confined in a damp and putrid tower, and supported on bread and water alone. The court, however, soon resumed its contempt of virtue and equity. It condemned to perpetual imprisonment those from whom no confession of guilt had been extorted. But such as had retracted their forced avowals were declared to be relapsed heretics;* they were delivered over to the secular power, and condemned to the fire. The number in the last mentioned class of the proscribed was fifty-four. All the historians who have spoken of the event, whatever opinion they might have entertained on the general question, friends or enemies, natives or strangers, have unanimously attested the virtuous courage, the noble intrepidity, and the religious resignation, which these martyrs of heroism displayed. Arrived at the place of punishment, they beheld with firmness and placidity the piles of wood, and the torches already lighted in the hands of the executioners. In vain a messenger of the king promised pardon and liberty to those who did not persist in their retractation; in vain their surrounding friends endeavoured to touch their hearts by prayers and tears. The virtues of constancy, resignation, and love of truth, engrossed them wholly. Invoking God, the Virgin, and all the saints, they sung the hymn of death; triumphing over the most cruel tortures, they believed themselves already in the Heavens, and died in the midst of their songs.— We may pass over the condemnation of the Templars in other parts of France, for the events were similar to those which occurred at Paris.

In no nation was there such a variety of circumstances attending the proscription as in England; and it is therefore our own country that next claims our attention, in respect of the melancholy fate of the red-cross knights. As soon as Philip the Fair had matured his scheme of destruction, he sent ambassadors to his son-in-law Edward II. for the purpose of stimulating him to similar proceedings. The English monarch and his council expressed the strongest surprise at the charges made against the Templars, and declared their intention of investigating their truth. So high was the merit of the cavaliers in the opinion of the English court,* that, two months after this declaration, Edward sent letters to the kings of Portugal, Castile, and Arragon, in which he urged his brother sovereigns not to credit the accusations which had been heaped upon the Templars. He wrote also to the Pope, and implored the favour of the papal see in behalf of an injured and calumniated body of men.† But the feeble mind of Edward was soon won by French artifice; and, by royal command, the sheriffs of the different counties of England and Wales seized the estates, and imprisoned the persons of the Templars. Some of the knights escaped the first search; but the diligence of the court was equal to its malignity; and the royal officers were told that there were many Templars in the country disguised in secular garments; and that they were men who had committed the crime of apostacy, to the manifest danger of their souls. The cavaliers‡ were

* Far different was the council of Ravenna. In that assembly it was declared, that it was just to receive the retractations of such avowals as had been extorted by the apprehension of the pain of the rack.

* Rymer, vol. ii. p. 10, 19, 20, 24, new edit.

† No religious order was so eminent in England as that of the Templars. Brother Almeric was one of those Englishmen who gained Magna Charta. The kings of England kept much of their treasure in the Temple, in London. Henry II. and Queen Eleanor desired to be buried in that place. Henry III. was educated there. M. Paris and Spelman, cited in Du Cange, in verbo Templum.

‡ The number of Templars imprisoned in

more than a year and a half in prison before their cause was brought under judicial cognizance. At the end of that time a papal bull was received in England; and the archbishop of Canterbury appointed courts at London, York, and Lincoln, for the trial of the Templars. The charges were the same in substance as those which had been preferred against the order in France. Forty-seven of the knights who had been incarcerated in the Tower were examined upon oath before the bishop of London, some inferior clergy, and the representatives of the Pope. They all denied the crimes of which they were charged. William de la Moore, the grand prior of England, was as earnest as de Molai had been in defence of his order. It appeared that every knight, at his entrance into the society, took the three religious oaths of chastity, poverty, and submission. A veil of secresy was cast over the proceedings, for it was contrary to the statutes that strangers should witness the reception of a member.* Seventeen lay and ecclesiastical individuals were then summoned to court, and their opinions were asked whether the Templars were religious people, and whether these secret meetings were held from a good or from a bad motive. The first witness thought that there must be evil in the affair, because the meetings were secret. Others candidly confessed ignorance, and bore strong testimony to the general good conduct of the knights. The remaining five witnesses avowed their ignorance of the principles and practice of the Templars.† Twenty-four new articles of charge, and an appendix of five more, were then framed against the knights. They were accused of burying in private, of having double methods of admission, of absolving excommunicated persons, and of relaxing canonical penances. All those things were solemnly denied by the Templars: and it was thought that a complete acquittal must be pronounced. It was only on the subject of absolution that any impropriety in their conduct could justly be suspected. It was admitted that the master could absolve men who offended against the ceremonies of religion; but he did not pretend to pardon crimes. At the general chapter the grand preceptor declared, that those persons who had not confessed their sins, or had withdrawn any money from the Templars, could not partake of Heaven: but other offences, which could not be confessed for modesty's sake, or for fear of the law, he absolved according to the degree of his authority. There could not, however, have been much evil in this ceremony, for the knights acknowledged that this absolution was not perfect, because the church form was never used, — "I absolve thee in the name of God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost."* Stephen de Stapelbrugge, a Templar, who long had avoided the officers of justice, was brought before the commissioners, and confessed in the fullest manner the truth of the charges contained in the papal bulls. Idols, however, were not worshipped in England. Another cavalier, Thomas de Thoroldeby, who had escaped from prison, was afterwards taken. He avowed the innocence of his order in the strongest terms, and declared that the reason of his having fled before was, that a certain abbot had held over him dreadful threats if he would not confess all manner of crimes. Two other Templars acknowledged the justice of the charges. Stephen de Stapelbrugge read in public a recantation of heresy; the clergy absolved him, and he was released from the penalties of excommunication. The consequences of clerical censures seem again to have terfied Thomas de Thoroldeby. He made an open avowal that he had spat upon the

England, Scotland, and Ireland, was about two hundred and fifty. Ferrati of Vicenza, a writer of the fourteenth century, says, that "there were fifteen thousand knights all over Christendom at the time of the dissolution of the order." Ferrati Vicentini, in Muratori, Scrip. Rer. Ital. vol. ii. p. 1018.

* The private associations of the primitive Christians had been the subject of much offence to the Pagans. As professors of a religion distinguished for charity, it ill became the accusers of the Templars to join criminality with secresy.

† Some time after this examination, and when the threat of ecclesiastical punishment made the knights recant their avowal of innocence, a great deal of hearsay evidence contradicted the statement in the text. Many people deposed, they had *heard* that the Templars adored images, denied the doctrines of the Divinity of Christ, the atonement, &c.

* A witness or two said this form was used.

cross, and committed other offences. He then received absolution.

Four knights made a general confession of crimes, when they were told by the bishops of London, Winchester, and Chichester, that the Pope had authorized them to give a full pardon to those who acknowledged their iniquities; but that if they persisted in heresy, they should be considered and punished as heretics.* Thirteen newly admitted knights swore that they were not acquainted with the secrets of the order, but that they were prepared to renounce all the erroneous opinions with which it was possible the minds of men could be stained. This general renunciation was made before, and the men were absolved by the archbishop of Canterbury and many of the dignified clergy. Thirty-two other knights and friars, who had on various occasions denied the truth of the charges, now offered general confessions, and abjured all heresies. Five men in the Tower, too ill or too aged for removal, gladly made a full acknowledgment of vice and erroneous opinions, and were pardoned. This seems to have been the case with all the London knights. William de la Moore, the grand prior, was the only man whom no fear of imprisonment or dread of ecclesiastical punishment could induce to deny his first avowal of the innocence of the order. He was requested to make a general confession; but he replied that he was not guilty of heresy, and would never abjure crimes which he had not committed.

In Ireland about thirty Templars, in Scotland only two, were confined and examined. In Lincoln the number somewhat exceeded twenty. There were twenty-three in York. The general charges of apostacy and idolatry were not proved in any case. The proceeding in the diocess of York are interesting. The archbishop assisted by the papal legates inquired into the matters directed by the bull. Some of the Templars confessed that the master and other officers had the power of absolution: others restricted that power to subjects relative to discipline. That the admission of a brother always took place in secret was a fact which was freely avowed. The archbishop wrote for the opinions of the learned theologians of his province, whether those things were heretical and erroneous: and whether the torture might be applied to those who did not confess.* The result of this application for judicial and casuistical advice does not appear. The Pope, however, pressed his grace to come to a decision. The archbishop went to London, and on his return he told his clergy that two of the Templars had confessed before the archbishop of Canterbury all the charges heaped upon the order, and that the king of France had burnt seventy-two knights who had made similar avowals. The clergy of York were perplexed by their wish to obey the Pope, and the conviction that the Templars were not guilty, or at least that their offences had been grossly exaggerated. However, all the knights made a general confession of the offence of heresy, and avowed they could not cleanse themselves from the crimes mentioned in the bull. The clergy pardoned them, and

* Wilkins, Concilia, vol. ii., p. 390. The dread of the punishments attached to the crime of heresy, made all the knights recant their first professions of innocence. For some time the commissioners appear to have acted with impartiality; but they afterwards went with the current of papal and royal wishes. The first examination of the knights were not agreeable to the wishes of the Pope, and he, therefore, gently censured the king of England for having forbidden the use of torture. "Thus the knights," he continued, "have refused to declare the truth. O! my dear son, consider attentively and prudently if such be consistent with your honour, and the safety of your kingdom." This advice of the Pope for the use of torture, is mentioned by M. Raynouard, on the authority of a manuscript in the Vatican. Hist. de la Condamnation des Templiers, p. 132, note. There is no reason to think, however, that the torture was used. There is not one expression in the report of the London commissioners which authorizes the supposition. That the threat of the punishment consequent on heresy was hung over them, and produced the effect, fully appears. The archbishop of York inquired of his clergy whether torture might be used, and mentions the fact (so grateful to Englishmen), that torture was unknown in this country. "An sint supponendi quæstionibus et tormentis, licet hoc in regno Angliæ nusquam visum fuerit vel auditum?" Hemingford, vol. i. p. 256, edit. Hearne. The archbishop adds, that there was no machine for torture in England: and he asks whether he shall send to foreign countries for one, in order that the prelates should not be chargeable with negligence.

* See preceding note.

received them again into the bosom of the church. They were then sent into confinement in various monasteries until the decision of a general council should be declared.*

The fate of the Templars in other parts of the world remains to be told. In Germany the innocence of the order was proved before the archbishops of Mayence and Treves, at councils held in their respective diocesses. In Italy the Pope had a little more success. Several Templars at Florence confessed every species of abomination. One witness, however, solemnly protested that many Templars had made those avowals out of fear of the torture. He added, "if the errors imputed to us had in reality existed, I should have quitted the order, and made my denunciation to the prelates and inquisitors; I would have preferred to have worked for my bread rather than remain with such people; in short, I would have chosen death, because the safety of my soul is the first object of my regard." One of those who bore testimony at Viterbo was so badly skilled in his story, that he deposed, the prior had compelled him to adore an idol, and had said to him, "Pray to this *idol* for health:" as if the prior would have confessed the imposition, and have told his proselyte to adore an object confessedly not capable of receiving adoration.† Much blood was shed in Lombardy, Tuscany, Sicily, Naples, and Provence,* whenever the knights would not be guilty of self-condemnation. In those parts of Spain where the conduct of the Templars was inquired into, the result was an acquittal. Their military front was powerful, and the ministers of papal vengeance did not dare to apply the torture.

Four years after the first seizure of the Templars in France, a council was held at Vienne in Dauphiny, for the purpose of making some general decision on the case of the order. The Pope headed three hundred bishops, and an untold number of inferior clergy. All men who desired to defend the order were promised security and freedom. Nine cavaliers presented themselves before the assembly in the character of representatives of one thousand five hundred of their brethren who were living at Lyons, and in the secret fastnesses of Savoy and Switzerland. Clement immediately violated his promise of protection, and threw the nine knights into prison. He then called upon the council for its opinion, whether in consequence of the confessions of the Templars the society ought not to be dissolved? With the disgraceful exception of one Italian prelate, and three French archbishops, the whole body of churchmen declared that so illustrious an order as that of the red-cross knights ought not to be suppressed, until the grand master and the nine knights had been heard in its defence. The Pope disregarded the opinion of the majority; and tried in vain for six months to make a change. The king of France arrived at Vienne, and, sanctioned by his presence, the Pope declared that he should exercise the plenitude of papal authority. He accordingly dissolved the order provisionally, and not absolutely, and reserved to himself the disposition of the persons and estates of the Templars. This mode of dissolution was totally unprecedented. The Pope avows in his bull that all the informations against the Templars did not fully support the charges that had been made against the order, but that they only warranted a strong suspicion of guilt, and he could not therefore pronounce a defi-

* The best and most full account of the condemnation of templars in England is contained in the second volume of Wilkins's Concilia, p. 329—401. See likewise Hemingford, already quoted. Rymer, vol. ii. p. 90, 93, 94, 100. Stubbs, apud. x. Script. col. 1740. Knyghton, col. 2494, 2531. Walsingham (whom Stow merely translates) says that the Templars in London, saving one or two of them, denied the charges: notwithstanding all did confess that they could not purge themselves, and therefore were condemned to perpetual penance in several monasteries, where they behaved very well. Walsingham, p. 99. Stow, p. 215. The reasons of their inability to make this canonical purgation have been explained in the text. Holingshed says, "the Templars confessed the form, but not the fact of the crimes, laid to their charge, except two or three ribalds that were among them: but because they could not clear themselves they were adjudged unto perpetual penance within certain monasteries." Holingshed, vol. ii. p. 320, edition, 1587.

† "How, then, shall they call on him in whom they have not believed?" Romans, x. 14.

* Nostrodamus, Chron. de Provence, p. 325, &c.

nitive sentence. When the subject of the distribution of the Knights Templars' estates was debated in the council, the Pope declared that they ought to be bestowed upon the Hospitallers, because the original purpose of the order was the subjugation of the infidels, a purpose which the knights of Rhodes were earnestly pursuing. The friends of the French king disclaimed against the danger to morals and religion of enriching the companions in arms of the Templars, and strongly endeavoured to prove the superior benefits to the Christian cause, which would result from the establishment of a new order. But the Pope promised to amend the principles, and to reform the abuses of the military friars, and Philip was compelled to withdraw his opposition.

The decree of confiscation was executed throughout Christendom. The Templars were robbed, but the Hospitallers did not enjoy the whole of the plunder. Philip the Fair, and his successor Louis Hutin, retained nearly three hundred thousand livres for what they chose to term the expenses of the prosecution. The landed estates were slowly and unwillingly resigned, for the monarchs enjoyed the rents till the commissioners of the knights of Rhodes established their rights.* In Germany the Teutonic knights assisted the Hospitallers in plundering those who had formerly been their brethren in arms in Palestine. In Italy, and most of Spain, the decree of the Vienne council was faithfully executed. In Valentia, however, the knights of Calatrava were enriched, and in Arragon the order of the knights of our lady of Montesa was created in the place of the Templars, and supported by their wealth. The knights were destined to fight the Muselmans of Spain. The most wise and virtuous monarch of his time was Denis, king of Portugal. He preserved the order of the red-cross knights, and made only the sacrifice to the decrees of the church by changing their title from the soldiers of the Temple to that of the soldiers of Christ. Pope John XXII. was obliged to concede to this measure. In England the Templars were restored to liberty before the holding of the council at Vienne: but their estates were retained by the king's commissioners, and the rents were paid into the royal treasury. Edward II. confirmed the papal grant of the estates of the Templars to the Hospitallers; and recommended the new possessors to make the same pecuniary allowance to the knights as he had made them.* The regal ratification of the decree of the church was not, however, in all respects considered obligatory. Both before and after the passing of the royal word, Edward gave to different laymen much of the forfeited property. Numbers of the nobility, too, as heirs of the original donors, seized many of the Templars' estates. Indeed, so great was the injustice done to the Hospitallers, that Pope John XXII. censured both the clergy and laity for their disobedience of the decree of the council at Vienne. Moved by the voice of the holy pontiff, the parliament confirmed the decrees, but oppression still exerted some influence, and the Hospitallers were even obliged to purchase of the king, or from laymen, the objects of his munificence, many of the estates of the Templars.†

The last circumstance which attended the fate of the Templars was the condemnation of the grand master, James de Molai. About a year after the termination of the council at Vienne, two cardinals as legates of the Pope, the arch-

* It was not until the year 1317, and until the reign of Philip le Long, that the Hospitallers completely discharged the French king from all their demands upon him as a guardian of the estates of the Templars. Dupuy, p. 184.

* Two shillings to the master, and four pence to each cavalier, were paid every day during the time when their estates were in royal custody.

† The earls of Lancaster and Pembroke, and the younger Spenser, successively had grants of the Temple in London; but in consequence of the events of death, rebellion, and attainter, it reverted to the crown. In the reign of Edward III. the Hospitallers got full possession of the Temple, and demised it unto some common law professors that came from Thavies Inn, Holborn. The rebels in 1381 very much injured the church and buildings of the Temple. The lawyers divided themselves into two bodies, — those of the Inner Temple, and those of the Middle Temple: and held the mansion as tenants to the Hospitallers till the dissolution of that order of knights, 32 Henry VIII. and afterwards as tenants to the crown. James I. granted them the building in fee. Dugdale, Orig. Jurid. cap. 57, edit. 1671. Stow's London, book 3, p. 271.

bishop of Sens, and some other French prelates, met at Paris, and sat in judgment upon the grand master, and upon Guy, brother of the prince of Dauphiny, and the two grand priors of France and Aquitain. There was no new trial and no new examination. But on a public scaffold, where a pile of wood was lighted by the ordinary executioner, the commissioners called upon the knights to confirm the acknowledgment of the immoralities and heresies which they had made to the Pope. The priors of France and Aquitain renewed their confession. But the virtuous James de Molai cried aloud that he had been guilty of the greatest crime in charging the Templars with vice. "I uttered," he continued, "all that the inquisitors wished, only for the purpose of escaping the torments of the rack. But I abhor the weakness which I then showed. Great as are the torments which are prepared for me, I will endure them rather than purchase a few years of life by persisting in falsehood."* Similar language was uttered by Guy; his declaration closed the proceedings, and the four knights were re-conveyed to prison. On the same day James de Molai was burnt alive before a slow fire, on the very spot in Paris which had been adorned in modern times with a statue of Henry IV. With his dying lips he bore testimony to the virtue of the order; and his mental sufferings on account of his former want of firmness appeared to be greater than his mere corporeal pain. The brother of the prince of Dauphiny met with the same unhappy but honourable end as that of his friend James de Molai. The two priors seem to have died in prison.

The charges against the Templars, of apostacy and idolatry, were so completely unsubstantiated, that the order must hold the same rank in the estimation of posterity as if those charges had never been made. The general character for virtue† of the red-cross knights can be proved from the declarations of their enemies. The opinions of Pope Clement V. and Edward II., king of England, have been already quoted. The praise which Philip the Fair bestowed upon the order is equally decisive. In the year 1304, three years only before the proscription, the French king, in an act which accorded numerous privileges in favour of the Templars, explains in the following terms the reasons of its munificence: "The works of piety and charity, the magnificient liberality which the holy order of the Temple has exercised in all times and in all places, and their noble courage, which ought again to be excited to the dangerous defence of the Holy Land, have determined us to spread our royal bounty over the order and its knights in our kingdom, and to give special marks of favour to an establishment for which we have a sincere predilection."*

The causes of the suppression of the order of the Templars, the reasons which occasioned the arm of power to be raised against them, form an interesting subject of inquiry. The defenders of the Romish

* Paulus Emilius, p. 174, edit. 1539.

† Marianna writes very safely on the subject of the Templars. He says, "it is is most probable they were not all innocent, nor were all of them guilty." The jesuit ought to have known that the crimes of a few or a great many individuals were not the alleged matters of offence. It was the whole body of knights, the practice of the chapters as sanctioned by the statutes of the order, which had passed the common measure of vice.

* Trésor des Chartres, as cited in Raymond, p. 14, note. In praise of the Templars I must add, that Guiot, one of the Troubadours, who wrote in the thirteenth century, speaks in honourable terms of the Templars, although he is bitter and severe in his mention of all other religious orders.

Molt sont prodomme li Templier,
Là se rendent li chevalier.
Qui ont le siecle assavoré
Et ont et véu et tot tasté.
Bible, Guiot, vers. 1706, cited in Roquefort, Glossaire de la Lanque Romane, art. Temples.

From the same Manuscript, as cited in the Notices des MSS. du Roi, vol. 5, p. 289, &c. some curious particulars may be gained respecting the red-cross knights and the Hospitalians. "The Templars (it is the minstrel that speaks) are honoured in Syria; dreaded by the Turks; and their order would suit me well enough, but they are obliged to fight. — They are too brave. I had rather be a living coward than have the most illustrious death possible. These preux chevaliers of the Temple are very exact in all that concerns the service of the church." — "I have lived (he continues) with the Hospitalians at Jerusalem, and have found them haughty and fierce. Besides, since by name and foundation they ought to be hospitable, why are they not so in reality?"

church, in sweet oblivion of the character of their own establishment, have accused the Templars of ambition: a passion which resulted from their wealth. But the course and object of this common feeling of human nature were not made matters of charge; neither are men to be condemned for supposed consequences of principles, or for passions which have not appeared in conduct.* The knights of St. John were more wealthy; and, on the principles we have mentioned, more ambitious than the Templars; but the military friars stood unimpeached, while the rains of indignation were poured on the red-cross knights. The union of these two bodies had been a frequent subject of papal consideration; and the impracticability of the measure, not its impropriety, finally prevented its completion.† The severity of the discipline of the Templars was always objected to by the Hospitalians; and the sagacious members of both orders foretold that there would be perpetual dissensions if the rival and jealous knights attempted to live in social intercourse. The Templars were not accused by outraged public decency, by the complaints of an injured and insulted world: but by the monster of his age,‡ Philip the Fair of France. No love of virtue could have influenced the king, for his own life was one continued scene of profligacy. No disinterested esteem of justice prompted him to the investigation of their conduct, or he would not have tortured the knights into self-condemnation. He had not even a fair case of prosecution. We are driven, then, to suppose that some private motive must have urged him to the destruction of an order celebrated for its heroical virtue, and which had been among the brightest ornaments of chivalry, and one of the firmest bulwarks of the Christian kingdom of Jerusalem. In these days of policy, we can readily imagine that the existence of a body of soldiers who were totally independent of the sovereign of the country in which they resided, must have been highly dangerous to the state. Apprehensions of that nature were not, however, entertained by Philip. But there is abundant evidence to justify the assertion, that the real crime of the Templars was their wealth.* A little while before the proscription, Philip the Fair had robbed the Jews; but, in the year 1307, the finances of the kingdom were again in such an exhausted state, that after having solemnly promised the States-General to restore the coinage to its condition under Louis IX., Philip saw himself obliged to violate the royal word, or again to recruit his empty treasury by some new and extraordinary expedient. As a scheme of finance, then, he plotted the destruction of the Templars, and, in the collection of French public charters, we find a document in which the king proposed the question, whether the goods of the Templars ought to be confiscated in favour of the prince of the country in whose kingdom they are situated. Many of the best historians of the fourteenth century ascribe the condemnation of the Templars to the cupidity of the French

* Some writers have charged the Templars with pride, and have referred to a pointed sentence of Richard Cœur de Lioh. See Bromton, apud x. Script. col. 1279. Knighton, however, makes the humble monarch charge both the Templars and the Hospitallers with the sin by which the angels fell. Col. 2412.

† One of the last attempts at this union was made at Saltzburg in the year 1292.

‡ On every account, Dante was justified in terming him, "Il mal di Francia.' Del Purgatorio, vij. 109. After having reprehended Philip for his savage usage of Boniface VIII. the poet lashes him for his iniquitous condemnation of the Templars.

Veggio 'l nuovo Pilato, sì crudele,
Che ciò nol sazia, ma senza decreto
Porta nel tempio le cupide vele.
Del Purgatorio, canto 20, 91.

Lo! the new Pilate, of whose cruelty
Such violence cannot fill the measure up,
With no decree to sanction, pushes on
Into the temple his yet eager sails.
Cary's Translation.

* "The chief course of their ruin was their extraordinary wealth. They were feared of many, envied of more, loved of none. As Naboth's vineyard was the chiefest ground for his blasphemy; and as, in England, Sir John Cornwall, lord Fanhope, said merrily, that not he, but his stately house at Ampthill in Bedfordshire, was guilty of high treason; so certainly their wealth was the principal evidence against them, and cause of their overthrow. It is quarrel and cause enough to bring a sheep that is fat to the shambles. We may believe king Philip would never have taken away their lives, if he might have taken their lands without putting them to death: but the mischief was, he could not get the honey unless he burnt the bees." Fuller, History of the Holy War, book v. ch. iii.

king. Such assertions are expressly made by St. Antoninus,* archbishop of Florence, and by Villani.† Boccacio is a witness for the assertion, that the Parisians attributed the severity of Philip to his avarice.‡ William Ventura, the historian of Asti, says, that this prosecution was excited by the envy and pecuniary selfishness of Philip, and that he hated the Templars, because they had taken the part of Boniface, in the quarrel between that pontiff and the king.§ Thus, then, his avarice was spurred on by his malignity. It is true, that by the decrees of the council of Vienne, the estates of the Templars were appropriated to the Hospitalians. As far as Philip the Fair was personally concerned, these decrees were of no consequence. While he was on the throne, he enjoyed the forfeited estates, and but few of the moveables of the knights were ever applied according to the commands of the Pope. Philip would gladly have condemned the Templars without the interference of Clement: but papal sanction was absolutely necessary, because the knights were not amenable to any court save that of the Pope. If Philip had, on his own authority, pronounced the abolition of the order, the people would have revered the Templars as victims of royal tyranny, and the nobility would have seized the property which once belonged to their own families. It was necessary, therefore, for the purpose of seducing the vulgar, to calumniate the knights, and to hold them to public view as heretical and impious men. Clement was as selfish as Philip, for many of the estates of the Templars were withheld from the Hospitallers till the new claimants paid large tribute to the coffers of St. Peter.‖

* St. Antoninus, archbishop of Florence, p. 3, tit. 21, c. i. f. 3, p. 92, ap. Raynal, ann. 1307, p. 18, cited in Sismondi, Hist. des Rép. Ital. vol. iv. ch. xxvi.

† Il quale (il Re di Francia) mosso de avaritia si fece promettere del Papa secretamente di disfare la detta ordine de' Tempieri, opponendo contro a loro molti articoli di resia; ma piu si dice che fu per trarre di loro molti moneta, &c. Villani, Storie, lib. viii. c. 92, p. 429.

‡ Boccacio, de casibus Virorum illustrium, p. 260, 262, fol. *Aug. Vind.*, 1544.

§ Chron. Astense, c. xxvii. t. xi. p. 192, cited in Sismondi, ubi supra.

‖ Chron. Pip. Muratori, Rer. Scrip. Ital., vol. ix., p. 750, and Walsingham.

CHAPTER XVIII.

REMARKS ON THE GENERAL CONSEQUENCES OF THE CRUSADES.

The origin and history of the fanatical and military enterprises, called the Crusades, have been traced. No religious wars have been so long, so sanguinary, and so destructive. Countless hosts of holy warriors fell the victims of their own vindictive enthusiasm and military ardour. Fierceness and intolerance were the strongest features in the character of the dark ages, and it is, perhaps, not so much in the conduct, as in the object, of the crusades, that any thing distinct and peculiar can be marked. It was not for the conversion of people, nor the propagation of opinions, but for the redemption of the sepulchre of Christ, and the destruction of the enemies of God, that the crimson standard was unfurled. The western world did not cast itself into Asia from any view of expediency, or in consequence of any abstract theoretical principle of a right of hostility; men did not arm themselves from any conviction tat the co-existence of Christendom and Islamism was incompatible with the doctrines of the Koran, or that the countries of the west would be precipitated into the gulf of destruction, if Asia Minor were not torn from the Seljuk Turks, and restored to the emperor of Constantinople. But the flame of war spread from one end of Europe to the other, for the deliverance of the Holy Land from a state which was called pollution; and the floodgates of fanaticism were unlocked for the savage and iniquitous purpose of examination. Count Robert of Flanders, one of the heroes of the first crusade, might indeed have wished to aid his imperial friend, Alexius, and pope Urban II. was swelled with the soul-inspiring idea of a glorious triumph of the Christian cause over infidelity. But popular madness would not listen to the calls of generous policy and lofty ambition. The wish for the redemption of the Holy Land was the feeling which influenced both Godfrey of Bouillon and St. Louis, the first and the last great champions of the cross; it was that wild desire which moved Europe for two centuries, and without it

the crusades would never have been undertaken. Political ambition, ties of country and kindred, clerical authority, habit and custom, encouraged the general principle, and while some fanatics courted the crown of martyrdom, other aspired to the guerdon of renown. But the usual feelings of warriors did not create the crusades; they supported them indeed, yet when the flame of enthusiasm was extinguished, military ardour and papal power could not rekindle it.

The question of the justice of the holy wars is one of easy solution. The Crusaders were not called upon by Heaven to carry on hostilities against the Muselmans. Palestine did not, of right, belong to the Christians in consequence of any gift of God: and it was evident, from the fact of the destruction of the second temple, that there was no longer any peculiar sanctity in the ground of Jerusalem. There is no command of the Scriptures for Christians to build the walls of the Holy City, and no promise of an earthly Canaan as the reward of virtue. "It is mere equivocation to call Palestine the Lord's heritage, and the land promised to his people. These expressions belong to the Old Testament in the proper and literal sense, and can be applied to the New only in a figurative sense. The heritage which Christ purchased with his blood in his church, collected from all nations, and the land which he promised is the heavenly country."*

If Europe had armed itself for the purpose of succouring the Grecian emperor, the rendering of such assistance would have been a moral action, for the Saracenian march of hostility would not have stopped with the subjugation of Constantinople, and it is incumbent upon us to prevent a danger, as well as to repel one. If the Christians had been animated by the conviction that war with all the world was the vital principle of the Muhammedan religion, then also a right of hostility would have been raised.† But before they could have been justified on this last-mentioned argument, proof was necessary that the danger was imminent, and that time and circumstances had not reduced the principle to a mere dry inoperative letter of the law.* In the first hundred and fifty years of Muhammedan history, the Muselmans made continued and successful attacks on the Christians; and the invasion of France by the Spanish and African Moors, seemed to endanger Christendom as a world independent of and not tributary to the Saracens. In all that long period the people of the west might have instituted Crusades on principles of self-defence. But as they acquiesced for ages in the existence of Islamism, they could not afterwards draw the sword, except for the purpose of preventing or repelling new aggressions. No dangers hung

* Fleury, cited in Jortin's Remarks on Ecclesiastical History, vol. iii. p. 337.

† This is Johnson's argument. "The lawfulness and justice of the holy wars have been much disputed, but, perhaps, there is a principle on which the question may be easily determined. If it be a part of the religion of the Mahometans, to extirpate by the sword all other religions, it is, by the laws of self-defence, lawful for men of every other religion, and for Christians among others, to make war upon Mahometans, simply as Mahometans, as men obliged by their own principles to make war upon Christians, and only lying in wait till opportunity shall promise them success." Notes on Shakspeare's Henry IV. act. i. scene i. In a similar strain, lord Bacon says, "It is to be well noted, that towards ambitious states, which are noted to aspire to great monarchies, and to seek upon all occasions to enlarge their dominions, *crescunt argumenta justi metus*, all particular fears do grow and multiply out of the contemplation of the general causes and practice of such states. Therefore, in deliberation of war against the Turk, it hath been often, with great judgment, maintained, that Christian princes and states have always a sufficient ground of invasive war against the enemy; not for cause of religion, but upon a just fear: forasmuch as it is a fundamental law in the Turkish empire, that they may, without any other provocation, make war upon Christendom for the propagation of their law; so that there lieth upon Christians a perpetual fear of war, hanging over their heads, from them; and therefore they may at all times, as they think good, be upon the preventive." *War with Spain.* Bacon's Works, vol. iii., p. 505, edit. 1803. And in his Essays, "The Turk hath at hand, for cause of war, the propagation of his law or sect; a quarrel that he may always command." Vol. ii. p. 328.

* As it is in the present day with the Turkish nation. The principle that, for the purpose of converting the infidels, war is the ordinance of God, is acknowledged by the Muselman doctors. They have accommodated it, however, to modern times, by the explanation that the duty is sufficiently performed when only one Muhammedan country is in a state of hostility with an infidel people.

over Christendom at the time when the Crusades commenced. During the greater part of the century at the end of which the din of religious war resounded throughout Europe, the Seljukian Turks or Tartars were formidable foes to the oriental Christians, and, as we have seen, the terrified Greek emperors frequently implored the succour of the west. But some years before the call was answered, the Turkish empire had suffered the usual fate of oriental greatness, for the emir, Ortok, rebelled in Jerusalem, and the kingdom of Rhoum, or Asia Minor, refused to own the supremacy of the Seljuks. If the sultan of Nice had been aided by the Seljukian lord, the Cæsars must have been hurled from their throne. But on the death of Soliman,* the new state in Asia Minor lost much of its vigour; and the fair prospects of the Tartars for universal dominion were blasted when Malek Shah died.† The royal vassals became independent monarchs. Asia, indeed, was warlike, but it was divided. The Crusaders, on their arrival in the Moslem states, were opposed by large armies; for the power of the European hosts had spread alarm over all Muselman Asia; and mutual jealousies yielded to the high necessity of preservation. But after the Christians had entered Syria, civil wars among the Turks were renewed; and the rightful lord of Nice had as many districts stripped from him by his turbulent nobility as by his religious foes. The want of union between the Seljukian empire and the Seljukian kingdom of Rhoum, and the subsequent dismemberment of both these great states, were the circumstances in politics which preserved Constantinople. The first Crusaders restored much of Bithynia to the Greek emperor; and Alexius Comnenus and his successors profited by the victories of the soldiers of Christ, and of the dissensions among the Moslem emirs, and in consequence of these co-operating causes recovered the dominion over the Grecian shores of the Mediterranean and Euxine seas.

On principles of morals and politics, therefore, the holy wars cannot be justified. It has been shown, that no dangers menaced Europe at the commencement of the Crusades; and it is only a subject of conjecture whether circumstances might in after times have warranted the military excitement of Christendom against Islamism. Perhaps the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem diverted the thoughts of Saladin from the subjugation of Constantinople. The master passion of that extraordinary man was hatred of the infidels; but the objects of his fanatical detestation were powerful in Palestine, and the lord of Syria and Egypt, of course, made their destruction his first attempt. The perpetual rebellions of the Atabeks prevented him for many years from seriously attacking the Franks. Death terminated his career of victory, before it could be proved whether his religious ambition was sated, or whether he would not lead his conquering armies into Asia Minor. It may, I think, be fairly conjectured, that the only circumstance likely to have checked him, would have been his fear of the rebellion of his valuable province of Egypt, when he should be far removed from the seat of government. His dominion was much greater than that of the Ottoman monarchs when they stormed the capital of the Byzantine empire; and if Saladin's power had, like theirs, arisen in Asia Minor, the fall of Constantinople would have been the first and chief object in his desires of foreign hostility. The wars of the early Saracens with the Greeks had shown the difficulty of carrying on attacks upon the imperial city, unless the whole of the surrounding states were at the command of the besiegers: and as Saladin could not sit down before Constantinople with the advantages which the Ottoman monarchs possessed, the issue perhaps might have been different.

In tracing the history of Europe in its progress from barbarism to refinement, and in accounting for the various phenomena of the moral world, the philosophical observer of man reverts with anxious seriousness to the Crusades of the Latins in the east. Those transmarine expeditions so deeply convulsed the moral fabric of the west, they stand so prominent in the picture of former ages, that curiosity is awakened to the investigation, whether they left some lasting

* A. D. 1085.
† A. D. 1092.

mpression of good or of evil on the world. In the two hundred years of their continuance, Europe was making slow and silent advances in arts and civilization; and there were great changes of scene in the political theatre. Viewing, then, the natural union between principle and event, and guarding ourselves against the error of confounding chronological coincidences with moral connexions, the inquiry is to be made into the consequences of the holy wars.*

A stamp of permanency was fixed on popular superstition when pilgrimages became a matter of public concern and national interest. At the same time also, they lost many of their original characteristics. Those religious journeys were only consistent with the Christian character, when they were performed in harmony with great and primary duties. They might have been considered the ornaments of a religious life if they had proceeded from holy sympathy; but when their essential merit was made to consist in the destruction of men, and trampling on the law of nations, their natural tendency was to indurate the heart, and brutalize the character. War became a sacred duty, and obligatory on every class of mankind. The fair face of religion was besmeared with blood, and heavenly attraction was changed for demoniacal repulsiveness. The Crusades encouraged the most horrible violences of fanaticism.† They were the precedent for the military contentions of the church with the Prussians and Albigenses; and as the execrable Inquisition arose out of the spirit of clerical dragooning, the wars in Palestine brought a frightful calamity on the world. Universal dominion was the ambition of the Roman pontiffs; and the iniquity of the means was in dreadful accordance with the audacity of the project. The pastors of the church used anathemas, excommunications, interdicts, and every weapon in the storehouse of spiritual artillery: and when the world was in arms for the purpose of destroying infidels, it was natural that the soldiers of God should turn aside and chastise other foes to the true religion. Before the æra of hostilities in Palestine, among the objects of the military profession was the defence of the church. Thus the cavalier, in vociferating his profession of faith, brandished his sword, or touched the gospels with its point. The martial character of the religion of the eleventh century has been already mentioned as one great cause of the holy wars. Of itself it would naturally have led to aggressive hostility on heretics; and the Popes would have called on the world to arm for such purposes, although the example of Palestine had not been before them. But we know that they did profit by the general disposition of the world to fight opinions, that the pardons and indulgences* which were given to one description of religious warriors, were imparted to another, and that the tide of blood and fanaticism did not flow only through Saracenian lands. Crusades with idolators and erring Christians were considered as virtuous and as necessary as Crusades with Saracens; the south of France was saturated with heretical blood;

* Like many other subjects of inquiry, the philosophy of history has had its alchymists. The search of a single cause of all effects has bewildered the brains of many reasoners. At one time, it was the literary fashion to pay more homage to Bagdad than to Rome; and, with equal wisdom, many writers have ascribed all the civilization and learning of Europe to the Crusades.

† Independently of the Crusades of children, which the reader will find mentioned in note G g, there were two popular commotions in France during and after the thirteenth century, under pretence of crusading. In 1251 and 1320, certain fanatics raised popular assemblies for the avowed purpose of going to Jerusalem. Much blood was shed, and every species of lawlessness was committed. The Jews seems to have been the chief sufferers. Du Cange, Latin Glossary, article Pastorelli.

* The conduct of the Popes in the holy wars has been noticed in several parts of this work. The result seems to be, that at first the heads of union gained authority by encouraging religious wars, but that they afterwards lost it by their arrogance and avarice. M. Heeren wishes us to think, but appears afraid openly to say, that the Crusades produced the Reformation. "Les Croisades firent aussi inventer les *indulgences*, dont l'abus irrita Luther au seizième siècle, et amena la réformation. — Peut-on en conclure que les Croisades soient la cause de la guerre des Hussites et de la réformation de Luther? — On en peut conclure seulement cette ancienne vérité, que tout est étroitement lié dans la série des événemens qui forment les destinées de notre espèce." Essai sur l'Influence des Croisades, p. 176. See preceding note.

and those booted apostles, the Teutonic knights, converted, sword in hand, the Prussians and Lithuanians from idolatry to Christianity.

The sword of religious persecution was not directed against Turks and heretics only. The reader remembers the sanguinary enormities that disgraced the opening of the first Crusade. Not only was this instance of persecution of the Jews the earliest one upon record in the annals of the west since the fall of the Roman empire, but it is also true that that wretched people met with most of their dreadful calamities during the time of the holy wars. It is highly probable that the hatred which the Christians felt against them was embittered by that fierce and mistaken zeal for religion which gave birth to the Crusades; and as the chief object of those Crusades was the recovery of the sepulchre at Jerusalem, it was natural that the Christian belligerents should behold with equal detestation the nation which had crucified the Saviour, as the nation which continued to profane his tomb. This conjecture is much confirmed by the circumstance, that the prevailing prejudice in the middle ages against the Jews was, that they often crucified Christian children in mockery of the great sacrifice. If it be objected to this reasoning, that the crusading Cœur de Lion befriended the Jews, I reply, that the crusading king Edward the First expelled them from England. The former prince was under the perfect dominion of a mere love of war, careless of the cause or object. The latter hero, on the contrary, was strongly influenced by the religious spirit of chivalry, and consequently a more complete instance of the crusading character than his lion-hearted ancestor.

The features of ferocity which religion assumed from the Asiatic contests, were not the only subject of evil. The penalties which the chuch inflicted on its members, as the temporal punishments of sin, might have been unwarranted by Scripture, and were, doubtless, often awarded by cruelty and caprice. But the practice of prayer, fasting, and almsgiving, was in itself salubrious to the individual, and beneficial to society. It softened pride; it subdued the sensual passions; it diffused charity. Instead of these blessings, the slaughter of human beings was made the propitiation of offence; and the Christian virtues of self-denial and benevolence were considered an absurd and antiquated fashion. As the discipline of the church had been broken in upon for one purpose, it could be violated for another. The repentant sinner who could not take the cross himself, might contribute to the charge of the holy expedition. When offences were once commuted for money, the religious application of the price of pardon soon ceased to be necessary. Absolutions from penance became a matter of traffic, and holy virtues were discountenanced. For this reason, and for many others, the Crusades conferred no benefits on morals. The evils of a life free from domestic restraints, formed a strong argument against pilgrimages in very early ages of the church, and it does not appear that when the wanderers became soldiers their morals improved. The vices of the military colonists in Palestine are the burden of many a page of the crusading annalists. Something must be detracted from those representations in consequence of their authors' prejudice, that the vices of the Christians in the Holy Land effected the ruin of the kingdom. Yet enough remains to show that the tone of morals was not at a higher pitch in Palestine than in Europe. The decrees of the council at Naplousa prove that a difference of religion, although a barrier against the dearest charities of life, was no impediment to a vicious sensual intercourse between the Franks and the Moslems. The Latins lived in a constant course of plunder on their Muselman neighbours, and therefore on their return to Europe could not spread around them any rays of virtue.*

Undoubtedly the Crusades augmented the wealth of the clergy. It cannot in-

* See ante, pp. 15, 112, 144, 226, notes. The old romances give a faithful picture of the dress of the times, and, with a dash of caricature, of the manners and morals too. In the entertaining romance of Le Renard, written in the thirteenth century, it is said, that foreign pilgrimages had done no good to any body, and that many good people had been made bad by them. Notices des MSS. du Roi, vol. 5, p. 303. In tracing the history of morals, it is curious to observe, that Piers Ploughman speaks of pilgrims and palmers, who on their return have leave to tell lies all the rest of their lives.

deed be shown that the church derived pecuniary benefit from any malversation in its office of guardian of the pilgrims' estates, and in the absence of proof, moral delinquency must not be inferred.* But the rapacious barons frequently plundered the clergy, and when afterwards they were brought to such a sense of religion as to resolve on a holy war, the restitution of ecclesiastical property became a neccessary preliminary proceeding. Title deeds of the twelfth and thirteen centuries abound with such restitutions. The passion of crusading extended to churchmen, but not with the same violence as it did to other classes, because the former possessed the larger share of sense and discretion. Accordingly the estates of the clergy were not much wasted in Palestine. The ecclesiastics, therefore, flourished more vigorously than other men; they took a high rank in society; and purchased the birth-rights of rash, fiery enthusiasts who tried the hazard of fortune in the Holy Land.†

If, during the time of Crusades, Europe had enjoyed a state of peace, it might have been supposed that the existence of that happiness was attributable to the fact that the unsettled humours of the land had found occupation for their inquietude in Palestine. But the good as well as the bad enlisted themselves under the glorious ensign of the cross, and Europe was injured by one circumstance as much as she was blessed by the other. The horrors of civil war were stayed, and the truce of God was observed for a few years subsequently to the departure of the first Crusaders; but afterwards civil and national hostilities raged with unceasing and unrelenting fury; and moreover the spirit of the Crusades fanned the flame of military daring. When once the sword was drawn, it became the arbitrator of domestic disputes as well as of foreign quarrels. The world was more warlike, and in some particulars more chivalric at the close of the Crusades than at their commencement. Inasmuch as they quickened military spirit and religious zeal, they had great influence on chivalry: and every true knight when he heard the Christian religion evil spoken of was prepared to defend it with his sword alone, which, according to the disposition of St. Louis, "he ought to thrust into the belly of his adversary as far as it would go." One great support or mark of chivalry was mainly owing to the Crusades. I mean the military and religious orders which exist even in the present day. The union of religion and arms preceded, indeed, the martial journeys into Syria, and the formation of those societies which constitute "the cheap defence of nations" would have taken place even if there had been no holy wars.* But it is a historical fact, that on the dissolution of the order of knights Templars many new orders arose; so much of chivalry therefore as depends on those institutions, it may be said, was partly derived from the Crusades.

There is a charm in the expression "the days of chivalry," which is felt and acknowledged even in "times of sophisters, and calculators and œconomists." The fancy dissipates a cloud of selfish and ignoble passions, and transporting itself to those remote ages which it gilds with the virtues of honour and courtesy, beholds the stately and polite cavalier, plated in habiliments of war, and bearing in his crested helm the glove of his mistress.

* In the legitimate exercise of their office of trustees and guardians, the clergy must of course have considerably augmented their wealth and influence. "Li Pontefici co'loro brevi ricevettero sotto la protettione sua, e degli altre prelati le case e li negotti de crocesignati, cosi si chiamavano quelli, che andavano alla guerra, and questo apporto alle chiesse quell' accrescimento che suol apportare l'esser tutore curatore ò procuratore di vedoue pupilli e minori, ne il magistrato seculare poteva pensar pur di difendere alcuno per il terrore delle censure, che all' hora s'adoperavano senza risparmio." P. Paolo, Trattato dell materie Beneficiare, vol. i., p. 119. Opere, 5 vol. 12mo. 1675.

* The reader remembers that Godfrey of Bouillon sold many of his estates to the clergy. Robertson states, on authorities which I have not been able to examine, that in the year 1096 Baldwin count of Hainault mortgaged or sold part of his demesnes to the bishop of Liege. At a later period (A.D. 1239) Baldwin count of Namur made a similar disposition of some of his land to a monastery when he intended to assume the cross. Proofs and Illustrations, note 13, sec. 1, to the View of Society in Europe.

* By the operation of the same principle which gave rise to the news of St. John and the Temple, many orders were founded in Spain in the course of the twelfth century.

We dwell with impassioned interest on "the fierce wars and faithful loves" which moralized the songs of our early poets, and losing nothing of our veneration for the regular beauties of classical lore, we can admire the rich and luxurious ornaments, which the creative imagination of romance has thrown around the disinterestedness and gallantry, the dignity and pathos of chivalry. Tasso and Ariosto, Chaucer and Spenser, breathed the fragrance of enchanted regions, and Milton, generally so stern and sublime, did not disdain to hear the muses sing of "knights' and lords' gentle deeds." "I will tell you," that majestic bard declares, "whither my younger feet wandered, I betook me among those lofty fables and romances which recount in solemn cantos the deeds of chivalry."* On the fair part of ancient warfare the Crusades cast a baleful influence. The tenacious and delicate regard to veracity, which was a great characteristic of the true knight, must have lost much of its sensitiveness by the habitual and systematic violations of faith with infidels. A liberal treatment of prisoners was another remarkable point in the chivalric character. So firm was the trust of cavaliers in each other's honour, that it was common for a victorious knight to suffer his captive to return to his own country, in order to collect his ransom. In the days of Richard and Saladin, some lofty and romantic feelings of generosity took from war many of its horrors, and the Turks even aspired to the distinction of Christian knighthood. But on most other occasions, as there was no common tie of religion between the two people, no principle mutually acknowledged, the cavaliers would place no trust in the word of men whom they either hated or despised. In some cases a pure thirst of glory and a generous love of renown impelled the European soldiers into the east; but bigotry and cruelty were the general and ruling passions of holy warriors. When, indeed, the knight was errant in Palestine, as the price of female smiles, the full effects of chivalry and of holy wars were similar. But these instances were comparatively rare. The western world precipitated itself into Asia from fanatical, not romantic motives; for purposes of savage destruction, not of that high-minded protection of women which the lawless state of society in Europe rendered necessary, and which was granted in consequence of the deep feelings of veneration with which the German ancestors of the cavaliers had always regarded the opposite sex.* Palestine was the land of religion, but not of love. The Crusaders were armed devotees rather than gentle knights. The reward of beauty was not joined with the praise of arms. The soldiers of the cross had all the heroism, but none of the polish, of knight-errantry, and the sword "leaped from its scabbard," not for the generous purpose of avenging the looks which threatened beauty with insult, but for the vile and rude office of striking off a Saracen's head. In Europe, they fought for Heaven and the ladies; in Palestine, for Heaven only; and the spirit of military fanaticism was so much stronger than that of military gallantry, that many noble cavaliers, disdaining the soft collar of the gentle affections, aspired to high and austere virtues, and enrolled themselves in those martial fraternities, of which celibacy was the key, in order that the "lascivious pleasings of the lute" should be drowned in the roarings of the brazen throat of Paynim war.

It cannot be shown, that the condition of the people was ameliorated, or that the tyranny of the aristocracy was broken by the holy wars. Much blood and treasure were wasted; but in no greater ratio in one class of society than in another, for the epidemic ran through all ranks of people, and potentates and plebeians† made consentaneous move-

* Apology for Smectymnuus. Prose Works, vol. i., p. 224, 8vo. And in another place he says with equal enthusiasm:

O mihi si mea sors talem concedat amicum,
Phœbæos decorâsse viros qui tam bene nôrit,
Signandò indigenas revocatio in carmina reges,
Arturumque etiam sub terris bella moventem!
Aut dicam invictæ sociali fœdere mensæ
Magnanimos heroas. Mansus, 78—83.

* Inesse quinetiam sanctum aliquid, et providum putant: nec aut consilia earum aspernantur, aut responsa negligunt, &c. Tacitus, Germania, c. viii.

† The papal authority for a Crusade operated as an act of temporary enfranchisement of every description of slaves: but such of them as returned from the holy wars resumed of

ments and simultaneous exertions. However calamitous might have been the lot of individuals, yet it does not appear that families were ruined or became extinct in consequence of the Crusades. Religious madness was hereditary, and the reader of these volumes must have often remarked how frequently, though at distant intervals, members of the same family appeared on the scene. For example, the counts of St. Paul, Flanders, and Blois, of every generation, headed their well-appointed powers, and spread the bloody cross on Paynim ground. If the crown had been aggrandized by the holy wars, we might expect to find instances of it in the French monarchy particularly, because the valorous noblesse of France entered into the Crusades with more enthusiasm than other people, and because we know that the throne of that country was more powerful at the close of the thirteenth, than at end of the eleventh century.* In this long interval many of the grand fiefs were re-annexed to the crown. Artois was gained by marriage; the county of Alençon by purchase. Vermandois and Valois were added to the dominion of Philip Augustus by the donation of the last possessor. The same prince acquired Normandy, Maine, Touraine, Poitiers, and Anjou, because he profited by the imbecility of king John of England, and the divisions among the barons consequent on the circumstance, that some of them espoused the cause of Arthur, duke of Bretagne, and others, that of his uncle. Philip the Fair established his seignorial rights over Champagne, by virtue of his marriage with the heiress of that country. The fief of Macon, also, was united to the throne in the days of the Crusades. Not, however, in consequence of war, but because the last count and countess had no children, and the count sold it to St. Louis. The county of Perche, also a part of the Norman territories, followed after some years the fate of the parent state. The French crown regained the south of France partly by war, and partly by marriage. The county of Carcasson* was added to the monarchy by St. Louis, in the time of the contests with the Albigenses. Charles of Anjou, a brother of St. Louis, received with his wife the great dower of Provence,† and some years afterwards made a violent seizure of the Provençal marquisate, and of all the estates‡ which appertained to the house of Tholouse. Except the county and city of Bourges, which a French king purchased from a crusading knight, no regal acquisitions of arrere fiefs proceeded from the holy wars. The French monarchs were early sensible of the advantages of obtaining arrere fiefs, and of becoming tenants to their own subjects. Only a few of such additions to power were made till the reign of Philip Augustus: and it seems, that when the sovereign acquired a grand fief, he generally purchased the arrere fiefs dependent on it.§

We are unaccustomed to think that the national and civil hostilities which raged in the west during the middle ages were favourable to intellectual cultivation, and it would be as difficult to prove that the holy wars were beneficial to Europe, by rousing it from intellectual torpidity, and strengthening or refining the tone of mind. They were times of action rather than of letters. They excited a cruel and savage courage, and lighted the consuming fires of superstition. Spoliation and slaughter were accounted the highest pitch of human glory, and, therefore, all that most merited fame was concealed in silence. The gentle notes of the Orphean lyre were unheard amidst

course their old occupations; consequently Europe gained nothing by the matter.

* It must be remembered, however, that Louis VII. lost the duchy of Guienne or Aquitain, after his return from the Holy Land. See ante p. 126. As the queen's infirmities were those of constitution, we can agree with M. Heeren, that it is probable she would not have treated her husband better in Europe than in Asia, and that, therefore, we can only account this event as accidentally connected with the Crusades. Essai sur l'Influence des Croisades, p. 182, note.

* The counts of Carcasson seem to have divided with the counts of Tholouse all the territory which commonly goes under the name of the south of France.

† La gran dote Provenzale. Dante, Del. Purg. xx. 61.

‡ See the catalogue and history of the grand fiefs of the French monarchy, in the second volume of l'Art de vérifier les Dates.

§ See M. Dacier's treatise on the subject of the arrere fiefs of France, in the Memoirs of the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles-Lettres.

the boisterous alarums of war. Modes for the destruction of men, not for their amelioration, employed the minds of Christians. The humble and unobtrusive virtues of peace, and their long train of useful and elegant arts, were not fostered; for tranquillity was perpetually broken in upon; the leaders of opinions made the duty of war their greatest theme, and when the indulgence of the ferocious passions became sanctified, no desire could be felt to emerge from rudeness and ignorance. Much has been written on the supposed advantages to Europe of the collision of minds produced by the mixture of the various nations of Christendom, in the course of the Crusades. But except in the first of these holy wars, the union among them was never either cordial or lasting. Indeed, dissensions were a main cause of ultimate want of success. The connexion between different states was so short and occasional, that national prejudices were not softened, political varieties obliterated, or mutual knowledge interchanged. At the close of the Crusades, the nations of Europe were as much separated as they had been at the commencement. Religion had united them for awhile; but the band soon was broken, and the world returned to its former state.

The opinion which has been alluded to, cannot, perhaps, be opposed altogether; but there are many reasons which prevent us from ascribing to it much importance. The history of the times affords but few indications of any improvements that the religious soldiers brought home with them. The traveller studies the appearances of man and nature, and on his return, his native land becomes benefited by his curiosity and labours. The merchant is in quest of gain, and in the interchange of the productions of nature or industry, distant countries are brought into something like a social union; ideas are communicated, and taste and elegance must be cultivated as the supporters of those artificial wants which luxury and plenty have introduced. But if the pilgrim ever steps out of his course, it is only to collect with holy reverence those relics which his idolatrous fancy has sanctified, and the mere soldier can imbibe no ideas except those which are connected with his professional habits. The letters that enlighten, the sciences that improve, and the arts that polish life, are not in the intellectual sphere of either.*

Nor did the western Christians profit by their connexion with the Greeks. Some love of ancient learning and arts must have existed; some literary sympathy was necessary, before the Latins could understand or appreciate the advantages of intellectual cultivation. Moreover, it was only for half a century subsequent to the fifth crusade, that the intercourse with Constantinople was at all permanent. Before that time, large masses of people rolled over the Grecian empire; they gazed, perhaps, some with stupid admiration; more with secret contempt; and others made a cry of ignorant astonishment, at the exterior grandeur of the towers, and temples, and palaces before them: but they paused not to contemplate their beauties with the hope or wish of imitation; they were strangers to the language of Greece;† they despised the

* M. Berington observes, with truth, "If it be still insisted that some benefits in domestic, civil, or scientific knowledge were necessarily communicated to Europe, either by the expeditions themselves, or, at least, owing to our long abode in the east, I ask, what those benefits were? or how it happens, that the literary and intellectual aspect of Europe exhibitod no striking changes till other causes, wholly unconnected with the Crusades, were brought into action? I believe, then, that these expeditions were utterly sterile with respect to the arts, to learning, and to every moral advantage, and that they neither retarded the progress of the invading enemy, nor, for a single day, the fate of the eastern empire." Literary History of the Middle Ages, p. 269.

† Neither did the Greeks know the Latin language. Some traces of it may be found in the ceremonial of the Byzantine court: but it was not much known beyond the cloister or the court. Before the great schism in the church, a free communication was kept up between the clergy of the west and east. The spirit of pilgrimizing was favourable to this intercourse. Some travelling monks brought the works of Origen into Europe in the fifth century. We have repeatedly seen in the course of this history, that the Crusades added new fuel to that theological hatred between the Greeks and Latins which other circumstances created, and that there was not the least disposition to a literary intercourse between the two people. "Il n'y a jamais eu de nation qui ait parté une haine si violente aux hérétiques que les Grecs,

natives as a heretical and effeminate race; and they could brook no delay in worshipping the sepulchre, and killing the infidels. In the fifth expedition, when the storm of religious and national hatred burst upon Greece, the Latins, instead of beholding with the awe of classical enthusiasm the marbled and bronzed representations of ancient virtue and genius, destroyed the former, and coined the latter into drachmas. The savage conquerors of Constantinople carried, in mock procession, the pens and inkhorns of the vanquished. Even the tomb of the Roman lawgiver was violated, and in the triple fire of the city, the incendiaries were never checked in their savage gratifications, by the dread lest the flames should devour some sacred remnant of the learning of Greece or Rome. The Latins, during the half century in which they were lords of the imperial city, did not adopt the letters of the subjugated people.* Indeed, it was not for many years posterior to the Crusades, and until some master spirits arose in Italy, that any serious or well-connected attempts were made, to draw knowledge from its original fountains, or that the purity of its course through Arabic channels was suspected. Every one knows that the real revivors of Greek literature in the west were Petrarch and Boccacio. The latter established in Florence the earliest professor's chair in Europe, for the teaching of the Greek language.†

In the time of the Crusades, the cloud of ignorance overspread both the east and the west. The glory as well as the power of the caliphs of Bagdad had long been extinguished, and the arts no longer flourished on the banks of the Tigris. Letters and science had run their appointed circle in the Saracenian empire. The Seljuk princes had, indeed, rekindled the torch of science, but it shed only some faint and momentary gleams, for the Tartars could not readily throw aside the conquering scymitar, and clothe themselves in weeds of peace. The Seljukian monarchy was dismembered before the Christians crossed the Hellespont, and the din of civil war in Asia Minor and Syria drove the muses from their peaceful seats.* More than two hundred years before the preaching of Peter the Hermit, the people of Europe had been awakened from their barbarism by the genius of the east. Arabic science had a longer and more splendid sway in Spain than in Bagdad, and there was a struggle of several centuries duration, between the Saracens and the Italians, for dominion over the isles in the Mediterranean. From these two causes the learning of the Arabians insensibly mingled with, and invigorated the western mind. The school of Salernum was founded in the ninth century by Charlemagne, and, under the auspices of that eminent man, the principal Arabic books, both originals and translations, were transfused into the Latin tongue, for the advantage of his people. In the tenth century, Gerbert, who was afterwards Pope Silvester the Second, acquired from the Spanish Moors the decimal scale, and his ambition of enlightening his flock was as strong as the ambition of many of his holy successors of sinking them into darkness. The monastery of Cassino was the great seat of letters in the eleventh century, and the religious inhabitants of that place claimed pre-eminence on account of their acquisition of Arabic learning. The stream of knowledge flowed through Europe during all the time of the Crusades, but there is

qui se croyoient souillés lorsqu'ils parloient à un hérétique, ou habitoient avec lui." Montesquieu, Grandeur et Décadence des Romains, chap. 21.

* Rigord, in his life of Philip Augustus, tells us that the metaphysics of Aristotle, translated into Latin, were carried to Paris after the sack of Constantinople. I know of no other book that the West received from the East, in consequence of the Latin reign over Greece. The conquerors despised the remains of literature; but they were diligent hunters after relics. Superstition received additional food by the sack of Constantinople, and every country of Europe for ages acknowledged its obligations.

† Cosi a due Calabresi Barlaamo e Leonzio e a due Fiorentini, cioe al Boccacio ben istruito in questa lingua, e al Petrarca, che non n' ebbe che qualche tintura, ma pur fomentonne molto lo studio, dovette l'Italia il fervore, con cui si preserva ricercare e a studiare gli autori Greci. Tiraboschi, Storia della Letteratura Ital. vol. xii. p. 294, edit. 1778.

* "The noise and disorders of wars," Sir William Temple elegantly says, have ever been the most capital enemies of the muses, who are seated, by the ancient fables, upon the top of Parnassus; that is, in a place of safety and of quiet, from the reach of all noises and disturbances of the regions below." Works, vol. i., p. 167, fol. 1720.

no evidence that new sources of literature were opened, or that mind received any scientific stimulus by the expeditions into Palestine. Pity or valour, and not a learned curiosity, drove people from Europe to Jerusalem. The spear and shield were seldom idly suspended, for bellum ad internicionem was accounted the high duty of the oriental Latins. In the adjacent Muselman towns there were few of those literary institutions which had ennobled the Abassidan caliphate. Some embers of learning might be found at Bagdad, but it does not appear that, in the breathing intervals of peace, there was much communication between that city and Jerusalem. Neither were there any mental affinities, nor any sympathetic attraction between the warriors of Christendom and those of Islamism. If the soldiers of Palestine were ever diverted from slaughter and rapine to the practice of any mild and virtuous actions, it was to deeds of charity and the duties of the cloister: and, as if it were necessary that the duties of the soldier and the priest should wholly engross the soul, they did not scruple to boast that they were rude and unlettered. The collecting of relics seems to have been the favourite occupation of the Crusaders when they relaxed from the labours of extermination; accordingly the western world was deluged by corporeal fragments of departed saints, and every city had a warehouse of the dead. Except Constantine Afar, who travelled over Asia in search of knowledge, European students repaired to Cassino, Salernum, or to Spain. Peter, the abbot of Clugni, acquired the Arabic language at Toledo; and, under his patronage, an English student in Spain prepared the first Latin version of the Koran that ever was made. Adelard of Bath, Daniel Morley, and Robert of Reading, are the names of some other Englishmen "honoured in their generations," for their acquaintance with mathematics and philosophy gained in the Spanish peninsula. Beithar, Averoes, and Avenpace, were Arabs whose works gave a tone and character to the intellect of Europe; and these three men were African or Spanish Moors. Equal in reputation with them were Al Gazel and Avicenna; the former lived at Bokhara in Tartary and the latter at Bagdad. Copies of the works of these two great writers might *possibly* have been transmitted to Europe by the Christians in Palestine: but we *know* that they were devoutedly studied in Spain, and that all the Arabic Spanish knowledge was communicated to every part of the west. The south of France was always more enlightened than the north; for Marseilles and other commercial towns never entirely lost that polish of civilization, which they had received, by reason of their connexion with the great states of antiquity: and their continued habits of commerce made them rich and luxurious. When, therefore, Raymond Berenger, count of Barcelona, acquired the throne of Provence, his new subjects were well fitted to receive the Arabic notions of taste and elegance which he introduced from Spain. But still a great cause of the diffusion of oriental imagery and oriental apologues over the literature of the west, was unquestionably owing to the intercourse between Asia and Europe, occasioned by pilgrimages, crusades, and commerce. The minstrels, who were the successors of the northern scalds, travelled to Palestine both before and during the holy wars. When, for instance, Louis VII. went into the east, he was accompanied by "Legions de Poetes," to "charm the seas to give him gentle pass,"* and to solace him with their songs during the dangers and inconveniences of so long a voyage.† It was

* Warton's beautiful opening to his Ode called The Crusade, is applicable here.

"Bound for Holy Palestine,
Nimbly we brush'd the level brine,
All in azur steel array'd;
O'er the wave our weapons play'd,
And made the dancing billows glow;
High upon the trophied prow,
Many a warrior-minstrel swung
His sounding harp, and boldly sung."

† Warton, History of English Poetry, vol. i, p. 111. The Jesuit Claude François Menestrier, no less renowned for his love of the theatre and all manner of public shows, than for the capacity of his memory and the variety of his learning, contends that it is certain that pilgrimages introduced the theatrical spectacles of old times called the Mysteries. The pious itinerants dissipated the languor of the voyage by composing and singing songs relating to the subjects of their expedition. Troops of these pilgrims after their return to France and other places, went about different towns, repeating these songs; and the citizens, sympathizing with their enthu-

merely agreeable fictions that were communicated; nothing but what might be gained from a short and casual intercourse. The circumstance of Muselmans aspiring to the dignity of chivalry, is a subject, indeed, of the Trouveurs, or poets of the north of France, who flourished from the close of the twelfth to the middle of the fourteenth century. But the wars between the Christians and infidels in the Holy Land form no part of their theme. Those Italian novels which constitute much of the basis of the Decamerone of Boccacio are likewise barren of crusading events: but if it be true that many of those novels were drawn from the Fabliaux of the Trouveurs, we cannot expect to find in the copy what does not exist in the original. The bright days of Troubadour song were also coeval with the Crusades. The Provençal poets sometimes emerged from the mystics of love* to excite the zeal of princes and subjects for the recovery of the Holy Land. Occasionally and accidentally Palestine was the scene of their romantic passion.†

As the Crusades were wild and romantic adventures, it might be expected that they would have formed the great topic of popular fiction. But, excepting the romance concerning Richard, and another relating to Godfrey, the Crusades are not the subject of the romances of chivalry.*

siasm, erected theatres, whereon, upon festival days, the mysteries of religion were represented. Bayle, Dict. art. Chocquet. Bayle has received this story without examination, and Boileau has put it into very elegant verses. See his Art of Poetry, cant. 3. Every person acquainted with French literature, knows the disposition of continental writers to magnify the consequences of the Crusades. With respect to the present question it is only necessary for me to say that the events in sacred history were dramatized and acted by the monks anterior to the holy wars: and I refer my readers for proofs of this assertion to Warton, Percy, and other writers on the origin of the Mysteries.

* Such as the difficult question, whether a lover had rather behold his mistress dead, or married to his successful rival. Every deep and delicate subject was discussed in the *courts of love* with the greatest solemnity, and with all the abstractions of metaphysical refinement; "and it is probable," a polite author observes, "that the disputes on these subjects would have produced as many heresies in love as in religion, but that the judgment-seat in the tribunals was filled by ladies, whose decision was very properly admitted to be final and absolute. It should seem that the Provençals were so completely absorbed in these abstract speculations, as to neglect and despise the composition of fabulous histories, only four of which are attributed to the Troubadours; and even these are rather legions of devotion than of chivalry. Preface to the Fabliaux, p. 26.

† One Troubadour, Geoffrey Rudel, died for the charms of an imaginary mistress. He became, says Warton, enamoured from fancy of the countess of Tripoli, whom he had never seen. He embarked for the east; fell sick during the voyage through the fever of expectation, and was brought on shore half expiring. The countess, having heard the news of the arrival of this gallant stranger, hastened to the shore, and took him by the hand: he opened his eyes, and, at once overpowered by disease and gratitude, had but just time to say inarticulately, "that having seen her he died satisfied." The countess caused him to be magnificently buried among the Knights Templars, was seized with a profound melancholy, and turned nun.

This history may bring to the reader's recollection another equally romantic and dreadful, which is told of Ralph, Chatelain de Coucy, who went with the lord de Coucy to the Holy Land in the third Crusade, and who was mortally wounded at the siege of Acre. In his last moments he bequeathed his heart to his mistress, who was a married woman (a fashionable sort of attachment in the twelfth century as well as in the nineteenth). The husband met the messenger, and seized the precious relic. His mode of revenge was not more gross than was the love of the Chatelain. His cooks dressed the heart, and it was placed at the family board. Unluckily for herself, the lady not being a square-elbowed family drudge, never interfered with culinary details, and knew not that the banquet was of the Thyestean description. She partook freely of the heart, whose genuine taste, like that of the young Saracen's head, eaten by Richard, was disguised by "spicery powder and saffron." Her malignant lord then told her of the dreadful mistake which she had made. Out of grief and indignation she vowed that no other food should ever pass her lips; and she continued firm to her purpose till her life closed.

* "Nothing can be worse founded than the assertion of Warburton and Warton, that, after the holy wars a new set of champions, conquests, and countries, were introduced into romance; and that Soliman, Noureddin, with the cities of Palestine and Egypt, became the favourite topics. Mr. Ritson had justly remarked, that no such change took place as is pretended; and so far from the Crusades and Holy Land becoming favourite topics, there is not, with the exception of the uninteresting romance of Godfrey of Bouillon, a single tale of chivalry founded on any of these subjects. Perhaps those celebrated expeditions, undertaken for the recovery of the Holy Land, were too recent, and too much matters of real life, to admit the decorations of fiction.—Dunlop, History of Fiction, vol. ii., p. 140, 2d edit.

The victories of Arthur and Charlemagne were still dwelt upon, though the brilliant achievements of holy warriors were before the writers. The fame of the latter had not transcended the glory of the former. This love of ancient chivalry influenced the courts of princes as well as the haunts of poets; and it was the reputation of Arthur, not that of Godfrey, which Edward III. wished to emulate, and in honour of whom he kept a round table of knights, And afterwards the favourite subject of the epic muse of Italy was the war between Charlemagne and the Saracens in Spain and the southern provinces of France. This was the great event which poetry adorned with her choicest fictions, and where chivalry shone in all its splendour.

The last point of inquiry into the consequences of the holy wars, concerns their effects on the political relations of the great European states. As the Crusades were carried on for holy objects, not for civil or national ends, their connexion with politics could only have been collateral and indirect. The spirit of crusading, composed as it was of superstition and military ardour, was hostile to the advancement of knowledge and liberty; and, consequently, no improvement in the civil condition of the kingdoms of the west could have been the legitimate issue of the principles of the holy wars. The Pope was the only monarch who mixed politics with his piety; and if Frederic II. had died in the Holy Land, or the Pope had executed his schemes of ambition, then the Asiatic annals would have become closely connected with the history of Germany and Italy. The other princes seem to have been influenced by the spirit of religion or of chivalry; and it was only in the attempts again to disorder the intellect of Europe, that we find one monarch, Henry IV. of England, acting the part of a crafty politician. Great changes in the political aspect of Europe were coeval with, but were not occasioned by, the holy wars. The power of the French crown was much higher at the end of the thirteenth, than it had been at the same period of the eleventh century; but the influence of the imperial throne was materially depressed. These opposite effects could never have been the simple results of the same cause; namely, the loss of the flower of the western aristocracy in Palestine. The hereditary succession of the French monarchy had been made a fundamental law in the time of Hugh Capet. Unlike Germany, therefore, the nobles of France were not aggrandized by the possession of the elective franchise. The Capetian monarchs acquired many great and small fiefs, not on account of the absence or death of the barons in the holy wars, but, as we have seen, in consequence of circumstances totally unconnected with the Crusades. The causes of the depression of imperial authority were the aggrandizement of the nobles (a natural effect of the feudal system); the improvident grants of lands which the Suabian family made to the clergy; the contests between the Popes and emperors respecting their different jurisdictions, and, above all the rest, the destructive wars which the emperors waged in the north of Italy for the re-annexation of that country to the throne of the descendants of the imperial house of Charlemagne. The political changes in England cannot with justice be attributed to the Crusades. Until the days of Richard I. holy wars had not become a general or a national concern. The monarchy stood the same at the close of his reign as at its commencement; and the only favourable issue of Cœur de Lion's armament was an increase of military reputation. His renunciation of feudal sovereignty over Scotland had no influence on politics. Edward I. pressed his claim, although Richard had deprived him of its strongest support. The pusillanimous John assumed the cross; but that circumstance did not occur until after he had surrendered his crown to the papal see, and until the barons had formed a confederacy against him. His assumption of the cross neither retarded nor accelerated the progress of English liberty. The Pope was not linked to him by stronger ties than those which had formerly bound them; and the barons were not deceived by the religious hypocrisy of the king. The transmarine expeditions of the earls of Cornwall and Salisbury, and of prince Edward in the reign of Henry III., were the ebullitions of reli-

gious and military ardour, but did not affect the general course of events.

The great political circumstance of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and which was important above all others to civil liberty, was the appearance of free and corporate towns. But the Crusades neither produced their establishment, nor affected their history. Whenever any part of the public became more rich and enlightened than the rest, the tyranny of the aristocracy was found to be insupportable. The kings of France and England eagerly assisted the burghers of their respective countries, and enfranchised the towns in order to raise a barrier against baronial aggressions on the throne. In France it became a maxim, that no commune could be formed without the king's consent, and his officers were established in every town. The free cities in Germany acknowledged some feudal rights in the emperor. The Alps separated the Lombard towns from their liege lords, and the dissimilarity of natural situation was highly favourable to the Italians, who were, moreover, encouraged in rebellion by the Pope, happy of any occasion of humbling the emperor. After various vicissitudes of fortune, the battle of Legnano, and the peace of Constance, established the independence of the towns in the north of Italy. The Crusades did not contribute to these events; for the two sacred expeditions which had taken place were as disastrous to peasants as to princes, and drained Europe of all ranks of society. Consequently it was not from the holy wars that the people gained their liberties. We find that so ill regulated was the liberty of the towns alluded to, that anarchy soon succeeded. Men of personal importance and wealth aspired to sovereign honours; an overwhelming aristocracy extinguished freedom, and at the end of the thirteenth century there were as many princes in Tuscany and Lombardy as there had been free towns at the end of the twelfth.* It is only in the maritime cities of Italy that any indisputable influence of the Crusades can be marked. Trade with the Christian states in Palestine, and the furnishing of transports to the pilgrims, increased the wealth of the commercial cities.* The capture of Constantinople by the French and Venetians was important in its issues. Venice regained maritime ascendancy: but it was soon taken from her by the Genoese, who aided the Greeks to recover their capital. Genoa then became a leading power in the Mediterranean, and she subdued Pisa. The rapid increase of the wealth and power of Venice and Genoa, and the eventual destruction of Pisa seem, then, to form the principal circumstances in commercial history which the Crusades were instrumental in producing. But how insignificant were these events, both locally and generally, both in their relation to Italy and to the general history of Europe, when compared with the discovery of a maritime passage to India!

A view of the heroic ages of Christianity, in regard to their grand and general results, is a useful and important, though a melancholy employment. The Crusades retarded the march of civilization, thickened the clouds of ignorance and superstition; and encouraged intolerance, cruelty, and fierceness. Religion lost its mildness and charity; and war its mitigating qualities of honour and courtesy. Such were the bitter fruits of the holy wars! Painful is a retrospect of the consequences; but interesting are the historical details of the heroic and fanatical achievements of our ancestors. The perfect singularity of the object, the different characters of the preachers and leaders of the Crusades, the martial array of the ancient power and majesty of Europe, the political and civil history of the Latin states in Syria, the military annals of the orders of St. John and the Temple, fix the regard of those who view the history of human passions with the eyes of a philosopher or a statesman. We can follow with sympathy both the deluded fanatic, and the noble adventurer in arms, in their wanderings and marches through foreign regions, braving the most frightful dangers, patient in toil, invincible in military spirit. So visionary

* Hallam's Middle Ages, vol. i., ch. iii., part i.

* Muratori, Antiq. Italiæ Med. Ævi. II. 905. James de Vitry mentions several sources of Italian wealth, during the Crusades. "Homines si quidem Italici terræ sanctæ sunt valde necessarii, non solum in præliando, sed in navali exercitio, in mercimonium, in peregrinis, et victualibus deportandis," &c., lib. i., c. 67.

was the object, so apparently remote from selfish relations, that their fanaticism wears a character of generous virtue. The picture, however, becomes darkened, and nature recoils with horror from their cruelties,* and with shame from their habitual folly and senselessness. Comparing the object with the cost, the gain proposed with the certain peril, we call the attempt the extremest idea of madness, and wonder that the western world should for two hundred years pour forth its blood and treasure in chase of a phantom. But the Crusades were not a greater reproach to virtue and wisdom, than most of those contests which in every age of the world pride and ambition have given rise to. If what is perpetual be natural, the dreadful supposition might be entertained that war is the moral state of man. The miseries of hostilities almost induce us to think, with the ancient sage, that man is the most wretched of animals. Millions of our race have been sacrificed at the altar of glory and popular praise, as well as at the shrine of superstition. Fanciful claims to foreign thrones, and the vanity of foreign dominions, have, like the Crusades, contracted the circle of science and civilization, and turned the benevolent affections into furious passions. But

> They err, who count it glorious to subdue
> By conquest far and wide, to overrun
> Large countries, and in field great battles win,
> Great cities by assault: What do these worthies,
> But rob and spoil, burn, slaughter, and enslave
> Peaceable nations, neighbouring or remote,
> Made captive, yet deserving freedom more
> Than those their conquerors, who leave behind
> Nothing but ruin wheresoe'er they rove,
> And all the flourishing works of peace destroy.*

We feel no sorrow at the final doom of the Crusades, because in its origin the war was iniquitous and unjust. "THE BLOOD OF MAN SHOULD NEVER BE SHED BUT TO REDEEM THE BLOOD OF MAN. IT IS WELL SHED FOR OUR FAMILY, FOR OUR FRIENDS, FOR OUR GOD, FOR OUR KIND. THE REST IS VANITY, THE REST IS CRIME."†

* Tantum religio potuit suadere malorum. Lucretius, I. 102.

* Paradise Regained, book iii. 71, &c.

† Burke.

ADDITIONAL NOTES.

Note (A.)—Page 14.

The palmer's dress was simple, consistently with the seriousness of his object. It was generally a long garment of coarse woollen. Du Cange, art. Sclavina. Drayton describes the "palmer poore in *homely russet* clad." Polyolb. S. 12, p. 198, ed. 1622, cited by Mr. Todd, note on the Fairy Queen of Spenser, vol. iii., p. 252. Palmer's weeds are frequently mentioned in old romances as a disguise, in which knights and ladies travelled. Thus in Bevis of Hampton (also cited by Mr. Todd), Sabere tells his son Terry, whom he is about to send into the "Sarrasins land" in search of Bevis,

"*Palmers' weeds* thou shalt weare,
So maist thou better of him heare."

Afterwards Bevis himself, meeting with a palmer, thus addresses him:

"*Palmer*," he said, "doe me some favour;
Give thou me *thy weed*,
For my cloathing and for my steed."

So in the history of King Lear,

—We will go disguised in *Palmers' weeds*
That no man shall mistrust us what we are.

Milton has made a most beautifully poetical application of the subject

———When the gray-hooded Even,
Like a sad votarist in *Palmer's weed*,
Rose from the hindmost wheels of Phœbus' wain.

Comus, verse 188, &c.

I shall conclude with Spenser's description of a Palmer:

A silly man, in simple weeds foreworne,
And soil'd with dust of the long dried way;
His sandales were with toilsome travell torne,
And face all tand with scorching sunny ray,
As he had traveild many a sommers day
Through boyling sands of Arabie and Inde:
And in his hand a Jacob's staffe, to stay
His weary limbs upon; and eke behind
His scrip did hang, in which his needments he did bind.

Fairy Queen, book I., canto 6, st. 35.

Note (B.)—Page 24.

The father of this Bohemond was a Norman gentleman, named Robert Wiscard, who made a trade of war, and at the head of fifteen knights went into Apulia, on the invitation of some other Normans who had established themselves in Magna Grecia. By arms and address Robert became (about the year 1058) master of Apulia and Calabria, and, indeed, of all the country which forms the present kingdom of Naples. Pope Nicholas II. gave him the title of duk One of his brothers, Richard, was prince of Capua, and the other, Robert, Earl of Sicily. He then aspired to further conquests; and, giving Apulia to his younger son, Roger, he crossed the Adriatic with his other son, Bohemond. The mother of Roger was an Apulian woman; but Bohemond was of the perfect Norman race. Wiscard took Durazzo; but he was summoned to Italy by Pope Gregory VII. in order to aid him in resisting the emperor Henry, and the imperial ecclesiastic Guibert of Ravenna; the latter of whom was afterwards the antagonist of Urban. The Norman twice reinstated Gregory, and as often sacked Rome. The Pope preserved his friendship by the promise of the splendid title of the emperor of the West. The arms neither of Constantinople nor of Venice could subdue the young Bohemond; and he conquered Illyria and Macedonia, and the country from Durazzo to Thessalonica. His father returned to Greece; but he died before the dismembered Grecian states could be reduced to the permanent subjection of his family. Some writers say that Alexius flattered the vanity of Robert's wife by the promise of an imperial union; and at the emperor's instigation she poisoned her husband. A.D. 1085, Alexiad, book 1—4. Du Cange's Notes. William of Malmsbury (Sharp's translation,) 336, 407. Giannone, Istoria di Napoli, lib. 9, c. 1, 4, lib. 10, c. 2, 6, 7. It is most probable, however, that Robert died a natural death, for the Calabrians do not all countenance the accusation of the French and English writers against Alexius. L'Art de vérifier les Dates, III. 806—808. The Norman princes were powerful in Italy; and the prudent Urban neglected nothing which could gain their friendship. See the life of Pope Urban in the eighth volume of the Literary History of France, by the Maurite Monks. Most of the circumstances mentioned in this note materially corroborate the opinion of Malmsbury, that Bohemond was the adviser of Urban in the affair of the first Crusade.

Note (C.)—Page 29.

Before we commence the history of the first Crusade, some account should be given of the principal sources whence it is drawn. 1. *Historia Hierosolymitana Roberti Monachi.* Robert accompanied the Crusaders; and he is apparently a faithful historian. 2. *Hist. Hier. Baldrii Archiepiscopi.* Baldric assisted at the council of Clermont, but did not go up to Jerusalem. His book, however, was revised by an abbot who went. 3. *Hist. Francorum Rai-*

mondi De Agilei. This writer was a canon in the cathedral of Puy, in the Valais, under bishop Adhemar. He was the Chaplain and friend of the count of Tholouse during the Crusade. 4. *Historia Hierosolimetanæ Expeditionis edita ab Alberto Canoni Aquensis Ecclesiæ.* Albert was a contemporary, though not an eye-witness of the first Crusade. His history is full and interesting, and reaches to the year 1120. 5. *Fulcherii Carnotensis Gesta Peregrinantium Francorum*, &c. Fulcher was the chaplain of the count of Chartres, and then of Baldwin, brother of Godfrey, during the first Crusade. His history extends a few years farther than that of Albert. It is an important document; but his style is so sesquipedalian and inflated, that the task is no light one to read his book. 6. *Gesta Dei per Francos, edita a Guiberto*, &c. Guibert was a contemporary. The basis of his book is Fulcher. He does not correct his original in any point of history, but frequently in the dreams, visions, &c., about which Fulcher was more superstitious than even his bigotted associates. I have seldom found that Guibert has mentioned things unknown to other writers; and his style is affected and bombastical. 7. *Historia rerum, &c., edita Willermo Tyrensi Archiepiscopo.* William flourished in the twelfth century. His history, taken as a whole, is by far the best narrative of events in Jerusalem from the time of the first Crusade to the beginning of the reign of Baldwin IV. He is not less valuable for the matters previous to his time than of those with which he was contemporary. He was a judicious compiler, and a correct observer. His Latin is far more classical than that of any writer whom we have characterised; and he is more frequently the historian than the mere chronicler. All these historians will be quoted from the noble collection of Bongarsius, called the Gesta Dei per Francos, printed at Hanover in fol. 1611.* The copy of Fulcher, in the fourth volume of Duchesne, is more methodically arranged than the one in Bongarsius, and contains about ten pages more matter. When Bongarsius fails me, I shall quote Du Chêsne. 8. *Pedri Tudebodi Sacerdotis Siracensis Hist. de Hieros. Iterner.* Tudebode was an eye-witness of most of the events in the first Crusade. His book was not found till after the publication of the collection of Bongarsius. Duchesne has placed it in his fourth volume of French historians. The editor, and many subsequent writers have strangely overrated its merits. Tudebodus is much shorter than Albert and others: and passes over, or slightly notices many important facts. 9. *Radulphus Cadomensis de Gestis Tancredi.* Ralph of Caen went to the Holy Land a few years after the taking of Jerusalem, and became the friend and biographer of Tancred. Fulcher's style is simple if compared with that of the Norman monk. It could have been from national prejudice only that M. de la Rue said that the history of his countryman was written in a manner but little inferior to that of Tacitus. Archæologia, vol. xii., p. 53. Martenne and Durand published Ralph and Caen in the third volume of the Thes. Nov. Anecdot., but the best edition is in the fifth volume of Muratatori, Rer. Scrip. Ital. 10. *Belli sacri historia* in Mabillon, Mus. Ital. 2 vol., p. 130–240. This history was found in the monastery of Cassino by Mabillon, during the course of his literary journey through Italy. The name of the writer is not known; but whoever he was, he has only a place in the secondary rank. His book is for the most part a compilation from Tudebodus and Radulphus Cadomensis. Mabillon observed the similarity between his MS. and the first Gesta in Bongarsius, but did not refer to the historian of Tancred. 11, 12. Two anonymous writers; each book under the title of Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolymitanorum, in Bongarsius, p. 1–29, p. 561–621. The first of these works is an improvement of Tudebode; and the second is avowedly an abridgement of Fulcher: but the writer is original in many parts of his work. 13. *William of Malmsbury.* One of the earliest, and certainly the best of the English monkish historians. The first Crusade occurred in his childhood; and though he was sometimes misinformed respecting military events, yet his account is altogether spirited and philosophical. 14. Matthew, a priest of Edessa, died very old, A.D. 1144. He wrote a history of his country in the Armenian language. Such part of it as relates to the first Crusade has been translated into French by M. Chahan de Cerhied, and published in the ninth volume of the Notices des MSS. du Roi. I shall only quote Matthew when we come to the foundation of the Edessene principality. He makes Joscelyn de Courtenay accompany Godfrey; and is guilty of so many other palpable blunders, as to be of no general use. 15. *Comnenæ Alexias*, Gr. et Lat. fol. Venice, 1729, enriched with the notes of that diligent searcher into the obscure recesses of antiquity, Charles du Fresne du Cange. The princess Anna, daughter of the emperor Alexius, was born about the year 1083. The tenth and the eleventh books of her work relate to the first period of the first Crusade. The princess was vain, ignorant, and partial. But her history must be studied, because it contains the only Grecian account of the first Crusade. 16. *De Guignes, Hist. des Huns*, volume the second. This book completes our authorities, for it comprises an abridgement of the Arabic historians. Ben Latir, Abulfeda, and Aboulmahasen. It may be regretted, perhaps, that the Arabic authors are so few when compared with the Latins. But the monkish histories bear great marks of truth. The writers confess and describe the vices of the Crusaders; and as the shedding of Saracenian blood was not considered an offence, we need not apprehend that any facts of the war have been concealed. I have received but little benefit from the work of Ekhard, contained in the

* It was Jortin who first said that this book should be called Gesta *Diaboli* per Francos; an expression which Gibbon cheerfully adopted

fifth volume of Martenne, Vet. Scrip. Amp. Coll. It is in general accordance with the great authorities in the Gesta Dei per Francos, but contains no additional matter. Such parts of Ordericus Vitalis as relate to the first crusade, are only transcribed or abridged from Archbishop Baldric's account: but for collateral matters I have often found the Ecclesiastical History of the Anglo-Norman monk highly valuable.

Note (D.)—Page 29.

The exact date of plenary indulgences cannot be ascertained; but this canon accelerated the practice. In the early ages of the church it was thought that sins against God ought to be followed by terrestrial as well as celestial justice. Scales of offences and punishments were, therefore, framed; and should be consulted by all those legislators whose principle of penal law is retribution, and not the good of society. Fasts and prayers were the usual penalties. As the world grew older, vices multiplied, and neither certainty nor severity of punishment seemed to be of use. Offences were so numerous, that the longest life could not expiate them; and, whenever death came, there was always a long unsettled arrear. The church now said, that retribution could be made by substitute as well as in persons; and a new scale of crimes and expiations was made. The people commuted their offences for gold, and the priests acted as their deputies in saying the proper number of prayers. Kings and princes, for the good of their souls, gave lands unto the church. Those unfortunate people who could not pay, were obliged to submit to flagellation; and it became the option of a great man, whether he would pay his money to the church for prayers, or get some callous mercenary to bear his sins upon his back. From this statement of the practice respecting ecclesiastical censures, the importance of the plenary indulgence mentioned in the text is evident. The plenary indulgence affected various descriptions of men. The barons of the eleventh century lived in the daily commission of crime, and the clergy often visited them severely for their plunder of churches and of the poor. The punishment most deeply felt by these ruffians of quality was the not being allowed to bear arms, or to appear on horseback. When, therefore, the crusade was preached, it was joyfully received by the nobles. They might pursue their usual course of life; and a repetition of crime would atone for former sins.

Note (E.)—Page 49.

Mail armour was of two sorts, scale mail (squamata vestis) and chain mail (hamata vestis). The scales were sewn on a lining of leather or cloth; but the mail meshes were connected together like links of a chain, and were not attached to anything; the whole exhibiting a kind of network, of which (in some instances) the meshes were circular, with every iron link separately, rivetted. The chain mail and the scale mail were used sometimes separately, and at other times conjointly. The hauberk was a complete covering of double chain mail from head to foot. It consisted of a hood joined to a jacket, with sleeves, breeches, stockings, and shoes; to which were added gloves, or gauntlets, of the same construction. It was girt round the body with a strap, called a balteus. Some hauberks opened before like a modern coat; others were closed like a shirt. Only knights, and those not of the poorer sort, might wear the hauberk. A species of armour, called a shirt or coat of mail (in shape like a carter's smock frock) was worn by some soldiers. It was either with or without sleeves, and reached to the knees. Indeed originally the hauberk was nothing more than a coat of mail, and in that dress the knights were generally clad in the first crusade. But they had the shoes and hose of mail also. The squire might wear the coat or shirt of mail simply, without the hood, sleeves, breeches, or hose of mail. A garment, called a gambeson, was worn by soldiers. It was a sort of doublet or waistcoat, composed of many folds of linen, stuffed with cotton, wool, or hair, quilted, and commonly covered with leather. Although it was chiefly worn under the coat of mail, to protect the body from being bruised by the strokes of the sword or lance, it was occasionally used as a surcoat, and richly ornamented. Mail armour was in general wore during all the crusades. In France, at the close of the thirteenth century, it was succeeded by plate armour, or large plates of solid iron, fitted to the various parts of the form. Soldiers had, for a long time, been making approaches to this complete casing of steel. The gorget, or throat-piece, the knee-pieces, and the breast-iron, or piece of iron over the breast, had for years been in use. When plate-armour was in fashion, the knight carried a dagger, wherewith he might kill his dismounted and recumbent antagonist; who, in consequence of his iron incasement, could only feel the shock, but not the sharpness, of a lance. The dagger was called la miséricorde, because the time of its display was the moment when the worsted cavalier cried for mercy. Mail armour stood its ground longer in England than in France. It was more or less in custom from the time of the Norman conquest till the fifteenth century. Henry IV. was the last monarch that wore it. Du Cange on Joinville, note 31, part 2. Strutt, on the Habits, &c., of the English, vol. ii., p. 176. Grose on Ancient Armour. Introduction to Gough's Sepulchral Monuments. Notes to the Fabliaux, &c., &c. Albert mentions the head-pieces as having a splendid appearance. Galeæ in capitibus eorum splendentes super solis splendorem coruscant. It is evident that there was some difference of material or fabric between them and the coat of mail. The helmet often had what was called a nasal, or piece of iron descending to the extremity of the nose. In the course of time the weapons of offence were made larger and more powerful, and the defensive armour became stronger and more complete. Visors and bevers were introduced. The visor, or vintail, was a sort of grating to see through,

and the wearer could raise or lower it at pleasure. The other addition was also a moveable piece of iron, and called a bever, from bouveur, a drinker, or from the Italian bevere, to drink. The simple skull-cap became a heavy hemlet, variously ornamented with crests and other military and armorial distinctions. The monumental effigies of Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, son of Edmund Crouchback, is the first in England whose helmet is surmounted by a crest. Albert of Aix speaks of Godfrey and other knights as adorned with a surcoat made of ermine vair and other skins adorned with gold, p. 43, ante. This surcoat was used by most ancient nations; it was worn over the cuirass. Plutarch tells us the purpose of it was to distinguish the persons of each party. Armorial bearings, emblazoned on the surcoat, are unquestionably of older date than the crusades. But that was not the general mode till, in France, at the beginning of the thirteenth century, and in England at the close of the same century. The original plan was to have them painted on small shields, which were fastened to the belt. Painted bucklers were used in France before the time of the crusades. See the poem of Abbon on the Siege of Paris, Duchesne, Hist. Norman, p. 39; and the instances of an emblazoned shield of Robert le Frison, Count of Flanders (A. D. 1072), mentioned by Menestrier, Origine des Armoiries, p. 55. The surcoat was laid aside when plate armour came into custom, for then the arms were enamelled or relieved on the steel or iron. Armorial bearings first were used in tournaments in the tenth century, and the right to wear them was primarily restrained to gentlemen who displayed their skill in military exercises. Honorary distinctions of every sort became common in the crusades and other wars of the middle ages. It seems fair to conclude, that many of the barbarous terms of heraldry were adopted by the Christians from circumstances connected with their Asiatic expeditions. Mémoires de l'Acad. des Inscriptions, xviii. 316. M. Foncemagne, de l'Origine des Armoiries, in the twentieth vol. of the same work. Du Cange, Dissertation on Joinville, Nouveau Traité de Diplomatique, tom. iv., partie ii., sec. v., ch. vii., art. 2, and Introduction to Gough's Sepulchral Monuments. It has been often said, that armorial bearings were absolutely necessary in the first crusade, for the purpose of distinguishing the leaders of so many different nations as composed the Christian force. But the armour of the eleventh century did not completely case in the body: the helmets were without visor or bever, and men might be known by their physiognomies.

Note (F.)—Page 49.

The armiger, or armour-bearer, of a knight is spoken of by Albert of Aix, p. 392. The word valet, and its diminutives, valeton, varleton, frequently occur in old writing. Neither Du Cange nor Menage can give even a probable derivation of the term. All young single men were called valets, and, agreeably to the fashion of naming the son of a king l'enfant, or the infanta, or puer, so the word li vallez, among the French nobility, meant the son of a prince. The term valet was frequently synonymous with that of esquire. Thus the Roman des Loherancs, "La veissez vallez escu tenir." "Esquires were generally young gentlemen who were learning the use of arms. Their education was long and severe: at seven years old the noble children were usually removed from their father's house to the court or castle of the future patron, and placed under the care of a governor, who taught them the first articles of religion, respect, and reverence to their lords and superiors, and initiated them in the ceremonies of a court. Their office was to carve, to wait at table, and to perform other duties which were not then considered as humiliating. At their leisure hours they learned to dance and to play upon the harp: were instructed in hunting, falconry, and fishing: and in wrestling, tilting with spears, &c. At fourteen the page became an esquire, and began the course of more laborious exercises. To vault on a horse in heavy armour, to scale walls, and spring over ditches with the same incumbrance, &c., were necessary preliminaries to the reception of knighthood, which was usually conferred at twenty-one years of age. The esquires, whose charge it was to do the honours of the court, acquired those refinements of civility, which formed what was called courtesy. Young persons of both sexes assembled in the castle, and the page was encouraged, at a very early period, to select some lady of the court as the mistress of his heart, to whom he was taught to refer all his sentiments, words, and actions. Thus the strongest passion of the human breast was so directed as to exert all its witcheries in the cause of virtue. The service of his mistress was the glory and occupation of a knight: her image had taken root in his heart amid the fairy scenes of childhood, and was blended with every recollection of that age of innocence, and her affections, bestowed at once by affection and gratitude, were held out as the recompense of his well-directed valour." Ellis' Preface to Way's Translation of French Fables. In military expeditions, the esquire carried the lance, helmet, and shield of his knight, and furbished his armour. No service was considered degrading, because the moving principle of a military life is subordination. The squire could not eat at the same table with the cavalier, and if he dared to strike a knight, he was punished with the loss of his hand. Some of the duties and qualifications of a squire are described by Chaucer:

And he hadde be somtime in chevachie,
In Flanders, in Artois, and in Picardie,
And borne him well, as of so litel space,
In hope to stonden in his ladies grace.
Singing he was, or floyting alle the day
He was as freshe, as is the month of May.
Short was his goune, with sleves long and wide.
Wel coude he sitte on hors, and fayre ride.

He coude songes make, and wel indite,
Juste and eke dance, and wel pourtraie and write.
So hote he loved, that by nightertale
He slept no more than doth the nightingale,
Curteis he was, lowly, and servisable,
And carf before his fader at the table.
Prologue to the Canterbury Tales.

Note (G.)—Page 49.

It is clear, from several passages in the historians of the first crusade, that the war horse of the knight was not barbed or barded. In the battles of the first holy war, as "storied" on the windows of St. Denys, the horses are represented as totally defenceless. I should not dwell upon these pictures as an authority, if the story were unsupported. They are not accurate in every respect. For instance, there are no ornaments on the shields of the knights. Montfaucon says, the shield was entirely plain even in the days of Suger, by whose order these paintings were made. But Albert of Aix expressly mentions the clypei of the Crusaders as being "auro et gemmis inserti variisque coloribus depicti." Montfaucon, Monumens François, vol. i., p. 389. Albert Aquensis, lib. iv., c. vi., p. 241. In some of these pictures the Turks are clad in the hauberk, and in others in a kind of plate armour. The horse on which the knight rode during the march was called a "palefroi," and the war horse, generally a large and heavy animal, was named a "destrier," perhaps because it was common to lead him by the hand till the hour of battle. See Du Cange, Glossary on Villehardouin. The etymology of palfrey is to me quite unintelligible. Several opinions are contained in Menage, Dict. Etym. edit. Jault.

Note (H.)—Page 50.

Albert of Aix, who is more full in his description of the costume of the time than any other writer, mentions the ensigns and standards of the knights as very handsome: signa et vexilla gemmis et ostro fulgida erecta, e hastis infixa coruscabant. Albert Aq. 212.

——L' ordinato esercito congiunto
Tutte le sue bandiere al vento scioglie,
E nel vessillo imperiale e grande
La TRIONFANTE CROCE al ciel si spande.
La Gerusalemme Liber. i. 72.

A square flag, or banner, was the distinction of knights banneret, or the higher classes of nobility, who were cavaliers. Such knights as were not dukes, counts, or barons, or distinguished for their wealth, carried only the pointed pennon. When a simple knight was made a banneret, the sovereign prince, or the commander of his armies, unrolled the emblazoned pennon, cut off the end, and delivered the square flag to the knight, who had claimed the honour in consequence of the nobility of his birth, the services of his ancestors, &c., and who declared that he had a sufficiency of vassals to support the dignity. Sovereign princes had both banner and pennon. See Chaucer's Knight's Tale, i. 979. Bannerets had a war-cry, but other knights had not. The former were called rich men, the latter poor men. Knights of every rank frequently adorned the top of their lances with a small flag, called a bandroll, or pencil.

Note (I.)—Page 85.

Tanta sitis erat in obsidione, ut tellurem cavarent, et glebas humectiores ori apponerent, rorantiaque marmora lambarent. Plerique prout ferre poterant jejunabant. Quia jejunis sitem temperabant. Robertus Mon. p. 75.

The description which Lucan has given of a drought in Pompey's army, blocked up by Cæsar, was perhaps in Tasso's mind when he drew the picture of a similar distress in the army of the Crusaders. "But it is pleasing to observe," with a very elegant writer, "with what address Tasso has imitated, though not copied, the picturesque circumstance with which the description of the Roman poet is closed. Instead of aggravating the distress of the soldier, by the prospect of waters, which he could not approach, he recalls to his remembrance the cool shades and still fountains of his native land: a circumstance not only singularly pathetic, but more fertile also of imagery than perhaps any other that the poet could have imagined."—Alison on Taste, vol. i., p. 52.

S' alcun giammai tra frondeggianti rive
Puro vide stagnar liquido argento:
O giù precipitose ir acque vive
Per Alpe, o in piaggia erbosa a passo lento;
Quelle al vago desio forma, e descrive,
E ministra materia al suo tormento.
Che *l'immagine* lor gelida, e molle
L'asciuga e scalda, e nel pensier ribolle.
La Gerusalemme Liberata, xiii. 60.

Since the appearance of the first edition of this work, it has occurred to me that Tasso took the leading idea of this description from Dante, Inferno, canto 30, where the punishments of avarice are said to be dropsy and excessive thirst. A sufferer exclaims,

Li ruscelletti, che de' verdi colli
Del Casentin discendon giuso in Arno,
Facendo i lor canali e freddi e molli,
Sempre mi stanno innanzi, e non indarno,
Che *l'imagine lor* via piu m' *asciuga*
Che l' male ond' io nel volto mi discarno.

The rills, that glitter down the grassy slopes
Of Casentino, making fresh and soft
The banks whereby they glide to Arno's stream,
Stand ever in my view; and not in vain;
For more the pictur'd semblance dries me up,
Much more than the disease which makes the flesh
Desert these shrivelled cheeks.
Carey's Translation.

Note (K.)—Page 90.

The title of King was given to Godfrey by

many of his cotemporaries, and by the writers immediately subsequent to his time. Other authorities, however, call Baldwin the first king of Jerusalem, and it is not clear whether Godfrey ever signed himself king. See the very learned note of Du Cange on the Alexiad, p. 89. In a circular letter to Europe, after the capture of Jerusalem, Godfrey simply styles himself the advocate of the holy sepulchre. Thesaurus, Nov. Martenne, vol. i., p. 281. The character of defender of a city or church was well known in the fierce ages, when there were no public laws to protect the weak. It easily passed from the west to the east. Thus Bohemond was called the *advocatus* as well as the *dominus* of Antioch. Albert Aquensis, lib. v., cap. ii., p. 260. A more important question than that which I have mentioned, is, whether Godfrey became monarch on account of the refusal of other princes. Raymond d'Agiles (p. 179), Albert of Aix (283), and Guibert (537), say, that the crown was offered to the count of Tholouse, but that he refused it. This story must certainly be invention; for it is totally impossible to think that the ambitious and avaricious Raymond would have refused a kingly crown. The archbishop of Tyre says, that the grasping disposition of the count of Tholouse was the very cause of his not being elected. Malmsbury, Bromton, Robert of Gloucester, and a host of Norman and English writers, inflamed with national pride, declare that the crown was offered to Robert of Normandy on account of his being a king's son: and Peter Langtoft goes to the ridiculous length of making Godfrey endeavour to persuade the council to elect Robert. The natural indolence and love of undisturbed pleasure of Curthose are the alleged causes of his declining the dignity. Not one of the authors in the Gesta Dei per Francos warrants this tale. Ordericus Vitalis (p. 756) mentions the uncontested election of Godfrey, and M. Paris (p. 41, 43) gives but little credence to the story concerning Robert. The disinterestedness of the duke of Normandy was always a favourite theme of English writers. Thus Drayton,

And when they had the holy city won,
And king thereof they gladly would him make,
All sovereign titles he so much did shun,
As he refused the charge on him to take,
He the vain world so clearly did forsake,
So far it was from his religious mind,
To mix vile things with those of heav'nly kind.
He would that him no triumph should adorn,
But his high praise for sinful man that dy'd;
By him no mark of victory was worn,
But the red cross to tell him crucified;
All other glories he himself deny'd;
A holy life but willingly he leads,
In dealing alms and bidding of his beads.
And as a pilgrim he returned again,
For glitt'ring arms in palmer's holy gray,
Leaving his lords to lead his warlike train,
Whilst he alone came sadly on the way,
Dealing abroad his lately purchas'd prey;
A hermit's staff his careful hand did hold,
That with a lance the heathen foe controll'd.

Drayton's Legend of Robert duke of Normandy, Works, page 194.

Note (K.)—Chap. viii., Page 103.

By the advice of the patriarch and barons, and the wisest men of his army, Godfrey appointed some sage and discreet persons to inquire into the laws which pilgrims had been accustomed to in Europe. The result of their labours was presented by the king to a general assembly of the patriarch and barons, and declared by them to be the usages and assises which should ever govern the king and the people of Jerusalem. But they were corrected and augmented at different times by the successors of Godfrey, who, it is stated, sent into other countries in order to gain principles of legislation. The assises were generally called the letters of the sepulchre, from the place of their repository; and are said to have been lost when Jerusalem was taken by Saladin; à la terre perdue tout fut perdu. In the year 1250 the laws were revised and reduced into writing by John d'Ibelin, count of Jaffa and Ascalon, lord of Beritus and Ramula. A second revision was made by sixteen commissioners at Cyprus, in the year 1369, for the government of that island. A manuscript, in the Vatican of this second revision, is the original of the only printed edition which has appeared of these assises, under the title of Assises et bons usages du Royaume de Jerusalem, &c., fol. Paris, 1690. Thaumassiere was the editor. He appended several notes, few of which are materially elucidatory of his text, and his glossary of old French law terms is very imperfect. The Assises have no pretensions to praise for a methodical arrangement of their contents. The subjects treated of are few, and confusion was not apprehended. Bound up in the same volume is the collection of the customary laws of Beauvoisis, by Beaumanoir, who was Baillie of Clermont, a few years after the time when John d'Ibelin revised the Assises. Beaumanoir's book remained in MS. till it was edited by Thaumassiere. Both treaties throw great light on each other: for although the basis of the Assises is feudal jurisprudence, and the basis of Beaumanoir is customary or common law, yet a great many logical practises were introduced by the Franks into the Palestine code, and the customary law of Beauvoisis had been modified and changed by feudal institutions.

Note (L.) — Page 142.

What has been written in several of the last pages respecting the count of Tripoli, rests chiefly on the authority of the chronicle of events in the Holy Land, contained in the fifth vol. of Martenne. The author was Ralph Coggeshal, who was in Palestine at the battle of Tiberias, and is apparently a very faithful historian. See, too, the few last pages of William of Tyre, and Plagon's continuation. The archbishop declares, that Guy de Lusignan was unfit for the office of regent; but he speaks well of the count

of Tripoli. The English and French writers, who lived at a distance, and could only write from report, mention, sometimes with hesitation, and at other times with positiveness, foul charges of treason against Raymond. It is most likely that these calumnies sprung from the grand master of the Templars, the enemy of the count of Tripoli. It is agreed, that Baldwin the leper gave the regency to Raymond, and left the settlement of the ladies' claims to the decision of the sovereigns of the west. Guy de Lusignan was a usurper; and, as we have seen, he was aided in his usurpation by Joscelyn de Courtenay and the ruler of the Templars. The latter advised the battle of Tiberias; the Christian cause was ruined, and the knight turned the blame from himself to a man whom he hated. The preceding intercourse between Saladin and Raymond gave the charge credit. The Arabic writers invariably describe the count of Tripoli as a most formidable enemy of the Muselmans, and there is not a passage in their works which justifies the charges of the Templars. I was led to this view of the subject from perusing the facts and remarks collected and made by the most learned Maurite monks, in their excellent History of Languedoc, vol. ii., n. 56. It may not be thought, however, that the conduct of any of the different men in question was the real cause of the fall of the kingdom of Jerusalem. At the time of Saladin's invasion of Palestine, his power was so enormous, that he could overwhelm and annihilate the petty Latin state; and so great was the hatred of the Christian name, that he certainly would not have waited for his enemy giving him cause to exercise his fanaticism.

Note (M.)—Page 146.

"Having promised the Croises great success, in the name of the Lord, and finding them soundly banged, and utterly discomfited, he wrote an apology for himself, justifying his promises, and laying the fault entirely on the vices of the Croises. You never knew a fanatic pretending to prophecy, who ever blushed when his predictions came to naught, or ever was at a loss for some paltry subterfuge in his own vindication." Jortin, Remarks on Ecclesiastical History, vol. iii., p. 231. — "Au lieu d'avouer de bonne foi qu'il avoit été trompé le premier, il se sauva dans la pitoyable asyle des promesses conditionelles, faisant, entendre que quand il avoit prédit que le croisade seroit heureuse, c'étoit en sousentendant comme une condition necessaire que les croisez n'offenseroient point le bon Dieu par le dérèglement de leurs mœurs. Avouez-moi que c'est se moquée du monde, que de s'eriger en prophête, pour drédire ce qui n'arrivera jamais, et pour ne pas dire un seul mot de ce qui arrivera effectivement. Ou il ne falliot pas que S. Bernard se melast de prédire l'avenir, ou il devoit prédire les désordres effectifs dans lesquelles les croisez tombèrent au lieu de leur promettre des victoires imaginaires qui ne dovoient jamais arriver." — Bayle, Pensées diverses, tome ii., p. 780. Rotterdam, 1683.

Note (N.)—Page 151.

For the third crusade, the materials are rich and ample. I have gained much from my old guides Bernardus the treasurer, James de Vitry, the anonymous history of Jerusalem in Bongarsius, Nicetas, M. Paris, and Herold, one of the continuations of William of Tyre. The circumstances of the emperor Frederic's crusade are told in the annals of Godfrey the monk, Tageno, and the history of the expedition of Barbaroesa, by an anonymous but contemporary writer. Rigord's History of Philip Augustus furnished me with a few particulars; but my great leader was the Itinerary of Richard to the Holy Land, by Jeffrey of Vinesauf, contained in the second volume of Gale's important collection of English historians. Vinesauf is highly praised by Leland; but some caution is necessary in reading the work of a man, who equals Richard to Ulysses in eloquence, and to Nestor in wisdom. Hoveden's book is principally valuable for its state papers, and its reaching to a later time than the work of Benedict, abbot of Peterborough, which Hoveden has often abridged, and Bromton has merely transcribed. William of Newborough is an author next in merit, I think, to Malmsbury. His narrative is in the style of a history, and not of a mere chronicle. For my Arabic authorities, Abulfeda continues useful, but my greatest reliance is placed upon Bohadin, the friend and historian of Saladin. M. Michaud, author of the French History of the Crusades, now in the course of publication, has had access to the Latin translations which the late Father Berthéreau, a Maurite monk, made from various Arabic manuscripts. Except in one case, which I shall mention when it occurs, they appear to be of very little value. They throw no new light on the general history, and only re-assert facts which have already been amply proved.

Note (O.)—Page 152.

Though the history of the reciprocal state of the Greeks and Latins cannot be admitted into a work which, like the present, is only a supplement or appendix to national histories, yet I may be allowed to *remind* my reader, that from the very early times there were greater animosities between the Greeks and Latins than between any two countries of Europe or Asia. The people of Greece and Constantinople hated those of the west, as descendants of the ferocious savages who had extinguished the power of classic Rome in Europe. The Greeks were proud of their learned and potent ancestors, and despised all other nations as rude and ignorant. The martial Latins held in equal contempt the luxurious and effeminate Greeks. In the sixth century the bishops of Jerusalem and Constantinople were elevated to the dignity of patriarchs, and were equal to the patriarchs of Rome, Alexandria, and Antioch: yet the patriarch of Rome had always precedence of the patriarch of Constantinople, agreeably to the custom of revering the majesty of the republic, and of the consul of the west preceding the

consul of the east. But the ecclesiastical governors of the two greatest cities of the world soon considered each other as rivals, and contended for power. In the end the bishop of Rome was more potent than the bishop of Constantinople, because, Italy being deserted by its Greek lords, the Pope became a temporal monarch as well as a spiritual guide, and because Europe was not, like Asia, unchristianized by the Muselmans. In the eighth century the Christian world was divided into two great factions, on the subjects of the procession of the Holy Ghost, and the worship of images. In the eleventh century the Greeks widened the breach, by accusing the Latins of various acts and opinions of heresy. The latter used unleavened bread in the holy supper; they confined themselves to one single immersion in the rite of baptism; their bishops wore rings like bridegrooms, kept sabbaths, and did not refrain from things strangled, and from blood. Notwithstanding the violence of national and religious hatred, the emperors of Constantinople frequently indulged the hope of being able to unite the crowns of the west and east. Manuel Comnenus gained the friendship of the Pope, formed for himself and children matrimonial connexions with Latin princes, and entrusted Frenchmen with high official charges. This attachment to the Latins was odious and detestable in the eyes of his own subjects. The Greeks dissembled for a while their feelings; but at length the concealed rage and fury of many centuries burst into a flame. The natives of Constantinople arose in arms, burnt the quarters of the city where the strangers resided, massacred most of those who escaped the flames, and dragged through the dirt the head of the papal legate tied to a dog's tail. Four thousand Latins were sold for slaves to Turks; some others escaped in their ships, and, in the course of their return to Italy, made the harmless provincials suffer for the crimes of the metropolis. The massacre of the Latins at Constantinople happened about six years before the third Crusade. But the providing materials for the luxury of a great city was so tempting to minds occupied in the pursuit of wealth, and the Italians were so much more industrious than the Greeks, that the Pisans and other people again became residents in Constantinople, and the fierce passions of the nations gradually gave way to sensuality and licentiousness. But the clergy were inexorable; and when Barbarossa was in the Grecian territories, they preached, though without much success, the justice of destroying the heretics.

Note (P.)—Page 158.

In a short time the king became convalescent; and, according to the romance of Richard Cœur de Lion, the first symptom of his recovery was a violent longing for pork. Of course it was difficult to procure swine's flesh in a Muselman country. But

An old knight, with Richard biding,
When he heard of that tiding,
That the kingis wants were swyche,
To the steward he spake privyliche.
"Our lord the king sore is sick, I wis,
After pork he alonged is;
Ye may none find to sell;
No man be hardy him so to telle!
If he did, he might die.
Now behoves to done as I shall say,
That he wete naught of that,
Takes a Saracen young and fat;
In haste let the thief be slain,
Opened, and his skin off flayn;
And sodden, full hastily,
With powder and with spicery,
And with saffron of good colour.
When the king feels thereof savour,
Out of ague if he be went,
He shall have thereto good talent,
When he has a good taste,
And eaten with a good repast,
And supped of the *brewis** a sup
Slept after and swet a drop,
Thorough God is help, and my counsail,
Soon he shall be as fresh and hail."
The sooth to say, at wordes few,
Slain and sodden was the heathen shrew.
Before the king it forth was brought:
Quod his men, "Lord, we have pork sought;
Eates and suppes of the brewis *swete*†
Thorough Grace of God it shall be your boot."
Before king Richard carff a knight,
He ate faster than he carve might.
The king ate the flesh, and *gnew*‡ the bones,
And drank well after for the nonce.
And when he had eaten enough,
His folk hem turned away, and *lough*.§
He lay still, and drew in his arm;
His chamberlain him wrapped warm.
He lay and slept, and swet a stound,
And became whole and sound.
King Richard clad him and arose,
And walked abouten in the close.

Some time afterwards, in a dainty mood, the king desired that the swine's head should be dressed.

Quod the cook, "That head Ine have."
Then said the king, "So God me save,
But I see the head of that swine,
For sooth thou shalt lessen thine!"
The cook saw none other might be;
He fet the head, and let him see.
He fell on knees, and made a cry,
Lo here the head, my lord, mercy.
The *swarte vis*‖ when the king seeth,
His black beard and white teeth,
How his lippes grinned wide,
"What devil is this?" the king cried,
And gan to laugh as he were wode.
"What! is Saracen's flesh thus good?
That, never erst, I nought wist!
By Gode's death, and his up-rist,
Shall we never die for default,
While we may, in any assault,

* Broth. † Sweet.
‡ Gnawed. § Laughed. ‖ Black face.

Slee Saracens, the flesh may take,
And seethen, and rosten, and do hem bake,
And gnawen her flesh to the bones!
Now I have proved it once,
For hunger eke I be wo,
I and my folk shall eat mo."

On the occasion of an entertainment which he gave to some Saracinian embassadors, he commanded his marshal to strike off the heads of an equal number of Muselman prisoners of high rank, and deliver them to the cook, with instructions to clear away the hair, and, after boiling them in a chaldron, to distribute them on several platters, one to each guest, observing to fasten on the forehead of each the piece of parchment expressing the name and family of the victim. A head was also to be brought for Richard, and he would eat thereof,

As it were a tender chick,
To see how the others would like.

Every thing took place according to order. The embassadors were shocked at the request, and astonished at the king, who swallowed the morsels as fast as they could be supplied by the knights who carved them.

Every man then poked other;
They said, "This is the devil's brother,
That slays our men, and thus hem eats."

The table was then cleared, and covered again with a proper dinner. Richard then courteously relieved their fears respecting their own personal safety, apologized to them for what had passed, which he attributed entirely to his ignorance of their taste, and added,

King Richard shall warrant,
There is no flesh so nourissant
Unto an English man,
Partridge, plover, haron, ne swan,
Cow ne ox, sheep ne swine,
As the head of a Sarezyn.
There he is fat and thereto tender;
And my men be lean and slender
While any Saracen quick be,
Livand now in this Syrie;
For meat will we nothing care,
Abouten fast we shall fare,
And every day we shall eat
All so many as we may get.
To England will we nought gon,
Till they be eaten every one.

According to Warton, there are three printed editions of this romance of Richard Cœur de Lion, one in 8vo. by Winken de Worde, in 1509; another by him in 4to. 1528, and a third by W. C. no date. Of the second, there is a copy in the Bodleian (c. 39, art. Selden), in which there is no account of the savage meal which Richard made of the Saracens, and the feasts of the embassadors. The circumstance of these omissions adds force to the opinion, that the tale of the crusade of Richard was altered in various ways by the lying minstrels, and that there is no perfect standard of this romance See Ellis's Specimens of Metrical Romances, vol. ii., p. 172. From Mr. Ellis's version I have extracted my account of the Saracenian pork story.

Note (Q.)—Page 160.

Vinesauf, iii. 19, iv. 2, 4, and 6. Benedict, 674. Bohadin, cap. 115, p. 183. The soldiers of Richard's crusade did not materially differ from their predecessors—et aurum et argentum multum invenerunt in visceribus eorum (Paganorum)—*et fel eorum usui medicinali servaverun!* Hemingford (p. 531) states sixteen hundred as the number of prisoners destroyed by Richard, and Bohadin (cap. 115) estimates them at three thousand. Hoveden (p. 698) says, that five thousand captives were slain by the king and the duke of Burgundy. Vinesauf sets them down at two thousand seven hundred. He seems ashamed of his master's ferocity, and is obliged to hazard the supposition, that Richard killed the Muselmans out of his great zeal for the glory of Christianity, and his hatred of Islamism. Saladin did not forget this act of barbarity, and, in revenge, he slew all the Christians whom the chances of war threw into his hands.

Exercising the privilege of poetical exaggeration, the romance of Richard Cœur de Lion says, that Richard gave orders for the execution of sixty thousand captives.

They were led into the place full even.
There they heard angels of heaven;
They said, "Seigneurs, tuez, tuez,
Spares hem nought, and beheadeth these!"
King Richard heard the angel's voice,
And thanked God and the holy cross.

The author of the romance, Mr. Ellis says, considering that murder, conducted on so grand a scale, at the expense of unbelievers, and expressly enjoined by angels, could not fail of communicating great pleasure to the reader, has here introduced the following episodical description of Spring.

Merry is, in time of May,
When fowlis sing in her lay.
Floweres on apple-trees and perry;
Small fowles sing merry.
Ladies strew her bowers
With red roses and lilly flowers.
Great joy is in frith and lake;
Beast and bird plays with his mate;
The damiseles lead dance;
Knights play with shield and lance;
In justs and tournaments they ride;
Many a case hem betide!
Many chances and strokes hard!
So befell to King Richard.

Note (R.)—Page 162.

During the siege of Acre the duke of Austria took one of the enemy's towers, and placed his banner upon it. Richard, as supreme com-

mander, was indignant at this assumption of superiority, and threw the flag into a ditch. The historical fact, of the haughty duke's refusal to work, is thus curiously mentioned in the romance of Richard Cœur de Lion.

"My father n'as mason ne carpenter;
And though your wals should all to shake,
I shall never help hem to make."

The irascible monarch was incensed to the highest pitch of fury..

The duke with his foot he smot,
Against the breast, God it wot,
That on a stone he him overthrew;
It was evil done, by St. Matthew.

He at the same time ordered him to depart instantly, with his vassals, from the Christian camp, threatening to break his standard, and throw it into the river; and while the duke retired, muttering projects of vengeance, which he afterwards too successfully executed, Richard continued to follow him with imprecations, exclaiming—

—— With voice full steep,
"Home, shrew! coward! and sleep!
Come no more, in no wise,
Never oft in God's service."
Ellis's Specimens of Met. Rom., vol. ii., p. 263.

Note (S.)—Page 163.

The murderers were taken and tortured. Bromton (col. 1243) says nothing certain could be gained from them. Hoveden (p. 717) and Vinesauf (whom that excellent compiler Sanudo has followed) make them declare, that they murdered Conrad in revenge for an injury which he had done their master. But Bohadin (c. 144) affirms that they said they were employed by Richard. Against the testimony of this Arabic writer must be placed that of another Arabic historian, namely, the continuator of Tabary, who says (according to father Berthereau) cited in Michaud, Histoire des Croisades, II. 422) that the murderers, when under the hands of the executioners, would not confess the names of those who had employed them. The same author says that Saladin offered ten thousand pieces of gold to the old man of the mountain, if he would assassinate the marquis of Tyre and the king of England; but that the prince of the assassins did not think proper to deliver Saladin entirely from the Franks, and therefore performed only a moiety of what was required of him. The generosity of Richard to Conrad is admitted in Sicard's Chronicle, cited in l'Art de vérifier les Dates, 1. 449, and it seems that Conrad, with his dying breath, recommended his wife to surrender Tyre to Richard. There is great good sense in Hollingshed's remark. He is the only witness who shall "speak to character." "And verily it is most likely that king Richard would have been loth to have communicated his purpose unto such a wicked kind of Pagans as the assassins were, if he had pretended any such matter; but rather would have sought his revenge by some other means."

Note (F.)—Page 164.

This history of the circumstances respecting the Christians giving up the attack on Jerusalem I have taken from Vinesauf, V. 54. VI. 2, 7. Another class of writers have attributed the loss of the object of the crusade to the selfishness or national feelings of the duke of Burgundy. Some have charged him with taking the bribes of Saladin; others make him refuse co-operation with Richard, lest Richard should have all the honour of the conquest of Jerusalem. It was true that the French were more numerous than the English; but as the commander was an Englishman, they would not receive due reward of fame: and it would be a disgrace on France, if it could be said that after Philip had retired, Jerusalem has been taken by Richard. M. Paris, 141. Bernardus, 811. Plagon. Cont. of Archb. of Tyre, 635. Sanutus, lib. iii., part 10, c. 6. Hevenden's story is (page 716), that Richard wished the duke of Burgundy and the French to swear that they would not depart till the conquest should be achieved: but they refused, answering that they would return to France agreeably to the commands of Philip. This general opinion of French and English writers it is difficult to contradict in all respects: on the other hand, Vinesauf is an author of the highest authority on Richard's crusade, and his narrative is full and circumstantial. He mentions violent and alarming altercations between the duke and the king, and the receding of the former from Ascalon. The circumstances were the foundation of the popular story, which in its progress through the world assumed different shapes; wrong places were mentioned as the scene of action, and false conclusions drawn.

Note (U.)—Page 168.

Poetry, particularly that of the Provençal bards, was patronised in the court of king Henry the Second; for his queen, Eleanora, was a Troubadour by birth, and, as we have already seen, she did not disgrace her family by the prosaic virtues of prudence, chastity, &c. Richard cultivated the "gay science." Unluckily for the royal lute-loving heroes of modern times, the stanzas which it is said he wrote on the eyes of gentle ladies have not descended to us. One of his other poems seems to have been written in prison. It has often been versified, but in every thing that constitutes merit, the translation from the elegant pen of Mr. Ellis is the best.

If captive weight attempt the tuneful strain,
His voice, belike, full dolefully will sound;
Yet, to the sad, 'tis comfort to complain.
Friends have I store; and promises abound;
Shame on the niggards! Since, these winters twain
Unransom'd, still I bear a tyrant's chain.

'ull well they know, my lords and nobles all,
Of England, Normandy, Guienne, Poictou,
Ie'er did I slight my poorest vassal's call,
But all, whom wealth could buy, from chains withdrew.
Tot in reproach I speak, nor idly vain,
Iut I alone unpitied bear the chain.

Ay fate will show, "the dungeon and the grave
Alike repel our kindred and our friends."
Here am I left their paltry gold to save!
Sad fate is mine; but worse their crime attends.
Their lord will die: their conscience shall remain,
And tell how long I wore this galling chain.

No wonder, though my heart with grief boil o'er,
When he, my perjur'd lord, invades my lands;
Forgets he then the oaths he lately swore,
When both, in treaty, join'd our plighted hands?
Else, sure I ween, I should not long remain,
Unpitied here to wear a tyrant's chain.

To those my friends, long lov'd, and ever dear,
To gentle Chaile, and kind Persarain,
Go forth my song, and say, whate'er they hear,
To them my heart was never false or vain.
Should they rebel—but no; their souls disdain
With added weight to load a captive's chain.

Know, then, the youths of Anjou and Touraine,
Those lusty bachelors, those airy lords,
That these vile walls their captive king restrain?
Sure they in aire will draw their loyal swords!
Alas! nor faith, nor valour, now remain;
Sighs are but wind, and I must bear my chain.

Note (X.)—Page 168.

The chaplain Anselm is our chief guide for the history of the circumstances which attended the seizure of Richard. His narrative is contained in M. Paris, 143—145; and in the Chronicle of Oxenedes in Brit. Mus. Cotton. MSS. Nero D. 2, p. 221. One of these writers must have copied from the other, or both copied from one original, for their statements are almost literally the same. See too Hoveden, 717, 721, 723. The plain matter of fact story of Richard's adventures in Germany is quite as interesting, I think, as the fable, which is as follows. A whole year elapsed before the English knew where their monarch was confined. Blondell de Nesle, Richard's favourite French minstrel, resolved to find out his lord: and after travelling many days without success, at last came to a castle where Richard was detained. Here he found that the castle belonged to the duke of Austria, and that a king was there imprisoned. Suspecting that the prisoner was his master, he found means to place himself directly before the window of the chamber where the king was kept; and in this situation began to sing a French chanson which Richard and Blondell had formerly written together. When the king heard the song he knew it was Blondell who sung it: and when Blondell paused after the first half of the song, the king began the other half and completed it. Blondell then returned to England, acquainted the people with his discovery, and Richard was in due time liberated. Fauchet, Recueil de l'Origine de la Langue Françoise, p. 92. Warton's History of English Poetry, vol. 1, p. 113, note.

CHANSON.

Blondell.—Domna vostra beautas
Elas bellas faisos
Els bels oils amoros
Els gens cors ben taillats
Dons sieu empresenats
De vostra amor que mi liu.

Richard.—Si bel trop affansia
Ja dei vos non portrai
Que major honorai
Sol en votre deman
Que santra des beisan
So cao de vos volrai.

IMITATED.

B.—Your beauty, lady fair,
None views without delight;
But still so cold an air
No passion can excite.
Yet this I patient see
While all are shunn'd like me.

R.—No nymph my heart can wound,
If favours she divide,
And smile on all around,
Unwilling to decide:
I'd rather hatred bear
Than love with other share.

Burney's History of Music, vol. ii., p. 236.

In the fourth part of the Mirror for Magistrates, Richard Cœur de Lion thus relates his events.

Backe, backe to England, with a grieved heart,
Leaving these blest affairs of th' holy one
Of Israel, we must with grief depart:
Philip my foe excites my brother John,
In my long absence to aspire the throne:
My England's rocky bounds ring with alarms
Of factious traitors, John is up in arms.

Warn'd by report, my course I did direct
For England's bounds: but here thy muse must know
My father's curse began to take effect:
Heav'n seem'd to frowne, the sea became my foe,
And earth conspir'd to work my greater wo:
By seas' dark waves and froward winds from heav'n,
Unto my foes at shore I up was given.

By tempest driven, from danger to be free,
I made hard shipwracke on the Istriand strand,
Depriv'd of all my train, excepting three,

mander, was indignant at this assumption of superiority, and threw the flag into a ditch. The historical fact, of the haughty duke's refusal to work, is thus curiously mentioned in the romance of Richard Cœur de Lion.

" My father n'as mason ne carpenter;
And though your wals should all to shake,
I shall never help hem to make."

The irascible monarch was incensed to the highest pitch of fury..

The duke with his foot he smot,
Against the breast, God it wot,
That on a stone he him overthrew;
It was evil done, by St. Matthew.

He at the same time ordered him to depart instantly, with his vassals, from the Christian camp, threatening to break his standard, and throw it into the river; and while the duke retired, muttering projects of vengeance, which he afterwards too successfully executed, Richard continued to follow him with imprecations, exclaiming—

—— With voice full steep,
" Home, shrew! coward! and sleep!
Come no more, in no wise,
Never oft in God's service."
Ellis's Specimens of Met. Rom., vol. ii., p. 263.

Note (S.)—Page 163.

The murderers were taken and tortured. Bromton (col. 1243) says nothing certain could be gained from them. Hoveden (p. 717) and Vinesauf (whom that excellent compiler Sanudo has followed) make them declare, that they murdered Conrad in revenge for an injury which he had done their master. But Bohadin (c. 144) affirms that they said they were employed by Richard. Against the testimony of this Arabic writer must be placed that of another Arabic historian, namely, the continuator of Tabary, who says (according to father Berthereau) cited in Michaud, Histoire des Croisades, II. 422) that the murderers, when under the hands of the executioners, would not confess the names of those who had employed them. The same author says that Saladin offered ten thousand pieces of gold to the old man of the mountain, if he would assassinate the marquis of Tyre and the king of England; but that the prince of the assassins did not think proper to deliver Saladin entirely from the Franks, and therefore performed only a moiety of what was required of him. The generosity of Richard to Conrad is admitted in Sicard's Chronicle, cited in l'Art de vérifier les Dates, 1. 449, and it seems that Conrad, with his dying breath, recommended his wife to surrender Tyre to Richard. There is great good sense in Hollingshed's remark. He is the only witness who shall " speak to character." " And verily it is most likely that king Richard would have been loth to have communicated his purpose unto such a wicked kind of Pagans as the assassins were, if he had pretended any such matter; but rather would have sought his revenge by some other means."

Note (F.)—Page 164.

This history of the circumstances respecting the Christians giving up the attack on Jerusalem I have taken from Vinesauf, V. 54. VI. 1, 2, 7. Another class of writers have attributed the loss of the object of the crusade to the selfishness or national feelings of the duke of Burgundy. Some have charged him with taking the bribes of Saladin; others make him refuse cooperation with Richard, lest Richard should have all the honour of the conquest of Jerusalem. It was true that the French were more numerous than the English; but as the commander was an Englishman, they would not receive due reward of fame: and it would be a disgrace on France, if it could be said that after Philip had retired, Jerusalem has been taken by Richard. M. Paris, 141. Bernardus, 811. Plagon. Cont. of Archb. of Tyre, 635. Sanutus, lib. iii., part 10, c. 6. Hevenden's story is (page 716), that Richard wished the duke of Burgundy and the French to swear that they would not depart till the conquest should be achieved: but they refused, answering that they would return to France agreeably to the commands of Philip. This general opinion of French and English writers it is difficult to contradict in all respects: on the other hand, Vinesauf is an author of the highest authority on Richard's crusade, and his narrative is full and circumstantial. He mentions violent and alarming altercations between the duke and the king, and the receding of the former from Ascalon. The circumstances were the foundation of the popular story, which in its progress through the world assumed different shapes; wrong places were mentioned as the scene of action, and false conclusions drawn.

Note (U.)—Page 168.

Poetry, particularly that of the Provençal bards, was patronised in the court of king Henry the Second; for his queen, Eleanora, was a Troubadour by birth, and, as we have already seen, she did not disgrace her family by the prosaic virtues of prudence, chastity, &c. Richard cultivated the " gay science." Unluckily for the royal lute-loving heroes of modern times, the stanzas which it is said he wrote on the eyes of gentle ladies have not descended to us. One of his other poems seems to have been written in prison. It has often been versified, but in every thing that constitutes merit, the translation from the elegant pen of Mr. Ellis is the best.

If captive weight attempt the tuneful strain,
His voice, belike, full dolefully will sound;
Yet, to the sad, 'tis comfort to complain.
Friends have I store; and promises abound;
Shame on the niggards! Since, these winters twain
Unransom'd, still I bear a tyrant's chain.

Full well they know, my lords and nobles all,
Of England, Normandy, Guienne, Poictou,
Ne'er did I slight my poorest vassal's call,
But all, whom wealth could buy, from chains withdrew.
Not in reproach I speak, nor idly vain,
But I alone unpitied bear the chain.

My fate will show, "the dungeon and the grave
Alike repel our kindred and our friends."
Here am I left their paltry gold to save!
Sad fate is mine; but worse their crime attends.
Their lord will die: their conscience shall remain,
And tell how long I wore this galling chain.

No wonder, though my heart with grief boil o'er,
When he, my perjur'd lord, invades my lands;
Forgets he then the oaths he lately swore,
When both, in treaty, join'd our plighted hands?
Else, sure I ween, I should not long remain,
Unpitied here to wear a tyrant's chain.

To those my friends, long lov'd, and ever dear,
To gentle Chaile, and kind Persarain,
Go forth my song, and say, whate'er they hear,
To them my heart was never false or vain.
Should they rebel—but no; their souls disdain
With added weight to load a captive's chain.

Know, then, the youths of Anjou and Touraine,
Those lusty bachelors, those airy lords,
That these vile walls their captive king restrain?
Sure they in aire will draw their loyal swords!
Alas! nor faith, nor valour, now remain;
Sighs are but wind, and I must bear my chain.

Note (X.)—Page 168.

The chaplain Anselm is our chief guide for the history of the circumstances which attended the seizure of Richard. His narrative is contained in M. Paris, 143—145; and in the Chronicle of Oxenedes in Brit. Mus. Cotton. MSS. Nero D. 2, p. 221. One of these writers must have copied from the other, or both copied from one original, for their statements are almost literally the same. See too Hoveden, 717, 721, 723. The plain matter of fact story of Richard's adventures in Germany is quite as interesting, I think, as the fable, which is as follows. A whole year elapsed before the English knew where their monarch was confined. Blondell de Nesle, Richard's favourite French minstrel, resolved to find out his lord: and after travelling many days without success, at last came to a castle where Richard was detained. Here he found that the castle belonged to the duke of Austria, and that a king was there imprisoned. Suspecting that the prisoner was his master, he found means to place himself directly before the window of the chamber where the king was kept; and in this situation began to sing a French chanson which Richard and Blondell had formerly written together. When the king heard the song he knew it was Blondell who sung it: and when Blondell paused after the first half of the song, the king began the other half and completed it. Blondell then returned to England, acquainted the people with his discovery, and Richard was in due time liberated. Fauchet, Recueil de l'Origine de la Langue Françoise, p. 92. Warton's History of English Poetry, vol. 1, p. 113, note.

CHANSON.

Blondell.—Domna vostra beautas
Elas bellas faisos
Els bels oils amoros
Els gens cors ben taillats
Dons sieu empresenats
De vostra amor que mi liu.

Richard.—Si bel trop affansia
Ja dei vos non portrai
Que major honorai
Sol en votre deman
Que santra des beisan
So cao de vos volrai.

IMITATED.

B.—Your beauty, lady fair,
None views without delight;
But still so cold an air
No passion can excite.
Yet this I patient see
While all are shunn'd like me.

R.—No nymph my heart can wound,
If favours she divide,
And smile on all around,
Unwilling to decide:
I'd rather hatred bear
Than love with other share.

Burney's History of Music, vol. ii., p. 236.

In the fourth part of the Mirror for Magistrates, Richard Cœur de Lion thus relates his events.

Backe, backe to England, with a grieved heart,
Leaving these blest affairs of th' holy one
Of Israel, we must with grief depart:
Philip my foe excites my brother John,
In my long absence to aspire the throne:
My England's rocky bounds ring with alarms
Of factious traitors, John is up in arms.

Warn'd by report, my course I did direct
For England's bounds: but here thy muse must know
My father's curse began to take effect:
Heav'n seem'd to frowne, the sea became my foe,
And earth conspir'd to work my greater wo:
By seas' dark waves and froward winds from heav'n,
Unto my foes at shore I up was given.

By tempest driven, from danger to be free,
I made hard shipwracke on the Istriand strand,
Depriv'd of all my train, excepting three,

mander, was indignant at this assumption of superiority, and threw the flag into a ditch. The historical fact, of the haughty duke's refusal to work, is thus curiously mentioned in the romance of Richard Cœur de Lion.

"My father n'as mason ne carpenter;
And though your wals should all to shake,
I shall never help hem to make."

The irascible monarch was incensed to the highest pitch of fury..

The duke with his foot he smot,
Against the breast, God it wot,
That on a stone he him overthrew;
It was evil done, by St. Matthew.

He at the same time ordered him to depart instantly, with his vassals, from the Christian camp, threatening to break his standard, and throw it into the river; and while the duke retired, muttering projects of vengeance, which he afterwards too successfully executed, Richard continued to follow him with imprecations, exclaiming—

—— With voice full steep,
"Home, shrew! coward! and sleep!
Come no more, in no wise,
Never oft in God's service."
Ellis's Specimens of Met. Rom., vol. ii., p. 263.

Note (S.)—Page 163.

The murderers were taken and tortured. Bromton (col. 1243) says nothing certain could be gained from them. Hoveden (p. 717) and Vinesauf (whom that excellent compiler Sanudo has followed) make them declare, that they murdered Conrad in revenge for an injury which he had done their master. But Bohadin (c. 144) affirms that they said they were employed by Richard. Against the testimony of this Arabic writer must be placed that of another Arabic historian, namely, the continuator of Tabary, who says (according to father Berthereau) cited in Michaud, Histoire des Croisades, II. 422) that the murderers, when under the hands of the executioners, would not confess the names of those who had employed them. The same author says that Saladin offered ten thousand pieces of gold to the old man of the mountain, if he would assassinate the marquis of Tyre and the king of England; but that the prince of the assassins did not think proper to deliver Saladin entirely from the Franks, and therefore performed only a moiety of what was required of him. The generosity of Richard to Conrad is admitted in Sicard's Chronicle, cited in l'Art de vérifier les Dates, 1. 449, and it seems that Conrad, with his dying breath, recommended his wife to surrender Tyre to Richard. There is great good sense in Hollingshed's remark. He is the only witness who shall "speak to character." "And verily it is most likely that king Richard would have been loth to have communicated his purpose unto such a wicked kind of Pagans as the assassins were, if he had pretended any such matter; but rather would have sought his revenge by some other means."

Note (F.)—Page 164.

This history of the circumstances respecting the Christians giving up the attack on Jerusalem I have taken from Vinesauf, V. 54. VI. 1, 2, 7. Another class of writers have attributed the loss of the object of the crusade to the selfishness or national feelings of the duke of Burgundy. Some have charged him with taking the bribes of Saladin; others make him refuse cooperation with Richard, lest Richard should have all the honour of the conquest of Jerusalem. It was true that the French were more numerous than the English; but as the commander was an Englishman, they would not receive due reward of fame: and it would be a disgrace on France, if it could be said that after Philip had retired, Jerusalem has been taken by Richard. M. Paris, 141. Bernardus, 811. Plagon. Cont. of Archb. of Tyre, 635. Sanutus, lib. iii., part 10, c. 6. Hevenden's story is (page 716), that Richard wished the duke of Burgundy and the French to swear that they would not depart till the conquest should be achieved: but they refused, answering that they would return to France agreeably to the commands of Philip. This general opinion of French and English writers it is difficult to contradict in all respects: on the other hand, Vinesauf is an author of the highest authority on Richard's crusade, and his narrative is full and circumstantial. He mentions violent and alarming altercations between the duke and the king, and the receding of the former from Ascalon. The circumstances were the foundation of the popular story, which in its progress through the world assumed different shapes; wrong places were mentioned as the scene of action, and false conclusions drawn.

Note (U.)—Page 168.

Poetry, particularly that of the Provençal bards, was patronised in the court of king Henry the Second; for his queen, Eleanora, was a Troubadour by birth, and, as we have already seen, she did not disgrace her family by the prosaic virtues of prudence, chastity, &c. Richard cultivated the "gay science." Unluckily for the royal lute-loving heroes of modern times, the stanzas which it is said he wrote on the eyes of gentle ladies have not descended to us. One of his other poems seems to have been written in prison. It has often been versified, but in every thing that constitutes merit, the translation from the elegant pen of Mr. Ellis is the best.

If captive weight attempt the tuneful strain,
His voice, belike, full dolefully will sound;
Yet, to the sad, 'tis comfort to complain.
Friends have I store; and promises abound;
Shame on the niggards! Since, these winters twain
Unransom'd, still I bear a tyrant's chain.

Full well they know, my lords and nobles all,
Of England, Normandy, Guienne, Poictou,
Ne'er did I slight my poorest vassal's call,
But all, whom wealth could buy, from chains withdrew.
Not in reproach I speak, nor idly vain,
But I alone unpitied bear the chain.

My fate will show, "the dungeon and the grave
Alike repel our kindred and our friends."
Here am I left their paltry gold to save!
Sad fate is mine; but worse their crime attends.
Their lord will die: their conscience shall remain,
And tell how long I wore this galling chain.

No wonder, though my heart with grief boil o'er,
When he, my perjur'd lord, invades my lands;
Forgets he then the oaths he lately swore,
When both, in treaty, join'd our plighted hands?
Else, sure I ween, I should not long remain,
Unpitied here to wear a tyrant's chain.

To those my friends, long lov'd, and ever dear,
To gentle Chaile, and kind Persarain,
Go forth my song, and say, whate'er they hear,
To them my heart was never false or vain.
Should they rebel—but no; their souls disdain
With added weight to load a captive's chain.

Know, then, the youths of Anjou and Touraine,
Those lusty bachelors, those airy lords,
That these vile walls their captive king restrain?
Sure they in aire will draw their loyal swords!
Alas! nor faith, nor valour, now remain;
Sighs are but wind, and I must bear my chain.

Note (X.)—Page 168.

The chaplain Anselm is our chief guide for the history of the circumstances which attended the seizure of Richard. His narrative is contained in M. Paris, 143—145; and in the Chronicle of Oxenedes in Brit. Mus. Cotton. MSS. Nero D. 2, p. 221. One of these writers must have copied from the other, or both copied from one original, for their statements are almost literally the same. See too Hoveden, 717, 721, 723. The plain matter of fact story of Richard's adventures in Germany is quite as interesting, I think, as the fable, which is as follows. A whole year elapsed before the English knew where their monarch was confined. Blondell de Nesle, Richard's favourite French minstrel, resolved to find out his lord: and after travelling many days without success, at last came to a castle where Richard was detained. Here he found that the castle belonged to the duke of Austria, and that a king was there imprisoned. Suspecting that the prisoner was his master, he found means to place himself directly before the window of the chamber where the king was kept; and in this situation began to sing a French chanson which Richard and Blondell had formerly written together. When the king heard the song he knew it was Blondell who sung it: and when Blondell paused after the first half of the song, the king began the other half and completed it. Blondell then returned to England, acquainted the people with his discovery, and Richard was in due time liberated. Fauchet, Recueil de l'Origine de la Langue Françoise, p. 92. Warton's History of English Poetry, vol. 1, p. 113, note.

CHANSON.

Blondell.—Domna vostra beautas
Elas bellas faisos
Els bels oils amoros
Els gens cors ben taillats
Dons sieu empresenats
De vostra amor que mi liu.

Richard.—Si bel trop affansia
Ja dei vos non portrai
Que major honorai
Sol en votre deman
Que santra des beisan
So cao de vos volrai.

IMITATED.

B.—Your beauty, lady fair,
None views without delight;
But still so cold an air
No passion can excite.
Yet this I patient see
While all are shunn'd like me.

R.—No nymph my heart can wound,
If favours she divide,
And smile on all around,
Unwilling to decide:
I'd rather hatred bear
Than love with other share.

Burney's History of Music, vol. ii., p. 236.

In the fourth part of the Mirror for Magistrates, Richard Cœur de Lion thus relates his events.

Backe, backe to England, with a grieved heart,
Leaving these blest affairs of th' holy one
Of Israel, we must with grief depart:
Philip my foe excites my brother John,
In my long absence to aspire the throne:
My England's rocky bounds ring with alarms
Of factious traitors, John is up in arms.

Warn'd by report, my course I did direct
For England's bounds: but here thy muse must know
My father's curse began to take effect:
Heav'n seem'd to frowne, the sea became my foe,
And earth conspir'd to work my greater wo:
By seas' dark waves and froward winds from heav'n,
Unto my foes at shore I up was given.

By tempest driven, from danger to be free,
I made hard shipwracke on the Istriand strand,
Depriv'd of all my train, excepting three,

mander, was indignant at this assumption of superiority, and threw the flag into a ditch. The historical fact, of the haughty duke's refusal to work, is thus curiously mentioned in the romance of Richard Cœur de Lion.

"My father n'as mason ne carpenter;
And though your wals should all to shake,
I shall never help hem to make."

The irascible monarch was incensed to the highest pitch of fury.

The duke with his foot he smot,
Against the breast, God it wot,
That on a stone he him overthrew;
It was evil done, by St. Matthew.

He at the same time ordered him to depart instantly, with his vassals, from the Christian camp, threatening to break his standard, and throw it into the river; and while the duke retired, muttering projects of vengeance, which he afterwards too successfully executed, Richard continued to follow him with imprecations, exclaiming—

—— With voice full steep,
"Home, shrew! coward! and sleep!
Come no more, in no wise,
Never oft in God's service."
Ellis's Specimens of Met. Rom., vol. ii., p. 263.

Note (S.)—Page 163.

The murderers were taken and tortured. Bromton (col. 1243) says nothing certain could be gained from them. Hoveden (p. 717) and Vinesauf (whom that excellent compiler Sanudo has followed) make them declare, that they murdered Conrad in revenge for an injury which he had done their master. But Bohadin (c. 144) affirms that they said they were employed by Richard. Against the testimony of this Arabic writer must be placed that of another Arabic historian, namely, the continuator of Tabary, who says (according to father Berthereau) cited in Michaud, Histoire des Croisades, II. 422) that the murderers, when under the hands of the executioners, would not confess the names of those who had employed them. The same author says that Saladin offered ten thousand pieces of gold to the old man of the mountain, if he would assassinate the marquis of Tyre and the king of England; but that the prince of the assassins did not think proper to deliver Saladin entirely from the Franks, and therefore performed only a moiety of what was required of him. The generosity of Richard to Conrad is admitted in Sicard's Chronicle, cited in l'Art de vérifier les Dates, 1. 449, and it seems that Conrad, with his dying breath, recommended his wife to surrender Tyre to Richard. There is great good sense in Hollingshed's remark. He is the only witness who shall "speak to character." "And verily it is most likely that king Richard would have been loth to have communicated his purpose unto such a wicked kind of Pagans as the assassins were, if he had pretended any such matter; but rather would have sought his revenge by some other means."

Note (F.)—Page 164.

This history of the circumstances respecting the Christians giving up the attack on Jerusalem I have taken from Vinesauf, V. 54. VI. 1, 2, 7. Another class of writers have attributed the loss of the object of the crusade to the selfishness or national feelings of the duke of Burgundy. Some have charged him with taking the bribes of Saladin; others make him refuse co-operation with Richard, lest Richard should have all the honour of the conquest of Jerusalem. It was true that the French were more numerous than the English; but as the commander was an Englishman, they would not receive due reward of fame: and it would be a disgrace on France, if it could be said that after Philip had retired, Jerusalem has been taken by Richard. M. Paris, 141. Bernardus, 811. Plagon. Cont. of Archb. of Tyre, 635. Sanutus, lib. iii., part 10, c. 6. Hevenden's story is (page 716), that Richard wished the duke of Burgundy and the French to swear that they would not depart till the conquest should be achieved: but they refused, answering that they would return to France agreeably to the commands of Philip. This general opinion of French and English writers it is difficult to contradict in all respects: on the other hand, Vinesauf is an author of the highest authority on Richard's crusade, and his narrative is full and circumstantial. He mentions violent and alarming altercations between the duke and the king, and the receding of the former from Ascalon. The circumstances were the foundation of the popular story, which in its progress through the world assumed different shapes; wrong places were mentioned as the scene of action, and false conclusions drawn.

Note (U.)—Page 168.

Poetry, particularly that of the Provençal bards, was patronised in the court of king Henry the Second; for his queen, Eleanora, was a Troubadour by birth, and, as we have already seen, she did not disgrace her family by the prosaic virtues of prudence, chastity, &c. Richard cultivated the "gay science." Unluckily for the royal lute-loving heroes of modern times, the stanzas which it is said he wrote on the eyes of gentle ladies have not descended to us. One of his other poems seems to have been written in prison. It has often been versified, but in every thing that constitutes merit, the translation from the elegant pen of Mr. Ellis is the best.

If captive weight attempt the tuneful strain,
His voice, belike, full dolefully will sound;
Yet, to the sad, 'tis comfort to complain.
Friends have I store; and promises abound;
Shame on the niggards! Since, these winters twain
Unransom'd, still I bear a tyrant's chain.

Full well they know, my lords and nobles all,
Of England, Normandy, Guienne, Poictou,
Ne'er did I slight my poorest vassal's call,
But all, whom wealth could buy, from chains withdrew.
Not in reproach I speak, nor idly vain,
But I alone unpitied bear the chain.

My fate will show, "the dungeon and the grave
Alike repel our kindred and our friends."
Here am I left their paltry gold to save!
Sad fate is mine; but worse their crime attends.
Their lord will die: their conscience shall remain,
And tell how long I wore this galling chain.

No wonder, though my heart with grief boil o'er,
When he, my perjur'd lord, invades my lands;
Forgets he then the oaths he lately swore,
When both, in treaty, join'd our plighted hands?
Else, sure I ween, I should not long remain,
Unpitied here to wear a tyrant's chain.

To those my friends, long lov'd, and ever dear,
To gentle Chaile, and kind Persarain,
Go forth my song, and say, whate'er they hear,
To them my heart was never false or vain.
Should they rebel—but no; their souls disdain
With added weight to load a captive's chain.

Know, then, the youths of Anjou and Touraine,
Those lusty bachelors, those airy lords,
That these vile walls their captive king restrain?
Sure they in aire will draw their loyal swords!
Alas! nor faith, nor valour, now remain;
Sighs are but wind, and I must bear my chain.

Note (X.)—Page 168.

The chaplain Anselm is our chief guide for the history of the circumstances which attended the seizure of Richard. His narrative is contained in M. Paris, 143—145; and in the Chronicle of Oxenedes in Brit. Mus. Cotton. MSS. Nero D. 2, p. 221. One of these writers must have copied from the other, or both copied from one original, for their statements are almost literally the same. See too Hoveden, 717, 721, 723. The plain matter of fact story of Richard's adventures in Germany is quite as interesting, I think, as the fable, which is as follows. A whole year elapsed before the English knew where their monarch was confined. Blondell de Nesle, Richard's favourite French minstrel, resolved to find out his lord: and after travelling many days without success, at last came to a castle where Richard was detained. Here he found that the castle belonged to the duke of Austria, and that a king was there imprisoned. Suspecting that the prisoner was his master, he found means to place himself directly before the window of the chamber where the king was kept; and in this situation began to sing a French chanson which Richard and Blondell had formerly written together. When the king heard the song he knew it was Blondell who sung it: and when Blondell paused after the first half of the song, the king began the other half and completed it. Blondell then returned to England, acquainted the people with his discovery, and Richard was in due time liberated. Fauchet, Recueil de l'Origine de la Langue Françoise, p. 92. Warton's History of English Poetry, vol. 1, p. 113, note.

CHANSON.

Blondell.—Domna vostra beautas
Elas bellas faisos
Els bels oils amoros
Els gens cors ben taillats
Dons sieu empresenats
De vostra amor que mi liu.

Richard.—Si bel trop affansia
Ja dei vos non portrai
Que major honorai
Sol en votre deman
Que santra dos beisan
So cao de vos volrai.

IMITATED.

B.—Your beauty, lady fair,
None views without delight;
But still so cold an air
No passion can excite.
Yet this I patient see
While all are shunn'd like me.

R.—No nymph my heart can wound,
If favours she divide,
And smile on all around,
Unwilling to decide:
I'd rather hatred bear
Than love with other share.

Burney's History of Music, vol. ii., p. 236.

In the fourth part of the Mirror for Magistrates, Richard Cœur de Lion thus relates his events.

Backe, backe to England, with a grieved heart,
Leaving these blest affairs of th' holy one
Of Israel, we must with grief depart:
Philip my foe excites my brother John,
In my long absence to aspire the throne:
My England's rocky bounds ring with alarms
Of factious traitors, John is up in arms.

Warn'd by report, my course I did direct
For England's bounds: but here thy muse must know
My father's curse began to take effect:
Heav'n seem'd to frowne, the sea became my foe,
And earth conspir'd to work my greater wo:
By seas' dark waves and froward winds from heav'n,
Unto my foes at shore I up was given.

By tempest driven, from danger to be free,
I made hard shipwracke on the Istriand strand,
Depriv'd of all my train, excepting three,

Enforc'd I was to make my way by land
Through Austria, to Vienna, that doth stand
Upon Danubius' banks, that dukedom's seat,
The bulwark now 'gainst Turkish Mahumet.

Their being describ'd unto mine ancient foe,
The Austrian duke I was given up for prey;
Who like himself, himself to me did show,
Bearing in mind the malice of that day,
When I at Acon for his proud essay
In taking for his lodging in the towne
The palace up, I cast his ensigns down.

Yet with this duke not long was my abode:
For when report of my captivity
Was newly set on wing, and flown abroad,
Henry, then emperor of Germany,
Forgetful of imperial royalty,
Of that false duke that had me fast in hold,
Greedy of prey, did purchase me for gold.

Upon that man, whom fortune doth begin
To leave forlorn, who will not seem to frown?
When he is sunken up unto the chin
In waves of sad distresse, all thrust him downe,
And suffer him in wretchednesse to drown;
They that did envy my great state before,
Did wish such state might nere betide me more.

Ambitious John, and Philip, that false king,
Taking the time to perfect their intent,
To Henry did a golden message wing,
In hope if he to set me free was bent,
Such purpose with corruption to prevent.
Which when with terror stricken I did heare,
No hope I had, no comfort did appeare.

Ignoble age, branded with this foul crime,
This blemish thou canst never wipe away;
When true record shall tell to future time,
How most unjust the Christian did repay
His backe returne that did through death assay,
'Gainst paganism to advance the Christian name,
Even children shall upbraid thee with the same.

In tempest of this trouble long being tost,
Sore griev'd in mind for my captivity,
At length compounding with my greedy host,
Th' emperor Henry, hight of Germany,
With ransom to redeem my liberty,
An hundred thousand pounds I did agree
To give to him before I could be free.

Note (Y.)—Page 168.

Richard's speech is not given by any original writer. M. Paris (145) says that the emperor, as well as the other members of the diet, was convinced of Plantagenet's innocence, and that he treated him thenceforth with humanity. The price of the ransom was then the only question. But it is difficult to understand by what right they could detain him, if his innocence were acknowledged. Bromton tells us, that although Richard had proved that he had not participated in Conrad's murder, yet that, for the perfect conviction of the potentates, he sent to the old man of the mountain for a justification. A letter from the chief of the assassins to the duke of Austria is accordingly produced, completely exculpating Richard, and declaring that Conrad was killed by order of the old man, in consequence of the marquis having robbed and murdered an assassin. Another letter is also produced, addressed to all the princes and people of Christendom; in which, as in the former one, the chief of the assassins assumes to himself all the honour of the murder. There is very little difficulty in proving that these letters were forgeries. The very superscriptions are contrary to the oriental mode. "Limpoldo duci Austriæ Vetus de Monte salutem." "Vetus de Monte Principibus Europæ et omni populo Christiano salutem." The phrase, Vetus de Monte, is a mere Latin translation of the name by which the chief of the assassins was known in Europe. His appellation in Syria was very different, and consequently, the letters were not translated from an Arabic original. The over anxiety expressed in the letters for the exculpation of Richard, shows that they were of European manufacture. "Et bene dicimus vobis in veritate; quod dominus Ricardus rex Angliæ in hac Marchisi morte nullam culpam habuit. Et qui propter hoc domino regi Angliæ malum fecerunt injuste fecerunt et sine causa. Sciatis pro certo quod nullum hominem hujus mundi pro mercede aliqua vel pecunia occidimus, nisi prius malum nobis fecerit." It is difficult to suppose that this chief would run the risk of the vengeance of the Christian powers from a mere love of justice, and from a wish to exculpate a monarch whom he neither knew nor regarded. The circular letter is without date. The other letter is dated in the middle of September. But the common European division of time was unknown to the Asiatics, and particularly to the savage ignorant assassins. The writer of the letter in diceto thought to give it probability by dating it according to the year of the Greeks. With the oriental modes he was totally unacquainted. He therefore dates the letter in the year 1505 from Alexander. This year of the Seleucidæ corresponds with the year of Christ 1193. The copyist of the letter for Bromton did not understand this mode of computing time; and, accordingly, he dates his letter, "anno ab Alexandro papa quinto." A Muhammedan prince dating his letters according to pontificates is somewhat strange; and we may pardon his ignorance of what was passing at Rome. Pope Alexander died 1181. Bromton, Diceto, Hemingford, and Trivet, insert one or both of these letters. But those respectable historians, Matthew Paris and Roger Hoveden, have not suffered them to corrupt their works.

Note (Z.)—Page 170.

Saladin's humility and generosity were the principal subjects of praise among the people of the west: and hence the stories became believed, that he distributed money in charity among the poor of every religious denomination, and that a little while before his death he ordered his standard-bearer, when his funeral should take place, to carry his winding sheet, suspended from a

lance, through Damascus, and proclaim, "Behold all that Saladin, the great conqueror of the East, carries with him to the grave." Dante mentions Saladin, and gives him a place in the division of the lower regions occupied by the greatest and wisest pagan philosophers and poets. Dell' Inferno, canto iv. 129. M. Ginguené well observes, that it was a trait of remarkable independence in Dante to have dared to place in Elysium this terrible enemy of Christians.

The following are pleasing instances of Saladin's self-command and love of justice. "As Bohadin, the historian, was one day exercising, at Jerusalem, his office of judge, a decent old merchant tendered him a bill or libel of complaint, which he insisted upon having opened. 'Who (says Bohadin) is your adversary?' 'My adversary,' replies the merchant, 'is the sultan himself; but this is the seat of justice; and we have heard that you (applying to Bohadin) are not governed by regard to persons.' Bohadin told him his cause could not be decided without his adversary being first apprised. The sultan, accordingly, was informed of the affair, he submitted to appear, produced his witnesses, and, having justly defended himself, gained the cause. Yet so little did he resent this treatment, that he dismissed his antagonist with a rich garment and a donation." "At another time Saladin was in company with his intimate friends, enjoying their conversation apart, the crowd being dismissed, when a slave of some rank brought him a petition in behalf of some person oppressed. The sultan said that he was then fatigued, and wished the matter, whatever it was, might for a time be deferred. The other did not attend to what was desired, but, on the contrary, almost thrust the petition into the sultan's face. The sultan, on this, opening and reading it once, declared he thought the petitioner's cause a good one. 'Let then our sovereign lord,' says the other, 'sign it.' 'There is no inkstand,' says the sultan (who being at that time seated at the door of his tent, rendered it impossible for any one to enter).—'You have one,' replies the petitioner, 'in the inner part of the tent;' (which meant, as the writer well observes, little less than bidding the prince go and bring it himself.) The sultan, looking back and seeing the inkstand behind him, cries out, "God help me! the man says true;' and immediately reached back for it, and signed the instrument."—Bohadin's Life of Saladin, p. 22, p. 10, as translated by Mr. Harris, Philological Inquiries, chap. 6.

Note (A a.)—Page 173.

For the fourth crusade, that of the German lords, our authorities, with the exception of Arnold of Lubeck, were writers whom I have already characterized, and have often quoted. Our materials for the fifth crusade, though few, are valuable. L'Histoire de la Prise de Constantinople par les Français et les Venetians, écrite par Geoffrey de Villehardouin, maréchal de Champagne, fol. edit. Du Cange. The author was an eye-witness, and his testimony is given with simplicity and tolerable candour. Du Cange's notes are as valuable as his notes on the Alexiad. Another observer of the wonderful scenes which were passing on the world was Nicetas. After the last siege of Constantinople, in 1204, this Grecian retired to Nice, and wrote the history of his country from the year 1118 to 1218. Of this lachrymal annalist I have read, and shall refer to Wolf's edition, Basil, 1557. The life of Pope Innocent III. by a contemporaneous, but anonymous author. It is prefixed to Baluzius's edition of the letters of his Holiness, and is inserted by Muratori in the third volume of his great collection of Italian historians, p. 486, &c. Some letters or public despatches from Baldwin, count of Flanders, to the Pope, are included in this life and are of great value. We have no Venetian eye-witnesses, but I have gathered some facts both from the Chronicle of Andrew Dandalo, it the twelfth volume of Muratori, and the work of Paolo Ramusio, De Bello Constantinopolitano e, Imperatoribus Comnenis per Gallos et Venetis restitutis. Venet. fol. 1635. The author was secretary to the council of ten, and was ordered by that assembly to write the history of the eventful war between Venice and Greece. Villehardouin's work was his foundation, but the archives of the republic enabled him to give a new air and colour to many facts. The work on Gunther, on the subject of the fifth crusade, has been frequently referred to by other writers; but I have not found in this short narrative many things that are not better treated in Villehardouin. The Jesuit Doutreman's history, entitled Constantinopolis Belgica, has not fallen into my hands. I do not regret it, for I am not prejudiced in favour of the biographer of Peter, and I learn from Du Cange, that the Jesuit had not seen the work of Ramusio, or the letters to Pope Innocent III.

Note (B b.) — Page 205.

The count of Champagne published the Crusade in a chanson. He was as serious about the matter as if he had been writing a sermon, for he says,

Diex se laissa per nos en crois pener,
Et nous dira au jour, où tuit venront,
Vos, qui ma crois m'aidates à porter,
Vos en ciez là, où li angele sont,
Le me verrez, et ma mere Marie;
Et vos, par qui je n'ai jamais aie
Descendez tuit en infer le profond.
Canson 55. *Poesies du Roi de Navarre*, 2 vols., 12mo. Paris, 1742.

Thibaud, however, was more of a gallant than a religious man. Just before embarkation at Marseilles he consoles himself by writing a song, or leaving the queen of France or some imaginary mistress, and puts himself under the protection of the Virgin.

Dame des Ceix, grans roine poissanz,
Au grant besoig me soiez secarranz,
De vos amer puisse avoir droite flame
Quand Dame perc,* Dame me soit aidanz.

* Je pars, je me sépare. Chanson, 56.

I would give more specimens of the poetry of this count of Champagne, were I not afraid that my readers recollect the expression of Bossuet, that the count of Champagne made verses which he was foolish enough to publish.

Note (C c.) — Page 210.

THE CRUSADERS.

CRUSADER.

Thou seest, my friend, of good and ill
To reason, and their bounds to know,
To us is dealt by sovereign will,
Alone of creatures here below.
And hence, so we employ our pains
To do the works which God ordains,
For us his bounty hath prepar'd,
Of peerless price, a sure reward.
Lo, now the fruitful hour at hand!
To thee the precious boon is given;
For Paynims waste the Holy Land,
And spoil the heritage of heaven.
Shall we such faithless works behold,
With craven courage slack and cold?
How else, but to the giver's praise,
May we devote our wealth and days?

NON-CRUSADER.

I read thee right — thou holdest good,
To this same land I straight should hie,
And win it back with mickle blood,
Nor gain one foot of soil thereby.
While here, dejected and forlorn,
My wife and babes are left to mourn;
My goodly mansion rudely marr'd,
All trusted to my dogs to guard.
But I, fair comrade, well I wot
An ancient saw, of pregnant wit,
Doth bid us, "Keep what we have got;"
And troth I mean to follow it.
I cannot learn what part 'tis read,
That Christian folk shall so be fed;
Who soweth thus, I shrewdly guess,
Shall gather naught but emptiness.

CRUSADER.

Forth from thy groaning mother's womb,
Thou, naked helpless child, was brought;
You see, how soon thou art become
Stout, lusty, lacking now for naught.
Then sure, if wealth for heaven we lose,
Heaven, hundred fold, that wealth renews;
But Paradise may never bless
The wretch who lives in idleness.

NON-CRUSADER.

Howbeit, my friend, of folk that toil,
And sweat almost their dear hearts blood;
And all their days keep mighty coil,
To keep some store of this world's good:
Of such, I say, full oft from home,
Our penance sent to holy Rome,
Asturia, or I wot not where,
Nor what befalls the caitiffs there.

I've seen a band of gallants brave,
To France returning all forlorn;
Without or waiting wench or knave,
And naked, nigh, as they were born.
Now sure, it needs not cross the seas,
And play such losing games as these;
And bow one's flesh to servitude,
All for one's soul's immortal good!
I say, good brother, so you hold
Alone we purchase heavenly bliss:
For this man must waste his gold,
And pass the boundless seas for this.
Now I maintain 'tis far more sage,
In peace to hold one's heritage;
And there that paradise obtain,
For which thou needs wilt cross the main.

CRUSADER.

Nay, now thy speech so lewdly sounds,
I scarce may sober answer deign:
Thou ween'st, forsooth, with hawks and hounds
To save thy soul, sans fleshy pain:
How much of martyr's blood has flowed
To win those seats of heaven's abode?
How many, this world's joys foregone,
And buried quick, in cloisters moan?

NON-CRUSADER.

Sire, by my fay, thou preachest well!
Thy words are brave; 'twere best thou go
To yon sequester'd silent cell,
And teach its lordly abbot so!
Those fattening deans would gladly hear;
Those prelates needs must lend an ear;
Such men, be sure, heaven's laws fulfil,
Devoted to their Maker's will!

On these his plenteous gifts he showers,
While we are told his wars to wage!
Their rents flow in, they dwell in bowers,
Nor, slumbering, note the tempest's rage.
Good faith, Sir, if the road to heaven
Be made so passing smooth and even,
The priest who changeth, wit must lack,
He ne'er shall find a readier track.

Way's Fabliaux, vol. ii., p. 227, 230, ed. 1796.

Note (D d.)—Page 214.

M. Paris, 684. The English were alluded to by the count of Artois. The reason for the supposition that they belonged to the caudatory part of mankind, it is difficult to determine. Every one knows that there was a common story in old times, that some of our ancestors, in consequence of having treated disrespectfully St. Augustine the missionary, incurred the punishment of wearing tails; and that the curse was hereditary. The murder of Thomas à Becket was another reason why our forefathers became caudati. Du Cange (Alexiad, book iv., p. 202, n.) thinks that an allusion is here made to their custom of wearing shoes with long extended points, sustained by chains of gold and silver, or silken strings, which were tied to the knee. So old a writer as Malmsbury mentions this foppery. "The ecclesiastics," says Hume, "took

exception at this ornament, which, they said, was an attempt to belie the Scripture, where it is affirmed, that no man can add a cubit to his stature; and they declaimed against it with great vehemence: nay, assembled some synods, who absolutely condemned it. But, such are the strange contradictions in human nature! though the clergy, at that time, could overturn thrones, and had authority to send above a million of men on *their* errand to the deserts of Asia, they could never prevail against these long pointed shoes." Hume, History of England, vol. i., p. 302, edit. 8vo. 1783. An act of parliament in the third year of the reign of Edward IV., and a subsequent royal proclamation, prohibited these chains and strings, and declared that the shoes should not extend two inches beyond the foot, under the penalty of twenty shillings. The fashion then ran into a contrary extreme; and, in queen Mary's days, a prohibition was made of shoes' toes more than six inches square. But it is difficult to agree with Du Cange, that the word "caudati" is used in the sense he contends for by the count d'Artois. Long pointed shoes were in fashion in France as well as in England; and in both countries clerical admonition stayed the usual capriciousness of fashion. In a strange mixture of spiritual and trifling matters, a council held at Sens about half a century after the proclamation of Edward IV., condemned Luther and pointed shoes. Du Cange, who, in the course of his inquisitive and learned researches, always sweeps every thing both far and near to his subject, shows that Tertullian and St. Augustine declaimed against long and pointed shoes. Cicero (de Natura Deorum, i. 29) mentions the calcei *repandi* of Juno, and Ernesti brings instances of coins which prove the fact. On the different effects of clerical preaching and royal counsel against a particular form of dress, the curious reader is referred to Bayle, article Connecte.

Note (E e.)—Page 227.

The excessive simplicity of the monument of Edward I., has been supposed to have proceeded from the circumstance that his body was frequently re-embalmed: and such a tomb was favourable to the operation. The king's appointment was never executed. "The monkish Chronicles," says Wurton, "impute the crime of withholding so pious a legacy to the advice of the king of France, whose daughter Isabel was married to the succeeding king. But it is more probable that Edward II. and his profligate minion, Piers Gaveston, dissipated the money in their luxurious and expensive pleasures." Warton. History of English Poetry, vol. i., p. 106—103. In an elegy made on the death of Edward I., the writer makes Edward say,

"Iche biqueth myn hirte aryht,
That hit be write at mi devys,
Over the sea that Hue* be diht,
With fourscore knyghtes al of pris,
In werre that buen war aut wys,
Agein the hethene for to fyhte,
To wynne the croize that low bys,
My self ycholde gef thet y myhte."

* One of his officers.

The elegist then proceeds:

Kyng of France! thou hevedust sunne,*
That thou the counsail woldest fonde,
To latte† the wille of kyng Edward,
To wend to the holi londe;
Thet our kynge hede take on honde,
All Engeland to zemet and wysse,§
To wenden in to the holi londe;
To wynnen us heveiche blisse.

The messenger to the Pope com
And seyede that our kyng was dede,
Ys owne hond the lettre he nom,‖
Y wis his herte wes ful gret;
The Pope himself the lettre redde,
And spec a word of gret honour.
"Alas," he seid, "is Edward ded?
Of Christendome he ber the flour."

The Pope is to chaumbre wende,
For dole ne mihte he spake na more;
And after cardinales he sende
That muche couthen of Christes lore.
Both the lasse¶ ant eke the more
Bed hem both red ant synge;
Great deol me** myhte se thore,††
Many mon is honde wrnge.

The Pope of Peyters stod at is masse
With ful gret solempnete
Ther me con‡‡ the soule blisse;
"Kyng Edward, honoured thou be;
God love thy sone come after the,
Bringe to ende that thou hast bygonne,
The holy crois ymade of tre
So fain thou woldest hit have ywonne.

"Jerusalem, thou hast ilore
The floure of all chivalrie,
Now kyng Edward liveth na more,
Alas, that he yet shulde deye!
He wolde ha rered up full heyge
Our banners that bulth broht to grounde;
Wel longe we may clepe§§ and crie,
Er we such a kyng have y founde."

It is said that Robert Bruce, in his dying moments, exclaimed that he had formerly made a vow that if his wars should end favourably, he would go and fight the enemies of Jesus Christ. But as his life had been spent in contests with England, he could not accomplish what he wished, and he would send his heart in the stead of his body to fulfil his vow. Lord James Douglas then promised upon his knighthood to bear the heart to the holy sepulchre, proclaiming at every principal place on his journey that he bore the heart of king Robert of Scotland. Froissart, vol. i., p. 48, &c. The king died; his friend embalmed his remains, put the heart into

* *Sin.* † *Let.* hinder. ‡ Protect.
§ Govern. ‖ Took. ¶ Less.
** Men. †† There ‡‡ Began. §§ Call.

a silver casket, and commenced his journey. He went into Spain, and was killed fighting with the infidels. The issue is thus told by Barbour.

Sum off the lord Dowglas' men,
That thair lord dede has fundyn there,
Yeid weill ner woud for dule and wa,
Lang quhill our hym thai sorowit swa,
And syne with great dule hame hym bar:
The king's hart half thai fundyn thar,
And that hame with thaim haff thai tane.

The Bruce, vol. 3. p. 174.
Pinkerton's Edition.

The heart of Bruce was deposited at Melros.

Note (F f.)—Page 234.

Parmi les nombreuses recherches qu'on a faites de nos jours, pour découvrir si les Templiers avaient un secret et quel était ce secret, il a été présenté le système que les Templiers avaient des opinions Gnostico-Manichéennes et que l'idole qu'on les accusait d'adorer était une figure BAFFOMETIQUE, mot difficile ou peut-être impossible à expliquer.

Une observation très simple suffira pour renverser ce système et réfuter l'érudition dont on a tâché de l'appuyer.

Dans la déposition de deux témoins entendus à Carcassonne, qui parlent de FIGURA BAFFOMETI, il est évident que c'est par une faute d'orthographe ou de prononciation que ce mot est ainsi écrit, au lieu de *Mahometi*, soit qu'alors dans les provinces du midi, on prononçat ainsi le nom de Mahomet, soit que le copiste ait écrit par erreur *Baffometi*, comme il a écrit en même temps *aorare* pour *adorare*; et ce qui doit ne laisser aucun doute à cet égard, c'est que le second témoin prétend qu'on lui fit prononcer R ALLA, mot des Sarrazins, dil-il, qui signifie Dieu.

Enfin, on restera convaincu que les inquisiteurs ont voulu faire avouer aux témoins que les Templiers rendaient un culte à Mahomet, et que ce mot ne s'applique qu'à Mahomet, si l'on se souvient que l'un des témoins entendus à Florence, prétend qu'en lui montrant l'idole, on lui disait: "Voici votre Dieu et votre 'Mahomet.' ECCE DEUS VESTER ET VESTER MAHUMET."

Raynouard, p. 301. Appendix.

Note (G g.)—Page 245.

Some of the best witnesses for the history of the middle ages affirm, that, seduced by the preaching of fanatics, the children of France and Germany, about the year 1213, thought themselves authorized by Heaven to attempt the rescue of the sepulchre, and ran about the country, crying, "Lord Jesus Christ, restore thy cross to us." Boys and girls stole from their homes, "no bolts, no bars, no fear of fathers or love of mothers, could hold them back," and the number of youthful converts was thirty thousand. They were organized by some fanatical wretches, one of whom was taken and hanged at Cologne. The children drove down France, crossed the Alps, and those who survived thirst, hunger, and heat, presented themselves at the gates of the sea-ports of Italy and the south of France. Many were driven back to their homes; but seven large ships full of them went from Marseilles; two of the vessels were wrecked on the isle of St. Peter, the rest of the ships went to Bugia and Alexandria, and the masters sold the children to slavery. These singular events are mentioned by four contemporary writers. 1. Alberic, monk of Trois Fontaines, in his Chronicle, p. 459, edit. Leibnitz. 2. Godfrey of St. Pantaleon, in his Annals, p. 381, in the first vol. of Freher, Rer. Germ. Scrip. edit. Struve. The editor cites in his margin, a Belgic chronicle as a testimony, which I have not seen. 3. Sicard, bishop of Cremona, in Muratori, Rer. Ital. Scrip. vii. p. 623. 4. M. Paris, p. 204. Roger Bacon, who flourished in the middle of the thirteenth century, thus speaks of the crusade of children: "Forsan vidistis ant audistis pro certo quod pueri de regno Franciæ semel occurrebant in infinita multitudine post quondam malignum hominem, ita quod nec a patribus, nec a matribus, nec amicis poterant detineri, et positi sunt in navibus et Saracenis redditi, et non sunt adhuc 64 anni. Opus Majus, p. 253. Honest Fuller says, "this Crusade was done by the instinct of the devil, who, as it were, desired a cordial of children's blood, to comfort his weak stomach, long cloyed with murdering of men." History of the Holy War, book iii., chap. xxiv.

In illustration of the foregoing History the following Genealogical Tables are annexed.

1. The Latin Kings of Jerusalem.
2. Princes of Antioch.
3. Counts of Tripoli.
4. Counts of Edessa.

TABLES.

No. I.

LATIN KINGS OF JERUSALEM.

Eustace, count of Bologne — Ida, daughter of Godfrey le Barbu, of Lorraine.

1st king, Godfrey of Bouillon. † 1100. 2. Baldwin. † 1118.

3. Baldwin du Bourg, a relation of Godfrey.—Morfia, an Armenian. † 1131.

Melesinda, married Fulk, count of Anjou (father of Geoffrey, the head of the English Plantagenets), fourth king, who died, 1144.

5. Baldwin III. † 1162. o s p 6. Almeric. † 1173.

Wives.

Agnes de Courtenay. Mary, daughter of Sabastocrator Isaac Comnenus.

7. Baldwin IV. — Theodora, great-grand-daughter of the emperor Alexius I. † 1185.

Isabella, married to, 1. Humphry of Thoron, 2. Conrad, a lord of Montferrat, 3. Henry, count of Champagne, 11th king, † 1197; and 4. Almeric of Lusignan, 12th king, † 1205.

Her Issue.

Sybilla, married 1. Marquis of Montferrat, and, 2. Guy de Lusignan, ninth king, who abdicated 1192.

2. Mary — John de Brienne, 13th king, who abdicated.

3. Alice — Hugh, king of Cyprus.

4. Melesinda. — Bohemond IV. of Antioch.

Baldwin V. issue by first marriage, and eighth king, † 1186.

Violente. — Frederick II. 14th king, † 1250.

Hugh the Great, lineal descendant of Hugh and Alice, crowned king of Jerusalem at Tyre, 24th September, 1269.

No. II.

PRINCES OF ANTIOCH, 1098—1187, AND PRINCES OF ANTIOCH AND TRIPOLI.

$$1187\text{—}\frac{1268}{1288.}$$

1. Bohemond, prince of Antioch, son of Robert Guiscard, duke of Apulia, — Constantia, daughter of Philip I., king of France. † 1111.

II. Bohemond, Alice, daughter of Baldwin II. king of Jerusalem.

Constantia, married, 1. Raymond of Poitiers.—III. Prince of Antioch. † 1149.
2. Reginald de Chatillion.—IV. Prince of Antioch. † 1163.

1. 1.

V. Bohemond III., wives contemporary, not successive: 1. Orgueilleuse of Harene. 2. Irene, niece of Emperor Manuel. 3. Sibilla. † 1201. — Maria—Emperor Manuel Comnenus.

1. 1.

Raymond, godson of Raymond of Tripoli, and himself count of Tripoli, died before his father—Alice, daughter of Rupin of Armenia. † 1200.

VI. Bohemond IV. prince of Antioch, and count of Tripoli, by usurpation.—1. Plaisance, daughter of Lord Gibelet. 2. Melesinda, daughter of Almeric, king of Cyprus, and of Isabel, queen of Jerusalem. † 1233.

Rupin—Heloise, daughter of Almeric, king of Cyprus. † 1222.

Two daughters. Mary.—Lord of Tyre and Eschive.

1. 2.

VII. Bohemond V.—Lucy, daughter of Count Pol. of Rome. † 1251. — Mary.

VIII. Bohemond VI.—Sibilla, daughter of Haiton, king of Armenia. † 1275. In 1268, Antioch was taken.

Bohemond VII. † 1287.—Tripoli was taken in 1288.

No. III.

COUNTS OF TRIPOLI.

From 1109 *to the Junction of the County with the Principality of Antioch.*

I. Bertrand, son of Raymond, count of Thoulouse.—Alice, daughter of Eudes I. duke of Burgundy. † 1112.

II. Pontius.—Cecilia, daughter of king Philip I. of France, and widow of Tancred. † 1137.

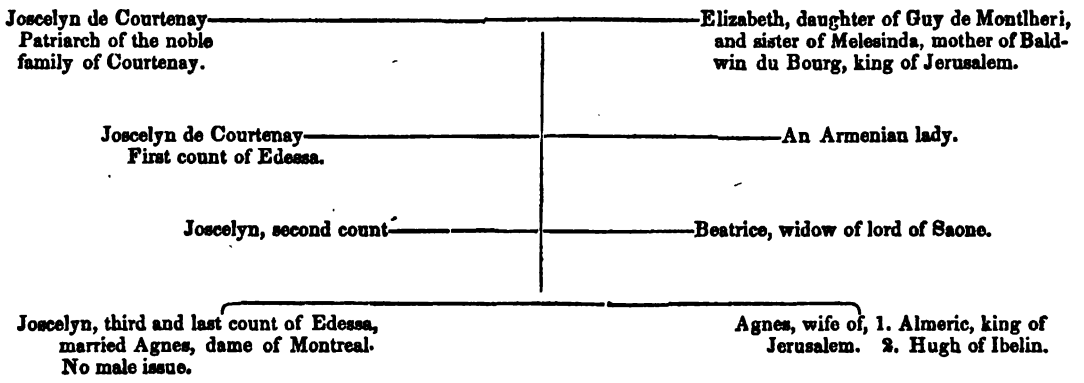
III. Raymond I.—Hodierna, daughter of Baldwin II. king of Jerusalem. † 1151.

IV. Raymond II.—Eschive, Lady of Tiberias. No issue. Gave Tripoli to his cousin and godson Raymond, son of Bohemond, fifth prince of Antioch. † 1187.

No. IV.

PRINCES OR COUNTS OF EDESSA.

1097—1151.



INDEX.

Abelard, his character contrasted with his contemporary St. Bernard, 119.

Acre, siege of, 153. Arrival of the English at, 158. Surrender to the French and English, 160. Emperor Frederic II. sails to, 203. Arrival of the French at, under Louis IX. 222. Last siege of, 225.

Adhemar, Bishop of Puy, first solicits a cross from the Pope, 29. His heroism at the battle of Antioch, 75. His death, 78.

Albara, the city of, carried by assault, 78.

Aleppo, Joscelyn de Courtenay sent a captive to, 128.

Alexius, Emperor of Constantinople, his treachery, 52. Interview of the crusading chiefs with, 53. Abandons his allies, 72.

Alexius, second Emperor of Constantinople, murdered by his uncle, 177.

Alexius, son of the emperor Isaac, arrives at Zara, 178. Accompanies the French and Venetians to Constantinople, 178. Exhibited by them to the people, 179. Shares the empire with his father, 180. Is disunited from his father, 181. Is immured in a dungeon, 182. Is murdered, 183.

Alison, Mr., quotation from. Note I.

Alexander, Pope III. endeavours to restore peace to the religious orders, 145.

Almeric, death and character of, 136.

Amalfi, its state from the ninth to the eleventh century, 6. Rebellion at, quelled by Bohemond, 45.

Antioch, arrival of the Latins at, 61. Investment of, 61. Taken by stratagem, 68. Battle of, 75. Pestilence at, 78. Affairs of, 98. Arrival of the French at, 125. History of, after the second crusade, 142. History of, 219. Taken by the Egyptians, 219.

Apamea, fortress of, yields to Noureddin, 142.

Armour, mail, 49, and note E.

Artois, count of, his impetuosity at Massoura, 213.

Arnold, chaplain of Raymond, his character, 81. Exhorts the Croises to virtue, 85. Wishes to obtain the bishopric of Bethlehem, 89.

Ashmoun canal, the French unable to cross, 213.

Ascalon, battle of, 129.

Asia Minor, history of, 20.

Azotus, march of the Croises to, 160. Defeat of Saladin at, 161.

Bacon, Lord, his opinion of the crusades, 243.

Baghasian, governor of Antioch, his death, 70.

Balduc, lord of the fortress of Samosat, 59.

Baldwin, brother of Godfrey of Bouillon, 38. His expedition into Egypt, 56. War between him and Tancred, 57. Becomes lord of Edessa, 59. Succeeds Godfrey as king of Jerusalem, 91. Dies in Egypt, 91.

Bearn, Gaston of, 84.

Baldwin II. his death and character, 92.

Baldwin III. his death, 129.

Baldwin IV. or the Leper, his disposition of his kingdom, 145. His death, 145.

Bayle, quotation from, 144; 234.

Barthelemi, Peter, contrives the fraud of the Sacred Lance, 73. Perishes in undergoing the trial of ordeal by fire, 81.

Bernard, St. preacher of the second crusade, his character, 119.

Berrington, Mr., quotation from, 250, note.

Blondel de Neele, Richard the First's minstrel, discovers his lord, note X.

Bibars, attempts the conquest of Cyprus, but his fleet is dispersed, 220.

Bossuet, his character of the Count of Champagne's peotry, note B b.

Bohemond, Prince of Tarentum, his character, 44. Means by which the Emperor Alexius gains his homage, 46. Returns to Italy, 99.

Burke, quotation from, 143, note, 256.

Cannibalism of the Croises, 79.

Canterbury, Baldwin, archbishop of, accompanies a crusade, 154. Dies of grief at the profligacy of the Croises, 154.

Cairo, Hugh of Cesarea and Geoffrey Fulk sent to, by Almeric, 131.

Celestine III. Pope, promotes a crusade, 170.

Chaucer, quotation from, 230, note.

Chatillion, Reginald de, marries Constantia, widow of Raymond, 142. Is taken prisoner and sent to Aleppo, 142.

Cicero, quotation from, 103, note.

Clairvaux, monastery of, founded by St. Bernard, 119.

Clermont, council of, 25.

Church establishment of Jerusalem, 104.

Conrad III. Emperor of Germany, prevailed on by the preaching of St. Bernard to undertake a crusade, 121. Passes into Asia, 123. Returns to Europe, 126.

Constance, peace of, establishes the independence of the northern States of Italy, 255.

Constantinople, march of the Italians to, 45. Politics of, 177. The Croises sails to, 178. Their astonishment at its grandeur, 178. Attack and siege of the city, 179. Taken, 184. Sack of, 184.

Coronation, forms of the kings of Jerusalem, 103.

Clement V., Pope, commands an inquiry into the conduct of the Templars, 233. Holds a council at Vienna, 238.

Courcon, De, preacher of the sixth crusade, his character, 193.

Courtenay, Joscelyn de, Prince of Edessa, 100.

Courtenays, the family of, 101, note.

Cross, the, a sign of those who engaged in the holy war, 29. Manner of wearing, and materials, 29, note.

Crusade of children, note G g.

Crusades, the consequences of, 242. Their policy and justice, 243. Encouraged sanguinary fanaticism, 245. Augmented the wealth of the clergy, 246. Did not reduce the power of the aristocracy, 248. Did not greatly promote the revival of learning, 250. Were not favourable to civil liberty, 255. Crimes of the Crusaders, passim.

Cyprus, subjugation of, by Richard I., 157.

D'Aimbert, patriarch of Jerusalem, 99.

Dalmatia, Richard I. lands in, 166.

Damascus, siege of, by the Croises, 126. Their disgraceful failure, 126.

Damietta, siege of, 197. Surrenders to the Muselmans, 200.

Dandalo, Henry, Doge of Venice, 174.
Dante, quotation from, 241; 227, note.
Debtor and creditors, laws of the kingdom of Jerusalem concerning, 107.
Dieux el volt, first the watchword of the Crusaders, 28, note.
D'Avesnes, James de, perishes at the battle of Azotus, 161.
Dorylæum, battle of, 54.
Drayton, quotation from, note K.
Dunlop's History of Fiction, quotation from, 253, note.
Durazzo, Bohemond lands at, 99.
D'Avesnes, Walter, occupies Mt. Carmel, 196.
Edessa, history of, 100. Fall of, 102.
Edward, Prince, afterwards Edward I. of England, departs for the Holy Land, 222. Passes the winter in Sicily, 222. Arrives at Acre, 222. Captures Nazareth, 222. His cruelties there, 222. Assassinated by order of the Governor of Jaffa, 222. Is restored to health, 223. Makes peace with the Mamelukes, 223. Returns to England, 223.
Eleanora, wife of Edward I., her conjugal affection not authenticated by ancient historians, 223, note.
Eleanora of Guienne, her gallantries at Antioch, 125.
Ellis, Mr., quotation from, 157, note.
Egypt, politics of, 130.
Eugenius III., Pope, favours the second Crusade, 120.
Eutyches, heresy of, 189.
Ezaz, the fortress of, becomes a fief of the Latins, 80.
Fatimites, termination of their power in Egypt, 135.
Fleury, Cardinal, quotation from, 243.
Frederic Barbarossa, his letter to Saladin, 151. His death, 152.
Frederic II., Emperor of Germany, marries Violante, the heiress of Jerusalem, 201. Sails to Acre, 202. His friendship with the Muselmans, 202. His quarrels with the Pope, 202. Advantageous results of his crusade, 203. Is crowned king of Jerusalem, 204. Returns to Europe, 204.
Fire, Grecian, 213, note.
Fulk, preacher of the fifth crusade, his character, 173.
Fulbert of Chartres, lays waste the dominions of the Ortokites, 60.
Gubala, siege of, raised, 80.
Gaza, taken from the Christians by Saladin, 134.
Gibbon, censure of, 121, note.
Gerard, lord of Sidon, 129.
Glanvil the justiciary imprisoned; obtains his liberty on condition of going to the holy wars, 150.
Godeschal, a German priest, leads the first division of the European mob, 34.
Godfrey of Bouillon, Duke of Lorraine, history and character of, 36. His march through Hungary, 38. His heroism at the siege of Jerusalem, 86. His cruelty, 87. His piety, 87 Elected the first king of Jerusalem, 90. His death, 90.
Gonatos, a tower so called, from its similitude to a bent knee, 51.
Gregory VII., Pope, his wish concerning the eastern world, 20.
Gregory IX., Pope, excommunicates the Emperor Frederic II., 202.
Guibert, the historian, his character, note C.
Henry, King of Jerusalem, death of, 172.
Henry II., King of England, promotes a crusade, 146.
Henry IV., King of England, wishes to revive a crusade, 229.
Henry V., of England, 230.
Hercules, statue at Constantinople, 186. Destroyed by the Latins, 186.
Honorius, Pope, bestows on the Templars the insignia of their order, 117.
Hospitallers, or Knights of St. John, origin of, 17. Divided into three classes, 114. Farther division into the language of Europe, 116. Their war with the Templars, 218. Their history after the loss of Acre belongs to the general history of Europe, 232. Are suppressed in England, 232.
Hugh, Count of Vermandois, his character, 39. His desertion from the army of the Croises, 77.
Hume, quotation from, note.
Hungary, destruction of Godeschal's mob in, 34. March of Godfrey through, 34.
Hakem, his wanton cruelty towards the Christians, 19.
Harun al Raschid, 18.
Innocent III., Pope, instigates a crusade, 192.
Innocent VIII., Pope, endeavours to suppress the order of St. Lazarus, 231.
Isabella, wife of Almeric, 173.
Indulgences to those who took the cross, 29.
Isaac Angelus, succeeds to the throne of Constantinople, 177. Is deposed and imprisoned, 177. Is restored, 180. Dies of terror, 182.
Isaac, King of Cyprus, taken captive by Richard Cœur de Lion, 157.
Jaffa, massacre of the Germans at, 172. Heroism of Richard I. at, 161.
Jericho, retreat of the Turks to, 128.
Jerusalem, pilgrimage of Peter the Hermit to, 23. March of the Croises towards, 80. The Croises first view of, 82. Invested by the Croises, 83. Taken, 86. Recaptured by Saladin, 141.
Johnson, Dr., his opinion of the justice and policy of the Crusades, 243, note.
Jonson, Ben, quotation from, 167, note.
Jortin, quotation from, note M.
Karac, the fortress of, surrendered, 220.
Kerboga, Emir of Mosul, 70. Is defeated at Antioch, 76.
Koran considers its foes as the enemies of God, 18.
Khozzer, the plains of, 13.
Korasmians gain the holy Sepulchre from the Latins and devastate Palestine, 207. Are defeated and dispersed, 208.
Lateran, fourth council of, 193.
Lance, the Sacred, fraud of, 74.
Lazarus, St., order of, 117. The hospital of the order destroyed, 231. The order suppressed, 231.
Learning, revival of, not promoted by the crusades, 250.

Letoldus of Tournay first leaps on the fortifications of Jerusalem, 86.
Legnano, battle of, 255.
Louis VII. of France, encourages a holy war, 251. Collects his forces at Mayence, 121. Repairs to Constantinople and halts there, 123. Unites his forces with Conrad, and marches to the Holy Land, 124. Embarks for Antioch, 125. Arrives there, 125. His firmness, 125. The crusade is diverted from its original object, 125. He returns to Europe, 126.
Louis IX., of France, takes the cross, 209. Arrives in the Holy Land, 210. Is taken prisoner, 215. Is ransomed, 216. Returns to France, 217. Prepares for a second crusade, 220. Departs for the Holy Land, 221. Lands at Tunis, and dies there, 222.
Lusignan, Guy de, King of Jerusalem, 130. His cause espoused by Richard I., 159.
Lyons, council at, 209.
Longespee, William, Earl of Salisbury, 198. His courage, 214. Perishes at Massoura, 214.
Mahallah, the Island of, the commencement of the Egyptian Delta, 132.
Malek Shah, 21.
Malleville assaulted by the mob under Peter the Hermit and taken, 32.
Malmsbury, William of, the historian, his character, note E.
Manuel, Emperor of Constantinople, receives Louis VII. and his army with outward respect, 123.
Marseilles, Richard Cœur de Lion embarks from, 155.
Mayence, massacre of the Jews at, 35. The rendezvous of the French crusaders, 121.
Massoura, dreadful events in, 214.
Michaelis, quotation from, note, 15; 153, note.
Milton, quotation from, note A; 228, 248, 256.
Molai, James de, Master of the Templars, executed at Paris, 233.
Monmouth, Harry, declares it to be the duty of Christians to rebuild the walls of Jerusalem, 230.
Mosthadi, the Fatimite caliph, sends an embassy to the Latins, 64.
Murtzuple becomes emperor of Constantinople, 183. Flies from the city, 184.
Murra besieged by the Croises, 79. Cannibalism of the Croises there, 79. The town taken by Bohemond, 79.
Nazareth captured by Prince Edward of England, 222.
Nice, capture of, 51.
Nicholas IV., Pope, endeavours to renew the crusades, 226.
Nicetas, the Grecian historian, anecdote of, 184.
Nissa, the town of, failure of Peter the Hermit's attack on, 33.
Nile, its overflow impedes the march of the Croises, 130.
Nodgemiddin, 213, note.
Northampton, assembly of English barons at, 206.
Noureddin, his death and character, 136.
Orange, bishop of, 47.
Ortokides, possessors of part of the Holy Land, 50.
Officers of state in the kingdom of Jerusalem, 104.
Orontes, the river, 60.
Palmer, dress of, note A.
Palestine, or the Holy Land, its successive masters, 13. Pilgrimages to, 14. Events in, after the loss of Jerusalem, 20. Effects of the fifth crusade on, 193. Royal controversies in, 204. State of, after the eighth crusade, 218. Total loss of, 226.
Pancrates, a prince of Armenia, 58.
Pelusium besieged, 130. Evacuated, 130.
Petrarch, quotation from, 218, note.
Pilgrimages, causes and practice of, 14. Accounted criminal by some of the leaders of the church, 15. Esteemed particularly dangerous for women, 15. Their connexion with commerce, 16.
Peter, the Hermit, preacher of the first crusade, his pilgrimage to Jerusalem, 23. His character, 23. Success of his preaching, 24. Leads a division of the populace towards the Holy Land, 32. Its destruction in Bithynia, 34. His embassy to the Persians, 74. He is recognized after the capture of Jerusalem, 87. His fate uncertain, 87, note.
Phirouz, his treachery at Antioch, 68.
Philip Augustus, king of France, takes the cross, 149. Reaches Palestine, 153. His dissension with Richard of England, 158. Returns to France, 160.
Placentia, council of, 25.
Pratelles, William de, his presence of mind, 161.
Privileges granted those who took the cross, 29.
Ramula, Richard I. advances to, 162. Fall back on, 162. Retires from, 162.
Ratisbon, the rendezvous of the Germans in the second crusade, 121.
Raynouard, quotation from, note F f.
Raymond, count of Tholouse, his character, 47. Takes a qualified oath of fealty to the emperor Alexius, 48. Attacks the tower of Gonatos, in conjunction with Adhemar, 51. Appointed to fetch the Sacred Lance, 74. His treachery, 81. Encamps on Mount Sion at the siege of Jerusalem, 84. Dies in Palestine, 97.
Richard Cœur de Lion, or Richard I. of England, receives the staff and scrip at Tours, 151. Embarks from Marseilles, 155. Reaches Naples, 155. Goes to Salernum, 155. Arrives in Sicily, 156. Departs for Cyprus, 157. Subjugates Cyprus and marries Berengaria, 157. Sails from Cyprus, 157. Arrives at Acre, 158. His Heroism there, 158. Marches from Acre to Azotus, and defeats Saladin there, 161. Marches to Jaffa, 161. Advances to Ramula, 162. Falls back on Ascalon, 162. Advances towards Jerusalem, 163. Retires from thence to Jaffa, 164. His heroism there, 165. Concludes a peace with Saladin, 165. Leaves the Holy Land, 166. Lands in Dalmatia, 166. Is taken prisoner, 167. His trial at Worms, 169. Returns to England, 169.
Richard, earl of Cornwall, undertakes a crusade, 206. Embarks for the Holy Land, 207. Marches to Jaffa, 207. Redeems the holy sepulchre, 207. Returns to Europe, 207.
Robert, duke of Normandy, his character, 39.

Robert, count of Flanders, his character, 39.
Robert of Paris seats himself on the throne of the emperor Alexius, 43. Is slain at the battle of Doryleum, 43, note.
Romances, the crusades gave birth to few, 262.
Rossa assaulted by the crusaders, 121.
Salernum, Richard I. goes to, 155.
Saladin, lord of Egypt, 135. Resolves on the destruction of the Latins, 137. Defeats them at Tiberias, 139. Possesses Acre, Jaffa, Cesarea, and Beritus, 140.—Recaptures Jerusalem, 141. Permits reluctantly the capitulation of Acre to the French and English, 159. Is defeated by Richard at Azotus, 161. Marches to Jaffa to encounter Richard, 165. Concludes a peace with him, 165. His death and character, 169, and note Z.
Saladin, tithe, 149.
Salisbury, bishop of, accompanies Richard's crusade, 154. Visits Jerusalem, and is courteously received by Saladin, 165.
Sudi, the Persian poet, 189.
Saphadin, the son of Zenghi, 101.
Sepulchre, the holy, injured by Hakem, 19. Restored by him, 19. In the hands of the Christians, 89. Kings of Jerusalem crowned in its church, 103. The great cross taken from the church by Saladin and dragged through the streets, 141. He allows, by the intercession of Richard, an establishment of Latin priests there, 166. It is recovered by Frederic II. 152, note. After being again lost it is redeemed by the English, 207. Recovered by the Korasmians, 207.
Shiracouch hailed as the deliverer of Europe, 134. His death, 134.
Sicily, occurrences in, 155.
Silvester II. Pope, plans a crusade, 20.
Sergines, Godfrey de, 215.
Shawer, grand vizier, deposed, 130. Reinstated, 130. Killed, 134.
Sophia, St., the church at Constantinople profaned by the Latins, 184.
Spenser, quotation from, 122, and note C.
Spoletto, council of, 205.
Stephen, count of Blois and earl of Chartres, his character, 39. Secedes from the army, 67. Is instigated by Adela his wife to return to Palestine, and is taken prisoner and murdered by the Egyptians, 95.
Stephen de Stapelbrugge confesses the guilt of the Templars.—Reads a recantation of heresy, 236.
Suger, abbot of St. Denys, his character, 127.
Sybilla, wife of Guy de Lusignan, her firmness, 136. Her death.
Tancred, Prince of Tarentum, his character, 44. His expedition into Cilicia, 56. War between him and Baldwin, 57. His death, 98.
Tasso, quotation from, 86.
Temple, Sir William, quotation from, 251 note.
Templars, their origin, 116. Their war with the Hospitallers, 219. Make the last struggle for the Holy Land, 226. Proceedings against them at Paris, 233. In England, 235. In Germany, 238. In Italy, 238. The order suppressed, 239. Causes of the suppression of the order, 240.
Teutonic Order, formation of, 152. Settlement of, after the loss of Palestine, 230. Lose Prussia, 231.
Thoros, duke of Edessa, killed by his own people, 59.
Thoron, fortress of, 171.
Thoroldesby, Thomas de, avows the guilt of the Templars, 236.
Trial by battle in the kingdom of Jerusalem, 109.
Tripoli, foundation of the county of, 97.
Troubadours, their songs exciting to the holy wars, 148, 194.
Treves, massacre of the Jews at, 35.
Troyes, council of, approves the order of the Templars, 116.
Tournaments, forbidden by the fourth council of Lateran, during the continuance of the crusade, 194.
Tunis, death of Louis IX. at, 221.
Tiberias, battle of, 142.
Tyre, Philip Augustus goes to, before his return to Europe, 160.
Thibaud, Count of Champagne, 205, and note B b.
Urban II., Pope, his speech at the council of Clermont, 26.
Urban III., Pope, his death supposed to be occasioned by the victories of the Saracens, 148.
Venice, the crusaders desire aid of, 174. Treaty, 175. The Croises arrive at, 175. Divide the plunder of Constantinople with France, 185.
Venus, the statue of, at Constantinople destroyed, 186.
Vezelai, parliament holden at, 120.
Villains and slaves, state of, in the kingdom of Jerusalem, 113.
Villehardouin, quotation from, 178.
Vienne, council at, 239.
Voltaire, censure of, 121, note. Quotation from, 222, note.
Walter, surnamed the Pennyless, leads the first division of the European mob to the Holy Land, 31. Its destruction, 32. He escapes to Constantinople, 32.
Walter de Brienne, lord of Jaffa, murdered, 208.
Warton, quotation from, 252, note.
Women, state of, in the kingdom of Jerusalem, 107.
Worms, confinement and trial of Richard I., of England at, 168.
Xerigord, castle of, taken by the mob of Peter the Hermit, 33.
York, proceedings in the diocess of, against the Templars, 237.
Zara, subjugation of, 176.
Zenghi, son of Malek, 101. Assassinated, 102.
Zemlin, 32.

THE END.

THE

HISTORY

OF

CHIVALRY;

OR

KNIGHTHOOD



ITS TIMES.

BY

CHARLES MILLS,

AUTHOR OF

THE HISTORY OF THE CRUSADES, ETC., ETC.

PHILADELPHIA:

LEA AND BLANCHARD.

1844.

THE ASTOR LIBRARY
NY

PREFACE.

THE propriety of my writing a History of Chivalry, as a companion to my History of the Crusades, was suggested to me by a friend whose acquaintance with middle-age lore forms but a small portion of his literary attainments, and whose History of Italy shows his ability of treating, as well as his skill in discovering, subjects not hitherto discussed with the fulness which their importance merits.*

The works of Menestrier and Colombiere sleep in the dust of a few ancient libraries; and there are only two other books whose express and entire object is a delineation of the institutions of chivalry. The first and best known is the French work called "Mémoires sur l'Ancienne Chevalerie; considérée comme un Etablissement Politique et Militaire. Par M. de la Curne de Sainte Palaye, de l'Académie Françoise," &c. 2 tom. 12mo. Paris, 1759. The last half, however, of the second volume does not relate to chivalry, and therefore the learned Frenchman cannot be charged with treating his subject at very great length.† It was his purpose to describe the education which accomplished the youth for the distinction of knighthood, and this part of his work he has performed with considerable success. But he failed in his next endeavour, that of painting the martial games of chivalry, for nothing can be more unsatisfactory than his account of jousts and tournaments. As he wished to inform his readers of the use which was made in the battle-field of the valour, skill, and experience of knights, a description of some of the extraordinary and interesting battles of the middle ages might have been expected. Here also disappointment is experienced; neither can any pleasure be derived from perusing his examination of the causes which produced the decline and extinction of chivalry, and his account of the inconveniences which counterbalanced the advantages of the establishment.

Sainte Palaye was a very excellent French antiquarian; but the limited scope of his studies disqualified him from the office of a general historian of chivalry. The habits of his mind led him to treat of knighthood as if it had been the ornament merely of his own country. He very rarely illustrates his principles by the literature of any other nation, much less did he attempt to trace their history through the various states of Europe. He has altogether kept out of sight many characteristic features of his subject. Scarcely anything is advanced about ancient armour; not a word on the religious and military orders; and but a few pages, and these neither pleasing or correct, on woman and lady-love. The best executed part of his subject regards, as I have already observed, the education of knights;

* The History of Italy, from the Fall of the Western Empire to the Commencement of the Wars of the French Revolution. By George Perceval, Esq. 2 vols, 8vo. 1825. (Now known as Proctor's Italy, of which a new edition is now ready — 1844.)

† A third volume was added in the year 1781, which also bears the title "Mémoires sur l'Ancienne Chevalerie;" though more than half the volume relates to the sport of hunting, which is a baronial or feudal rather than a chivalric subject.

and he has scattered up and down his little volume and a half many curious notices of ancient manners.

The other work is written in the German language, and for that reason is but very little known in this country. It is called Ritterzeit und Ritterwesen, (two volumes, octavo, Leipzig, 1823,) and is the substance of a course of lectures on chivalry delivered by the author, Mr. Büsching, to his pupils of the High School at Breslau. The style of the work is the garrulous, slovenly, ungrammatical style which lecturers, in all countries, and upon all subjects, think themselves privileged to use. A large portion of the book is borrowed from Sainte Palaye; much of the remainder relates to feudalism and other matters distinct from chivalry: but when the writer treats of the state of knighthood in Germany I have found his facts and observations of very great value.

Attention to the subjects of the middle ages of Europe has for many years been growing among us. It was first excited by Warton's History of our National Verse, and Percy's edition of the Relics of Ancient English Poetry. The romances of chivalry, both in prose and metre, and the numberless works on the Troubadour, and every other description of literature during the middle ages which have been published within the last few years, have sustained the interest. The poems of Scott convinced the world that the chivalric times of Europe can strike the moral imagination as powerfully and pleasingly in respect of character, passion, and picturesqueness of effect, as the heroic ages of Greece; and even very recently the glories of chivalry have been sung by a poetess whom Ariosto himself would have been delighted to honour.* Still, however, no attempt has been hitherto made to describe at large the institutions of knighthood, the foundation of all that elegant superstructure of poetry and romance which we admire, and to mark the history of chivalry in the various countries of Europe. Those institutions have, indeed, been allowed a few pages in our encyclopædias; and some of the sketches of them are drawn with such boldness and precision of outline, that we may regret the authors did not present us with finished pictures. Our popular historians have but hastily alluded to the subject; for they were so much busied with feudalism and politics, that they could afford but a small space for the play of the lighter graces of chivalry.

For a description, indeed, of antique manners, our materials are not so ample as for that of their public lives. But still the subject is not without its witnesses. The monkish chroniclers sometimes give us a glimpse of the castles of our ancestors. Many of the knights in days of yore had their biographers; and, for the most interesting time of chivalry, we possess a historian, who, for vividness of delineation, kindliness of feeling, and naïveté of language, is the Herodotus of the middle ages.

"Did you ever read Froissart?"

"No," answered Henry Morton.

"I have half a mind," rejoined Claverhouse, "to contrive that you should have six months' imprisonment, in order to procure you that pleasure. His chapters inspire me with more enthusiasm than even poetry itself."

Froissart's† history extends from the year 1316 to 1400. It was begun by him when he was twenty years old, at the command of his dear lord and master, Sir Robert of Namur, Lord of Beaufort. The annals from 1326 to 1356 are founded on the Chronicles compiled by him whom he calls "The Right Reverend, discreet, and sage Master John la Bele, some time canon in St. Lambertis of Liege, who with good heart and due diligence did his true devoir in writing his book; and heard of many fair and noble adventures from his being well beloved, and of the secret counsel of the Lord Sir John of Hainault." Froissart corrected all this borrowed matter on the information of the barons and knights of his time re-

* The Troubadour, &c. By L. E. L., author of the Improvisatrice. 12mo.

† Jean Froissart, called Sir Jean Froissart (the title, Sir, being in the middle ages common to all who were either in the holy orders of the church or in the holy order of knighthood), was born at Valenciennes in the year 1337, and died in 1397.

garding their families' gestes and prowesses. He is the chronicler both of political events and of chivalric manners. Of his merits in the first part of his character it falls not within my province to speak. For the office of historian of chivalry no man could present such fair pretensions. His father being a herald-painter, he was initiated in his very early years into that singular form of life which he describes with such picturesque beauty. "Well I loved," as he says of his youth, in one of his poems, "to see dances and carolling, and to hear the songs of minstrels and tales of glee. It pleased me to attach myself to those who took delight in hounds and hawks. I was wont to toy with my fair companions at school, and methought I had the art well to win the grace of maidens." — "My ears quickened at the sound of opening the wine-flask, for I took great pleasure in drinking, and in fair array, and in fresh and delicate viands. I loved to see (as is reason) the early violets, and the white and red roses, and also chambers brilliantly lighted; dances and late vigils, and fair beds for my refreshment; and for my better repose, I joyously quaffed a night-draught of claret, or Rochelle wine mingled with spice."

Froissart wrote his Chronicles "to the intent that the honourable and noble adventures of feats of arms, done and achieved in the wars of France and England, should notably be enregistered, and put in perpetual memory; whereby the preux and hardy might have ensample to encourage them in their well-doing."* To accomplish his purpose, he followed and frequented the company of divers noble and great lords, as well in France, England, and Scotland, as in other countries; and in their chivalric festivals he inquired for tales of arms and amours. For three years he was clerk of the chamber to Philippa of Hainault, wife of Edward III. He travelled into Scotland; and, though mounted only on a simple palfrey, with his trunk placed on the hinder part of his saddle, after the fashion in which a squire carried the mail-harness of a knight, and attended only by a greyhound, the favourite dog of the time, instead of a train of varlets, yet the fame of his literary abilities introduced him to the castle of Dalkeith, and the court of the Scottish king.

He generally lived in the society of nobles and knights, — at the courts of the Duke of Brabant, the Count of Namur, and the Earl of Blois. He knew and admired the Black Prince, Du Guesclin, the Douglas, and Hotspur; and while this various acquaintance fitted him to describe the circumstances and manners of his times, it prevented him from the bias of particular favouritism. The character of his mind, rather than his station in life, determined his pursuits. His profession was that of the church: he was a while curate of Lestines, in the diocess of Liege; and, at the time of his death, he was canon and treasurer of the collegiate church of Chimay. But he was a greater reader of romances than of his breviary; and, churchman though he was, knighthood itself could not boast of a more devoted admirer of dames and damsels. He was, therefore, the very man to describe the chivalric features of his time.

The romances of chivalry are another source of information. Favyn says, with truth and fancy, "The greater part of antiquities are to be sought for and derived out of the most ancient tales, as well in prose as verse, like pearls out of the smoky papers of Ennius." The romance-writers were to the middle ages of Europe what the ancient poets were to Greece, — the painters of the manners of their times. As Sir Walter Scott observes, "We have no hesitation in quoting the romances of chivalry as good evidence of the laws and customs of knighthood. The authors, like the artists of the period, invented nothing, but, copying the manners of the age in which they lived, transferred them, without doubt or scruple, to the period and personages of whom they treated."

From all these sources of information I have done my devoir, in the following pages, to describe the origin of chivalry; and, after escaping from the dark times in which it arose, to mark the various degrees of the personal nobility of knighthood. An inquiry into the nature and duty of the chivalric character then will

* The Prologue of Froissart — Lord Berners's translation.

follow; and we cannot pass, without regard and homage, the sovereign-mistress and lady-love of the adventurous knight. After viewing our cavalier in the gay and graceful pastime of the tournament, and pausing a while to behold him when a peculiar character of religion was added to his chivalry, we shall see him vault upon his good steed; and we will accompany him in the achievement of his high and hardy emprises in Britain, France, Spain, Germany, and Italy.

As a view of chivalry is, from its nature, a supplement or an appendix to the history of Europe, I have supposed my readers to be acquainted with the general circumstances of past ages, and therefore I have spoken of them by allusion rather than by direct statement. I have made the following work as strictly chivalric as the full and fair discussion of my subject would permit me, avoiding descriptions of baronial and feudal life, except in its connexion with knighthood. I have not detailed military circumstances of former times, unless they proceeded from chivalric principles, or were invested with chivalric graces. Thus the celebrated battle of the Thirty had nothing in it of a knightly character, and therefore I have left it unnoticed. Judicial combats had their origin in the state of society from which both feudalism and chivalry sprang; but they were not regulated by the gentle laws of knighthood, and therefore have not been described by me. I have not imposed any dry legal facts and discussions upon my readers; for the incidents attached to the tenure of land called the tenure in chivalry were strictly feudal: and the courts of the constable and marshal, holding cognizance as they did of all matters regarding war, judicial combats, and blazonry of arms, relate not so much to chivalry as to the general preservation of the peace of the land, and the good order of society. And it should be mentioned, that it has not been my purpose to give a minute history of every individual cavalier: for a work strictly confined to biographical detail, however convenient it might be for occasional reference, would be tiresome and tedious by reason of the repetition of circumstances only varied with the difference of names, and would be anything but historical. I have brought the great characters of chivalry, who have received but slight attention from the political historian, in illustration of the principles of knighthood. Thus full-length portraits of those English knights of prowess, Sir John Chandos and Sir Walter Manny, will be more interesting than pictures of Edward III. and the Black Prince, whose features are so well known to us. From the lives of these royal heroes I have therefore only selected such chivalric circumstances as have not been sufficiently described and dwelt upon, or which it was absolutely incumbent on me to state, in order to preserve an unbroken thread of narrative.

I shall not expatiate on the interest and beauty of my subject, lest I should provoke too rigid an inquiry into my ability for discussing it. I shall therefore only conclude, in the good old phrase of Chaucer, —

"Now, hold your mouth, pour charitie,
Both knight and lady free,
And herkneth to my spell,
Of battaille and of chivalry
Of ladies' love and druerie,
Anon I wol you tell."

*** While these volumes were passing through the press, the tales of the Crusaders appeared. In the second of them is contained a series of supposed propositions from Saladin for peace between his nation and the English. The conclusion of those propositions is thus expressed: — "Saladin will put a sacred seal on this happy union betwixt the bravest and noblest of Frangistan and Asia, by raising to the rank of his royal spouse a Christian damsel, allied in blood to King Richard, and known by the name of the Lady Edith of Plantagenet," vol. iv., pp. 13, 14. Upon this passage of his text the author remarks in a note: "This may appear so extraordinary and improbable a proposition that it is necessary to say such a one was actually made. The historians, however, substitute the widowed Queen of Naples, sister of Richard, for the bride, and Saladin's brother for the bridegroom. They appear to be ignorant of the existence of Edith of Plantagenet. See MILL's (MILLS') History of the Crusades.

In that work I observe, that "Richard proposed a consolidation of the Christian and Muhammedan interests; the establishment of a government at Jerusalem, partly European and partly Asiatic; and these schemes of policy were to be carried into effect by the marriage of Saphadin (Saladin's brother) with the widow of William King of Sicily."

M. Michaud, the French historian of the Crusades, makes a similar statement. He says that Richard "fit d'autres propositions, auxquelles il intéressa adroitement l'ambition de Malec Adel, frère du Sultan. La veuve du Guillaume de Sicile fut proposée en marriage au Prince Musulman." Hist. des Croisades, vol. ii., p. 414.

Whether or no "the historians" are ignorant of the existence of "Edith of Plantagenet" is not the present question. The question is, which of the two opposite statements is consistent with historical truth. The statement of M. Michaud and myself is supported by the principal Arabic historians, by writers, who, as every student in history knows, are of unimpeachable credit. Bohadin, in his life of Saladin, says, that "the Englishman was desirous that Almalick Aladin should take his sister to wife. (Her brother had brought her with him from Sicily, when he passed through that island, to the deceased lord of which she had been married."*) To the same effect Abulfeda observes, "Hither came the embassadors of the Franks to negotiate a peace; and offered this condition, that Malek al Adel, brother of the Sultan, should receive the sister of the King of England in marriage, and Jerusalem for a kingdom."† That this sister, Joan, the widowed Queen of Sicily, was with Richard in the Holy Land, is proved by a passage in Matthew Paris, p. 171. She and the wife of Richard are mentioned together, and no other person of royal rank.

Thus, therefore, "the historians" are correct in their statement, that the matrimonial proposition was made by the English to Saladin, and that the parties were to be the brother of Saladin and the widowed Queen of Sicily. The novelist has not supported his assertion by a single historical testimony; and we may defy him to produce a tittle of evidence on his side.

In the composition of his tales, the author of Waverley has seldom shown much respect for historical keeping. But greater accuracy than this no person had a right to expect in the text of a mere novel; and as long as he gave his readers no excuse for confounding fiction with truth, the play of his brilliant and excursive imagination was harmless. Thus in the Talisman, the poetical antiquarian only

* I subjoin Schultens's Latin version of the Arabic passage in Bohadin, vita et res gestæ Saladini, c. 127, p. 209. "Cupere Anglum ut Almalichus Aladilus sororem ipsius in matrimonium duceret (eam e Sicilia cujus functo domino nupta fuerat, secum avexerat frater, quum insulam illam trajiceret.")

† Reiske's Latin version of Abulfeda is this: — "Illuc commeabant Francorum pacis causa legati, eam offerentes conditionem, uc Malec-al-Adel, frater Sultani sororem Regis Angliæ in matrimonium, et Hierosolymas in regnum acciperet." Abulfeda, vol. iv., p. 111.

smiles when he finds the romance of the Squire of Low Degree quoted as familiar to the English long before it was written; and when, in the Betrothed, Gloucester is raised into a bishoprick three centuries and a half before the authentic æra, we equally admit the author's license of anachronism. On these two occasions, as in innumerable other instances, in which the novelist, whether intentionally or unwittingly, has strayed from the path of historical accuracy, he has never given formal warranty for the truth of his statements, and he is entitled to laugh at the simple credulity which could mistake his Tales for veracious chronicles: but his assertion respecting the marriage of Saladin with his "Edith of Plantagenet" is a very different case. For here he throws aside the fanciful garb of a novelist, and quits the privilege of his text, that he may gravely and critically vouch in a note for the errors of our historians, and his own superior knowledge. If this can possibly be done merely to heighten the illusion of his romance, it is carrying the jest a little too far; for the preservation of historical truth is really too important a principle to be idly violated. But if he seriously designed to unite the province of the historian with that of the novelist, he has chosen a very unlucky expedient for his own reputation; and thus, in either case, he has rather wantonly led his readers into error, and brought against others a charge of ignorance, which must recoil more deservedly on himself.

CONTENTS.

CHAPTER I.

THE ORIGIN AND FIRST APPEARANCES OF CHIVALRY IN EUROPE.

General Nature of Chivalry.—Military and Moral Chivalry.—Origin of Chivalry.—Usages of the Germans.—Election of Soldiers.—Fraternity.—Dignity of Obedience.—Gallantry.—The Age of Charlemagne.—Chivalry modified by Religion.—Ceremonies of Anglo-Saxon Inauguration.—Chivalry sanctioned by Councils, and regarded as a Form of Christianity.—Nature of Chivalric Nobility.—Its Degrees.—Knight Banneret.—His Qualifications.—By whom created.—His Privileges.—His relation to the Baron.—And incidentally of the War-cry and the Escutcheon.—The Knight.—Qualifications for Knighthood.—By whom created.—The Squirehood.—General View of the other Chapters on the Institutions of Chivalry PAGE 13

CHAPTER II.

THE EDUCATION OF A KNIGHT. THE CEREMONIES OF INAUGURATION AND OF DEGRADATION.

Description in Romances of Knightly Education.—Hawking and Hunting.—Education commenced at the age of Seven.—Duties of the Page.—Personal Service.—Love and Religion.—Martial Exercises.—The Squire.—His Duties of Personal Service.—Curious Story of a bold young Squire.—Various Titles of Squires.—Duties of the Squire in Battle.—Gallantry.—Martial Exercises.—Horsemanship.—Importance of Squires in the Battle Field.—Particularly at the Battle of Bovines.—Preparation for Knighthood.—The Anxiety of the Squire regarding the Character of the Knight from whom he was to receive the Accolade.—Knights made in the Battle Field.—Inconveniences of this.—Knights of Mines.—General Ceremonies of Degradation.—Ceremonies in England. 20

CHAPTER III.

THE EQUIPMENT.

Beauty of the chivalric Equipment.—The Lance.—The Pennon.—The Axe, Maule, and Martel.—The Sword.—Fondness of the Knight for it.—Swords in romances.—The Shield.—Various sorts of Mail.—Mail.—Mail and Plate.—Plate Harness.—The Scarf.—Surcoats.—Armorial Bearings.—Surcoats of the Military Orders.—The Dagger of Mercy.—Story of its Use.—Value of Inquiries into ancient Armour.—A precise Knowledge unattainable.—Its general Features interesting.—The broad Lines of the Subject.—Excellence of Italian Armour.—Armour of the Squire, &c.—Allegories made on Armour.—The Horse of the Knight . . PAGE 32

CHAPTER IV.

THE CHIVALRIC CHARACTER.

General Array of Knights.—Companions in Arms.—The Nature of a Cavalier's Valiancy.—Singular Bravery of Sir Robert Knowles.—Bravery incited by Vows.—Fantastic Circumstances.—The Humanities of Chivalric War.—Ransoming.—Reason of Courtesies in Battles.—Curious Pride of Knighthood.—Prisoners.—Instance of Knightly Honour.—Independence of Knights, and Knight Errantry.—Knights fought the Battles of other Countries.—English Knights dislike Wars in Spain.—Thier disgust at Spanish Wines.—Principles of their active Conduct.—Knightly independence consistent with Discipline.—Religion of the Knight.—His Devotion.—His Intolerance.—General Nature of his Virtue.—Fidelity to Obligations.—Generousness.—Singular instance of it.—Romantic excess of it.—Liberality.—Humility.—Courtesy.—EVERY DAY LIFE OF THE KNIGHT.—Falconry.—Chess playing.—Story of a Knight's Love of Chess.—Minstrelsy.—Romances.—Conversation.—Nature and Form of Chivalric Entertainments.—Festival and Vow of the Pheasant 47

CHAPTER V.

DAMES AND DAMSELS, AND LADY-LOVE.

Courtesy.—Education.—Music.—Graver Sciences. — Dress. — Knowledge of Medicine. — Every-day life of the Maiden.—Chivalric Love.—The Idolatry of the Knight's Passion —Bravery inspired by Love.—Character of Woman in the Eyes of a Knight.—Peculiar Nature of his Love.—Qualities of Knights admired by Women.—A tale of chivalric Love.—Constancy.—Absence of Jealousy.—Knights asserted by Arms their Mistress' Beauty.—Penitents of Love.—Other Peculiarities of chivalric Love.—The Passion universal.—Story of Aristotle.—Chivalric Love the Foe to feudal Distinctions—But preserved Religion.—When Attachments were formed.—Societies of Knights for the Defence of Ladies.—Knights of the Lady in the Green Field.—Customs in England.—Unchivalric to take Women Prisoners.—Morals of Chivalric Times.—Heroines of Chivalry.—Queen Philippa.—The Countess of March.—Tales of Jane of Mountfort and of Marzia degl' Ubaldini.—Nobleness of the chivalric Female Character PAGE 65

CHAPTER VI.

TOURNAMENTS AND JOUSTS.

Beauty of Chivalric Sports.—Their Superiority to those of Greece and Rome.—Origin of Tournaments.—Reasons for holding them.—Practice in Arms.—Courtesy.—By whom they were held.—Qualifications for Tourneying.—Ceremonies of the Tournament.—Arrival of the Knights.—Publication of their names.—Reasons for it.—Disguised Knights.—The Lists.—Ladies the Judges of the Tournaments.—Delicate Courtesy at Tournaments.—Morning of the Sports.—Knights led by Ladies, who imitated the Dress of Knights.—Nature of Tourneying Weapons.—Knights wore Ladies' Favours.—The Preparation.—The Encounter.—What Lance Strokes won the Prize.—Conclusion of the Sports.—The Festival.—Delivery of the Prize.—Knights thanked by Ladies.—The Ball.—Liberality.—Tournaments opposed by the Popes.—The Opposition unjust.—The Joust.—Description of the Joust to the Utterance.—Joust between a Scotch and an English Knight.—Jousting for love of the Ladies.—A singular instance of it.—Joust between a French and an English Squire.—Admirable skill of Jousters.—Singular questions regarding Jousts.—An Earl of Warwick.—Celebrated Joust at St. Ingleberts'.—Joust between Lord Scales and the Bastard of Burgundy.—The Romance of Jousts.—The Passage of Arms.—Use of Tournaments and Jousts 87

CHAPTER VII.

THE RELIGIOUS AND MILITARY ORDERS OF KNIGHTHOOD.

General Principles of the Religious Orders.—Qualifications for them.—Use of these Orders to Palestine.—Modern History of the Knights Templars.—Their present Existence and State.—Religious Orders in Spain.—That of St. James.—Its Objects.—Change of its Objects.—Order of Calatrava.—Fine Chivalry of a Monk.—Fame of this Order.—Order of Alcantara.—Knights of the Lady of Mercy.—Knights of St. Michael.—Military Orders.—Imitations of the Religious Orders.—Instances in the Order of the Garter.—Few of the present Orders are of Chivalric Origin.—Order of the Bath.—Dormant Orders.—Order of the Band.—Its singular Rules.—Its noble Enforcement of Chivalric Duties towards Woman.—Order of Bourbon.—Strange Titles of Orders.—Fabulous Orders.—The Round Table.—Sir Launcelot.—Sir Gawain.—Order of the Stocking.—Origin of the phrase Blue Stocking PAGE 109

CHAPTER VIII.

PROGRESS OF CHIVALRY IN ENGLAND, FROM THE NORMAN CONQUEST TO THE REIGN OF EDWARD II.

Chivalry connected with Feudalism.—Stipendiary Knights.—Knighthood a compulsory Honour.—Fine Instance of Chivalry in the Reign of Edward I.—Effect of Chivalry in Stephen's Reign.—Troubadours and Romance Writers in the Reign of Henry II.—Chivalric Manners of the Time.—Cœur de Lion the first Chivalric King.—His Knightly Bearing.—John and Henry III.—Edward I.—His Gallantry at a tournament.—His unchivalric Cruelties.—He possessed no knightly Courtesy.—Picture of ancient Manners.—Edward II.—Chivalric Circumstance in the Battle of Bannockburn.—Singular Effect of Chivalry in the Reign of Edward II. . . 124

CHAPTER IX.

STATE OF CHIVALRY IN ENGLAND DURING THE REIGN OF EDWARD THE THIRD.

Tournaments.—The Round Table — Order of the Garter.—Courtesy of Edward.—Prevalence of Chivalric Taste among all Classes.—English Archers.—The Black Prince.—Story of the King's Chivalry.—England regarded as the Seat of Honour.—Instance of this.—Chivalric Heroes in this Reign.—The Gestes and Prowesses of Sir Walter Manny.—Chi-

valric Vow of Sir Walter.—He fights for the Love of his Lady.—His Rescue of two Brother Knights.—Instance of his joyous Adventurousness.—His Gallantry before Auberoche.—His filial piety.—Story of Chivalric Manners.—The Gentle disposition of Manny.—His Importance at Edward's Court.—His remarkable Sagacity.—His Liberality.—His Death in 1372.—Buried in the Charter-House.—Heroism of Sir James Audley.—His Generosity.—Memoir of Sir John Chandos.—His Gallantry to Ladies.—Amusing instance of the Pride of Knighthood.—The importance of his Counsel at Poictiers.—His Exploits in Brittany—And in Spain.—Is made a Knight Banneret.—Quits the Black Prince.—But returns.—The remarkable Generousness of his Conduct to Lord Pembroke.—The last Circumstance of his Life.—General Grief at his Death . . PAGE 132

CHAPTER X.

PROGRESS OF CHIVALRY IN GREAT BRITAIN, FROM THE REIGN OF RICHARD II. TO THAT OF HENRY VIII.

Complaints of the unchivalric State of Richard's Court.—Influence of Chivalry on the national Character. — Scottish Chivalry. — Chivalric kindness of Robert Bruce.—Mutual Chivalry, between the Scotch and English Courts.—French Knight's Opinions of Scottish Chivalry.—Courtesies between English and Scottish Knights. — Chivalric Battle of Otterbourn.—Hotspur and the Douglas.—A cavaleresque Story.—Reign of Henry IV.—Chivalric Parley between him and the Duke of Orleans.— Henry's unchivalric Conduct at Shrewsbury.—Henry V.—Knights of the Bath.—Henry's love of chivalric Books.—His chivalric bearing.—Commencement of the Decline of Chivalry.—The Civil Wars injured Chivalry.—Caxton's Lamentation.—He exaggerates the Evil.—Many gallant English Knights.—Character of Henry VIII. with reference to Chivalry.—Tournaments in his Reign.—Field of the Cloth of Gold.—Introduction of Italian Literature favoured Romance.—Popularity of Chivalric Literature.—English Knights continued to break Lances for Ladies' Love.—State of Scottish Chivalry at this Period.—James IV.—Chivalric circumstances at Flodden Field. 151

CHAPTER XI.

THE LAST YEARS OF CHIVALRY IN ENGLAND.

The Chivalric Feelings of the Nation supported by Spenser—And by Sir Philip Sidney.—Allusions to Sidney's Life—Particularly his kindly Consideration.—Chivalric Politeness of the Age of Elizabeth.—The Earl of Oxford.—Tilts in Greenwich Park.—Sir Henry Lee.—Chivalry reflected in the popular Amusements.—Change of Manners.—Reign of James the First.—Tournaments ceased on Prince Henry's Death.—Life of Lord Herbert of Cherbury—Chivalric Fame of his Family—His Character.—His Inferiority to the Knights of yore.—Decline of Chivalric Education.—Important Change of Knighthood by the Parliament of Charles the First.—Application of Chivalric honours to men of civil Station—Knights made in the Field.—Carpet Knights.—Knights of the Bath.—Full Account of the Ancient Ceremonies of creating Knights of the Bath . PAGE 169

CHAPTER XII.

PROGRESS OF CHIVALRY IN FRANCE.

Chivalry in Baronial Castles.—Chivalry injured by Religious Wars.—Beneficial Influence of Poetry and Romance. — Chivalric Brilliancy of the Fourteenth Century.—Brittany.—Du Guesclin.—Romantic Character of his early years.—His knightly conduct at Rennes.—Gallantry at Cochetel.— Political Consequences of his Chivalry.—He leads an Army into Spain—And Changes the Fortunes of that Kingdom.—Battle of Navaret.—Du Guesclin Prisoner—Treatment of him by the Black Prince—Ransomed—Is made Constable of France.—Recovers the Power of the French Monarchy.—Companionship in Arms between Du Guesclin and Olivier De Clisson.—Du Guesclin's Death before Randon—His Character.—Decline of Chivalry—Proof of it.—Little Chivalry in the Second Series of French and English Wars.—Combats of Pages.—Further Decay of chivalry.—Abuses in conferring Knighthood.—Burgundy—Its Chivalry.—The Romantic nature of the Burgundian Tournaments.—Last Gleams of Chivalry in France—Life of Bayard. — Francis I. — Extinction of Chivalry 182

CHAPTER XIII.

PROGRESS OF CHIVALRY IN SPAIN.

General Nature of Spanish Chivalry.—Religion and Heroism. — Gallantry. — Blending of Spanish and Oriental Manners.—Its beneficial Tendencies.—Peculiarities of Spanish Chivalry. — Forms of Knighthood. — Various Ranks of Knights.—Spanish Poetry.—Heroes of Chivalry.—Pelayo.—Bernardo del Carpio—And incidentally of Charlemagne's Expedition into Spain.—The Life of the Cid.—His early ferocious Heroism.—His singular

Marriage.—Enters the Service of King Ferdinand.—The Cid's Chivalric Gallantry.—He is knighted.—Death of King Ferdinand.—The Cid becomes the Knight of Sancho, King of Castile.—Mixture of Evil and Good in the Cid's Character.—Supports the King in his Injustice.—The Cid's Romantic Heroism.—Sancho's further Injustice opposed by him.—Death of Sancho.—Instance of the Cid's virtuous boldness.—Character of Alfonso, Successor of Sancho.—Story of his Chivalric Bearing.—The Cid's second Marriage.—Is banished from Alfonso's Court.—Becomes the Ally of the Moors—But recalled.—Is banished again.—Singular Story of the Cid's unknightly Meanness.—Fortunes of the Cid during his Exile.—The Cid's chivalric Nobleness and Generosity.—Is recalled by Alfonso.—The Cid captures Toledo—And Valentia.—Story of Spanish Manners.—The Cid's unjust Conduct to the Moors.—The unchivalric Character of the Cid's Wife and Daughters.—The Cid recalled by Alfonso.—The Marriages of his Daughters.—Basely treated by their Husbands.—Cortez at Toledo to decide the Cause.—Picture of Ancient Manners.—Death of the Cid.—His Character—Fate of his good horse.—Spanish Chivalry after his Death.—Gallantry of a Knight.—The Merits of Missals decided by Battle.—Passage of Arms at Orbigo.—Knights travel and joust for Ladies' Love.—Extinction of Spanish chivalry PAGE 200

CHAPTER XIV.

PROGRESS OF CHIVALRY IN GERMANY AND ITALY.

Chivalry did not affect the public History of Germany.—Its influence on Imperial Manners.—Intolerance and Cruelty of German Knights.—Their Harshness to their Squires.—Avarice of the Germans.—Little Influence of German Chivalry.—A remarkable Exception to this.—A Female Tournament.—Maximilian, the only chivalric Emperor of Germany.—Joust between him and the French Knight.—Edict of Frederick III. destroyed Chivalry.—CHIVALRY IN ITALY.—Lombards carried Chivalry thither.—Stories of chivalric Gallantry.—But little martial Chivalry in Italy.—Condottieri.—Chivalry in the North.—Italians excellent Armourers but bad Knights.—Chivalry in the South.—Curious Circumstances attending Knighthood at Naples.—Mode of creating Knights in Italy generally.—Political Use of Knighthood.—Chivalric literature.—Chivalric sports PAGE 222

CHAPTER XV.

ON THE MERITS AND EFFECTS OF CHIVALRY 233

THE

HISTORY

OF

CHIVALRY.

CHAPTER I.

THE ORIGIN AND FIRST APPEARANCES OF CHIVALRY IN EUROPE.

General Nature of Chivalry.—Military and Moral Chivalry.—Origin of Chivalry.—Usages of the Germans.—Election of Soldiers.—Fraternity.—Dignity of Obedience.—Gallantry.—The Age of Charlemagne.—Chivalry modified by Religion.—Ceremonies of Anglo-Saxon Inauguration.—Chivalry sanctioned by Councils, and regarded as a Form of Christianity.—Nature of Chivalric Nobility.—Its Degrees.—Knight Banneret.—His Qualifications.—By whom created.—His Privileges.—His relation to the Baron.—And incidentally of the War-cry and the Escutcheon.—The Knight.—Qualifications for Knighthood.—By whom created.—The Squirehood.—General View of the other Chapters on the Institutions of Chivalry.

THERE is little to charm the imagination in the first ages of Chivalry. No plumed steeds, no warrior bearing on his crested helm the favour of his lady bright, graced those early times. All was rudeness and gloom. But the subject is not altogether without interest, as it must ever be curious to mark the causes and the first appearances in conduct of any widely spread system of opinions.

The martial force of the people who occupied northern and central Europe in the time of the Romans, was chiefly composed of infantry;* but afterwards a great though imperceptible change took place, and, during all the long period which forms, in the historic phrase, the middle ages, cavalry was the strongest arm of military power. Terms, expressive of this martial array, were sought for in its distinguishing circumstances. Among the ruins of the Latin language, *caballus* signified a horse, *caballarius* a horseman, and *caballicare*, to ride; and from these words all the languages that were formed on a Latin basis, derived their phrases descriptive of military duties on horseback. In all languages of Teutonic origin, the same circumstance was expressed by words literally signifying service. The German *knight*, the Saxon *cnight*, are synonymous to the French *cavalier*, the Italian *cavaliere*, and the Spanish *caballero*. The word *rider* also designated the same person, preceded by, or standing without, the word *knight*.

In the kingdoms, which sprang from the ruins of the Roman Empire, every king, baron, and person of estate was a knight; and therefore the whole face of Europe was overspread with cavalry. Considered in this aspect, the knighthood and the feudalism of Europe were synonymous and co-existent. But there was a chivalry within this chivalry; a moral and personal knighthood; not the well-ordered assemblage of the instruments of ambition, but a military barrier against oppression and tyranny, a corrective of feudal despotism and injustice. Something like this description of knighthood may be said to have existed in all ages and countries. Its generousness may be paralleled in Homeric times, and

* Tacitus Germania, sec. 6. Cæsar de Bello Gallico, lib. i., s. 48.

vice has never reigned entirely without control. But the chivalry, the gallant and Christian chivalry of Europe, was purer and brighter than any preceding condition of society; for it established women in her just rank in the moral world, and many of its principles of action proceeded from a divine source, which the classical ancients could not boast of.

Some of the rules and maxims of chivalry had their origin in that state of society in which the feudal system arose; and regarded particularly in a military light, we find chivalry a part of the earliest condition of a considerable part of the European world. The bearing of arms was never a matter of mere private choice. Among the Germans, it rested with the state to declare a man qualified to serve his country in arms. In an assembly of the chiefs of his nation, his father, or a near relation, presented a shield and a javelin to a young and approved candidate for martial honours, who from that moment was considered as a member of the commonwealth, and ranked as a citizen. In northern as well as in central Europe, both in Scandinavia and Germany, the same principle was observed; and a young man at the age of fifteen became an independent agent, by receiving a sword, a buckler, and a lance, at some public meeting.*

The spirit of clanship, or fraternity, which ran through the chivalry of the middle ages, is of the remotest antiquity. It existed in Germany, in Scandinavia, and also in Gaul.† In all these countries, every young man, when adorned with his military weapons, entered the train of some chief; but he was rather his companion than his follower; for, however numerous were the steps and distinctions of service, a noble spirit of equality ran through them all. These generous youths formed the bulwark of their leader in war, and were his ornament in peace. This spirit of companionship showed itself in all its power and beauty in the field. It was disgraceful for a prince to be surpassed in valour by his companions; their military deeds were to be heroic, but the lustre of them was never to dim the brightness of his own fame. The chief fought for victory, the followers fought for their chief. The defence of the leader in battle, to die with him rather than to leave him, were, in the minds of the military fathers of Europe, obvious and necessary corollaries of these principles. The spirit of companionship burnt more fiercely in remote ages, than in times commonly called chivalric, for if, by the chance of war a person was thrown into the hands of an enemy, his military companions would surrender themselves prisoners, thinking it disgraceful to live in security and indolence, when their chief and associate was in misery.*

And to bring the matter home to English readers, it may be mentioned, that in the history of our Anglo-Saxon ancestors, many instances are recorded where vassals refused to survive their lord. Cyneheard, brother of the deposed king Sigebyrcht, slew the usurper Cynewulf; and though he offered freedom to the attendants of the slain, yet they all preferred death to submission to a new lord, and they died in a vain and wild endeavour to revenge him. Immediately afterwards fortune frowned on Cyneheard, and his eighty-four companions, save one, were slain, though liberty had been offered to them; but declaring that their generosity was not inferior to the generosity of the attendants of Cynewulf, they perished in a hopeless battle.†

The feeling which, in chivalric times, became designated as the dignity of obedience, may be traced in these circumstances, but it is more clearly shown in a singular record of the domestic manners of ancient Europe; for we learn from Athenæus, in his treatise of the suppers of the Celts, that it was the custom of the Gaulish youths to stand behind the seats, and to attend upon their fathers during the principal daily meal.‡ Here we see the germ, if not of the duties of the squire to the knight, yet of the feeling which suggested their performance. The beautiful subordination of chivalry had its origin in the domestic relations of life; obedience became

* Tacitus Germania, s. 13. Mallet's Northern Antiquities, vol. i., p. 197.

† Tacitus Germania. Cæsar, lib. 6, s. 14.

* Ammianus Marcellinus, lib. 16, c. 13.

† Chron. Saxon, 57, &c. Florence, ad an. 784. William of Malmsbury, 7.

‡ Athenæus, lib. iv., c. 36.

virtuous when nature sanctioned it, and there could be no loss of personal consideration in a youth performing services which his own father had performed, and which, as years and circumstances advanced, would be rendered to himself.

The gallantry of knighthood, that quality which distinguishes, and distinguishes so much to its advantage, the modern from the ancient world, was not created by any chivalric institution. We know indeed that it was cradled in the same sentiments which nursed the other principles of chivalry, but its birth is lost in the remoteness of ages; and I would rather dwell in my ignorance of the precise period of its antiquity, than think with Plutarch that the feeling arose from a judicious opinion delivered by some women on occasion of a particular dispute between a few of the Celtic tribes.* It was in truth the virtue of the sex, and not any occasional or accidental opinion, that raised them to their high and respectful consideration. The Roman historian marked it as a peculiarity among the Germans, that marriage was considered by them as a sacred institution,† and that a man confined himself to the society of one wife. The mind of Tacitus was filled with respect for the virtuous though unpolished people of the north; and, reverting his eyes to Rome, the describer of manners becomes the indignant satirist, and he exclaims, that no one in Germany dares to ridicule the holy ordinance of marriage, or to call an infringement of its laws a compliance with the manners of the age.‡ In the earlier times, when the Cimbri invaded Italy, and were worsted by Marius, the female Teutonic captives wished to be placed among the vestal virgins, binding themselves to perpetual chastity, but the Romans could not admire or sympathize with such lofty-mindedness, and the women had recourse to death, the last sad refuge of their virtue. Strabo picturesquely describes venerable and hoary-headed prophetesses seated at the council of the Cimbri, dressed in long linen vestments of shining white. They were not only embassadresses, but were often entrusted with the charge of governing kingdoms.* The courage of the knight of chivalry was inspired by the lady of his affections, a feature of character clearly deducible from the practice among the German nations, of women mingling in the field of battle with their armed brothers, fathers, and husbands. Women were always regarded as incentives to valour, and when warring with a nation of different manners, the German general could congratulate his soldiers on having motives to courage, which the enemy did not possess.† The warrior of the north, like the hero of chivalry, hoped for female smiles from his skill in athletic and martial exercises; and we may take the anecdote as an instance of the general manners of European antiquity, that the chief anxiety of a Danish champion, who had lost his chin and one of his cheeks by a single stroke of a sword, was, how he should be received by the Danish maidens, when his personal features had been thus dreadfully marred. — "The Danish girls will not now willingly or easily give me kisses, if I should perhaps return home," was his complaint.

Herald the Valiant was one of the most eminent adventurers of his age. He had slain mighty men; and after sweeping the seas of the north as a conqueror, he descended to the Mediterranean, and the shores of Africa. But a greater power now opposed him, and he was taken prisoner, and detained for some time at Constantinople. He endeavoured to beguile his gloomy solitude by song; but his muse gave him no joy, for he complains that the reputation he had acquired by so many hazardous exploits, by his skill in a single combat, riding, swimming, gliding along the ice, darting, rowing, and guiding a ship through the rocks, had not been able to make any impression on Elissiff, or Elizabeth, the beautiful daughter of Yarilas king of Russia.‡

Such were the features of the ancient character of Europe, that formed the

* Treatise on the Virtue of the Female Sex.

† Tacitus Germania, s. 18, c. 19. ‡ Ibid.

* Strabo, lib. iv. Tacitus Historia, lib. iv., c. 61, 65, Pomponius Mela, lib. iii., c. 6.

† Tacitus, Hist. lib. iv., c. 18. Life of Agricola, s. 32. Germania, s. 7.

‡ Barthol, p. 54, as cited by Warton, Dissert. I. Of the Origin of Romantic Fiction in Europe, in the first volume of the late admirable edition of his History of English Poetry.

basis of the chivalry of the middle ages; such was chivalry in its rude, unpolished state, the general character of the whole people rather than the moral chastener of turbulence and ferocity. From receiving his weapons in an assembly of the nation; associating in clans; protecting and revering women; performing acts of service, when affection and duty commanded them: from these simple circumstances and qualities, the most beautiful form of manners arose, that has ever adorned the history of man. It is impossible to mark the exact time when these elements were framed into that system of thought and action which we call Chivalry. Knighthood was certainly a feature and distinction of society before the days of Charlemagne, and its general prevalence in his time is very curiously proved, by the permission which he gave to the governor of Friesland to make knights, by girding them with a sword, and giving them a blow.*

But the key-stone of the arch was wanting, and religion alone could furnish it. A new world of principles and objects was introduced. The defence of the church was one great apparent aim of knightly enterprise, and on this principle, narrow and selfish as it was, many of the charities of Christianity were established. The sword was blessed by the priest, before it was delivered to the young warrior. By what means this amalgamation was effected, we know not; the less interesting matter, the date of the circumstance, can be more easily ascertained. It was somewhere between the ninth and the eleventh centuries. It surely was not the custom in the days of Charlemagne, for he girt the military sword on his son Louis the Good, agreeably to the rude principles of ancient Germanic chivalry,† without any religious ceremonies; and a century afterwards we read of the Saxon monarch of England, Edward the Elder, clothing Athelstan in a soldier's dress of scarlet, and fastening round him a girdle ornamented with precious stones, in which a Saxon sword in a sheath of gold was inserted.* In the century following, however, during the reign of Edward the Confessor, we meet with the story of Hereward, a very noble Anglo-Saxon youth, being knighted by the Abbot of Peterborough. He made confession of his sins, and after he had received absolution, he earnestly prayed to be made a legitimate *miles* or knight.

It was the custom of the English, continues the historian, for every one who wished to be consecrated into the legitimate militia, to confess his sins to a bishop, abbot, monk, or other priest, in the evening that preceded the day of his consecration, and to pass the night in the church, in prayer, devotion, and mortifications. On the next morning it was his duty to hear mass, to offer his sword on the altar, and then, after the Gospel had been read, the priest blessed the sword, and placed it on the neck of the *miles*, with his benediction. The sacrament of the Lord's Supper was then communicated to the knight.† This passage, though professedly descriptive only of the military customs of England, may be applied to the general state of Europe, with the exception of Normandy, whose people despised the religious part of the ceremony. But this feeling of dislike did not endure through all ages, for there is abundant evidence to prove that in the reign of the Norman dynasty in England, the ceremonies of knighthood were religious as well as military; and in the same, the eleventh century, the usage was similar over all Continental Europe.

The eleventh century is a very important epoch in the history of chivalry; for it was declared by the celebrated Council of Clermont (which authorized the first Crusade), that every person of noble birth, on attaining twelve years of age, should take a solemn oath before the bishop of his diocess, to defend to the uttermost the oppressed, the widows, and orphans; that women of noble birth, both married and single, should enjoy his especial care; and that nothing should be wanting in him to render travelling safe, and to destroy tyranny. In this decree we observe, that all

* It is also curious that this blow was said to have been customary. — "Dato eisdem, sicut consuetudinis est, manu colapho."

† Not exactly according to the form, for by this time a belt with a sword inserted was girded round the military candidate, instead of delivering a javelin to him. See the preceding paragraph.

* William of Malmsbury, lib. ii., c. 6.

† Ingulph, p. 512.

the humanities of chivalry were sanctioned by legal and ecclesiastical power; and that it was intended they should be spread over the whole face of Christendom, in order to check the barbarism and ferocity of the times.

The form of chivalry was martial; but its objects were both religious and social, and the definition of the word from military circumstances ceased to express its character. The power of the clergy was shown in a singular manner. Chivalry was no longer a soldierly array, but it was called the Order, the Holy Order, and a character of seriousness and solemity was given to it.* It was accounted an honourable office, above all offices, orders, and acts of the world, except the order of priesthood, for that order appertained to the holy sacrament of the altar. The knightly and clerical characters were every where considered as convertible, and the writers of romances faithfully reflected manners, when their hero at the commencement of the tale was a Sir Knight, and when at the close of his quests we find him a Sir Priest:

"And soothly it was said by common fame,
So long as age enabled him thereto,
That he had been a man of mickle name,
Renowned much in arms and derring do.
But being aged now, and weary too
Of war's delight, and world's contentious toil,
The name of Knighthood he did disavow;
And hanging up his arms and warlike spoil,
From all this world's incumbrance did himself assoil."†

Knighthood was an institution perfectly peculiar to the military and social state of our ancestors. There was no analogy between the knights of chivalry and the equites of Rome, for pecuniary estate was absolutely necessary for the latter; whereas, though the European cavalier was generally a man of some possessions, yet he was often a person promoted into the order of chivalry, solely as a reward for his redoubted behaviour in battle. The Roman equites discharged civil functions regarding the administration of justice and the farming of the public revenue; but the chivalry of the middle ages had no such duties to perform. Knighthood was also distinct from nobility; for the nobility of Europe were the governors and lords of particular districts of a country, and although originally they held their dignities only for life, yet their title soon became hereditary. But knighthood was essentially and always a personal distinction. A man's chivalry died with him. It was conferred upon noblemen and kings, not being like their other titles the subject of inheritance. It was not absorbed in any other title of rank, and the common form of address, Sir* King, shows its high consideration. In the writs of summons to parliament, the word *Chevalier* sometimes followed the baronial title, and more frequently the barons were styled by their martial designation, than named by the titles of their baronies.†

There were three degrees in the Chivalry of Europe, Knights Banneret, Knights, and Esquires.

A soldier must have passed through the ranks of esquire and knight, before he could be classed with the knights-banneret. That high dignity could only be possessed by a knight who had served for a length of years in the wars, and with distinction, and who had a considerable retinue, of men-at-arms, and other

* Caxton, Fayts of Arms and Chivalry, chapter entitled, "Of the Honour that ought to be done to a Knight."

† Spencer's Fairy Queen, book v., canto 5, st. 37. The romance of the Morte D'Arthur says, that in early times there were no hermits, but who had been men of worship and prowess; "and the hermits held great household and refreshed people that were in distress." Lib. 18, c. 10.

* The reader will find in Johnson's Dictionary the etymology of *Sir*. When this word, acknowledging power and superiority, was first used as the title of chivalry, I do not know. Instances exist as high as the reign of Henry II.

† Coke, Instit. 4. In the Reports of the Lords' Committees respecting the Peerage, (printed 2d July, 1821,) doubts are often expressed regarding the meaning of the word Banneret. A little attention to the difference between the personal nobility of chivalry, and the nobility which arose as a franchise appurtenant to land, would have prevented the entertaining of such doubts, and the conclusion might have been drawn from principles, instead of being guessed from precedent, that the title of banneret had no relation to the dignity of Lord of Parliament. The Lord's Committees seem surprised that barons should sometimes have had the addition of knights, and at other times of bannerets; but in truth chevalier was the title which comprehended all others, and like the word 'Lord,' was used in a general sense.

soldiers. To avoid the inconveniences of too minute a division of the martial force of a country, every knight-banneret ought to have had fifty* knights and squires under his command, each being attended by one or more horse soldiers, armed with the cross-bow, or with the long-bow and axe. Several followers on foot completed the equipment. But as we often meet with instances of elevating men of very few followers* to the rank of knight's-banneret, it is probable that kings usurped the right of conferring the distinction upon their favourites, or men of fame, not choosing that any title of merit should be demanded as a right, or that the royal name should be used only as a passive instrument; for a knight who had proved his chivalry and power, could demand from his sovereign the distinction of banneret. The laws and usages of the world allowed the well-tried and nobly attended soldier to carry his emblazoned pennon to the constable or marshal of the army before or after a battle, and in the field of contest itself, and require leave to raise his banner. A herald exhibited the record of his claim to the distinction, and the leader of the forces cut off the end of the pennon, and this military ensign then became a square banner. A brief exhortation to valiancy and honour was generally added by the constable or herald. These were the whole ceremonies of creation.

The privileges of a knight-banneret were considerable. He did not fight under the standard of any baron, but he formed his soldiers under his own. Like the rest of the feudal force, he was subject to the commands of the king; but his pride was not galled by being obliged to obey the behests of men of his own rank.

Every Baron had his banner, and a feudal array of knights, men-at-arms, and others, was numbered by its banners. The banneret and the baron were therefore soldiers of equal authority. The banneret, too, like the baron, had his words of courage, his cry of arms, which he shouted before a battle, in order to animate his soldiers to the charge, and whose sound, heard in the moment of direst peril, rallied the scattered troops by the recollection of the glories of their commander's house, and their own former achievements. The war-cry was also the under-written ornament of the armorial shield, and worked on the surcoat and banner, and was carved on the tomb both of the knight-banneret and the baron. Each of these representatives of chivalry and nobility had his square escutcheon. The wife of a banneret was styled *une dame bannerette*, and the general title of his family was a *hostel bannière*.

The second and most numerous class of chivalric heroes consisted of Knights, who were originally called Bas-Chevaliers, in contradiction to the first class, but in the course of time the word bachelor designated rather the esquire, the candidate for chivalry, than the cavalier himself. These knights of the second class were in Spain called *Cavalleros*, in distinction from the *riccos hombres*, or knights-banneret; and in France, the illiberal and degrading title of *pauvres hommes* was sometimes applied to them, to mark their inferiority to the bannerets.

A general qualification for knighthood was noble or gentle birth, which, in its widest signification, expressed a state of independence. Noblemen and gentlemen were words originally synonymous, describing the owners of fiefs. In countries where there were other forms of tenure, some military merit in the occupiers of land seems to have been necessary for elevation to the class of gentlemen. The mere frankelein was certainly not entitled to the designation of gentle; but if he became a distinguished man, an honorary rank was given to the family, and they were esteemed noble.*

* See Du Cange, Dissertation 9, on Joinville. This learned commentator seems inclined to confound knights-banneret with barons, chivalry with nobility; and a herd of subsequent writers refining on his errror, have gravely placed knights banneret as an order or class of society mediate between Nobility and Knighthood.

† Some fortune was, however, always thought necessary for the support of the dignity of knight-banneret. In the 28th of Edward III. John de Cobham was made a banneret, and had a grant of an annuity of 100 marks, out of the issues of the county of Norfolk, expressly for the better support of that dignity. Dugdale's Baronage, vol. ii., p. 66. Many similar instances are mentioned in the Parliamentary Rolls.

* A note of Waterhouse on Fortescue will

It is scarcely necessary to mention, that that distinction could alone be obtained by military achievements; for in the early periods of society, the only path to glory was stained with blood. The gentility of a father was more regarded than that of a mother;* and in strictness, if a man were not noble on his paternal side, his lord might cause his spurs to be cut off on a dunghill.† The amount of estate necessary for knighthood was not regulated by any chivalric institution. But the expense of the order was by no means inconsiderable. His inauguration was a scene of splendour; and liberality was one of the chiefest duties of his character. He could not travel in quest of adventures without some charge,‡ and his squire and other personal attendants were of course maintained by him. Though a man, says Froissart, be never so rich, men of arms and war waste all; for he that will have service of men of war, they must be paid truly their wages, or else they will do nothing available.§ The knight's harness for the working day was not without its ornaments; and the tournament was rendered splendid by the brilliancy of his armour and his steed's caparisons. There was always a rivalry of expense among knights who formed an expedition; and of all the recorded instances of this feeling, perhaps the most interesting one is furnished by Froissart. Speaking of a projected invasion of England by the French about the year 1386, he says, that gold and silver were no more spared than though they had rained out of the clouds, or been skimmed from the sea. The great lords of France sent their servants to Sluse, to apparel and make ready their provisions and ships, and to furnish them with every thing needful. Every man garnished his ship, and painted it with his arms. Painters had then a good season, for they had whatever they desired. They made banners, pennons, and standards of silk so goodly, that it was a marvel to behold them; also they painted the masts of their ships from the one end to the other, glittering with gold, and devices, and arms; and especially the Lord Guy de la Tremouille garnished his ship richly; the paintings cost more than two thousand francs.*

We have seen that originally a body of soldiers was selected by the state from the general mass of the people. Afterwards, kings and nobles in their several jurisdictions maintained the power of creation. It was also assumed by the clergy, but not retained long; nor were they anxious to recover it, for, as they assisted in the religious ceremonies of inauguration, they possessed a considerable share of power by the milder means of influence. Knighthood never altogether lost its character of being a distinction, a reward of merit, presumed, indeed, rather than proved, in the original instances which have been mentioned. But though it was often bestowed as an ornament of custom on the nobility and gentry of a state, yet it often was the bright gourdon of achievements in arms. Of military merit every knight was supposed to be a sufficient judge; and therefore every knight had the power of bestowing its reward. Men-at-arms and other soldiers were often exalted to the class of knights; and the honour was something more than a chimera of the imagination; for the title and consideration of a gentleman immediately accompanied the creation.† Thus, in the time of Richard II., the

illustrate this. "The title of franklein is 'good man;' and yet they have oft knights' estates. Many are called by courtesy 'masters,' and even 'gentlemen,' and their sons are educated in the inns of court, and adopted into the orders of knights and squires."

* Illegitimacy seems not to have been a matter of the slightest consequence. Froissart, ii. 26.

† Favyn., i. 6.

‡ When Don Quixote was dubbed a knight, the landlord asked him whether he had any money. "Not a cross," replied the knight, "for I never read in any history of chivalry, that any knight-errant ever carried money about him."—"Respodino Don Quixote que no traia blanca, porque él nunca habia leido en las historias de los caballeros andantes, que ninguno los hubiese traido." This was a very singular error in Cervantes, for in Amadis de Gaul, which he characterizes as the best work of its class, and which is evidently one of his text-books, we read that the queen gave Adrian the Dwarf enough money to last Amadis de Gaul his master for a whole year. Book III., c. 6.

§ Froissart, i, c. 448.

* Froissart, ii., c. 49.

† Thus, as Bracton observes, if a villain be made a knight, he is thereby immediately enfranchised, and consequently accounted a gentleman, l. iv., f. 198, b.

governor of Norwich, called Sir Robert Sale, was no gentleman born, says Froissart; but he had the grace to be reputed sage and valiant in arms, and for his valiantness, King Edward had made him a knight. The same sovereign also knighted a man-at-arms, who had originally been a tailor, and who, after the conclusion of the king's wars in France, crossed the Alps into Italy, and under the name of Sir John Hawkwood, headed the company of White or English adventurers, so famous in the Italian wars.*

The third and last class of chivalry was the Squirehood. It was not composed of young men who carried the shields of knights, and were learning the art of war; but the squires were a body of efficient soldiers, inferior in rank to the knight, and superior to the men-at-arms.† They had been originally intended for the higher classes of chivalry, but various considerations induced them to remain in the lowest rank. It was a maxim in chivalry, that a man had better be a good esquire than a poor knight. Many an esquire, therefore, declined the honour of knighthood, on account of the slenderness of his revenues. Edward III., during his wars in France, would have knighted Collart Dambreticourte, the esquire of his own person; but the young man declined the honour, for, to use his own simple phrase, he could not furnish his helmet.‡ Barons, knights, and esquires, form Froissart's frequent description of the parts of an army; and although there were many young men in the field, who, released from their duties on knights, were aiming at distinction, yet there were many more who remained squires during all their military career, and therefore became recognised as a part of the chivalric array. Some men of small landed estate, wishing to avoid the expenses and the duties of knighthood, remained esquires. They lost nothing of real power by their prudence, for they were entitled to lead their vassals into the field of battle under a penoncele, or small triangular streamer, as the knight led his under a pennon, or a banneret his under a banner. Military honours and commands also could be reached by the squirehood, as well as by the knighthood of a country. Both classes were considered gentle, and were entitled to wear coat armour.

Such was the general form of the personal nobility of Chivalry. Some parts of the outline varied in different countries, as will be seen when we watch its progress through Europe; but previously to that inquiry, the education, the duties, and the equipment of the knight require description; and as *loyauté aux dames* is the motto alike of the writers and the readers of works on Chivalry, I shall make no apology for suspending the historical investigation, while I endeavour to portray the lady-love of the gallant cavalier, and delay my steps in that splendid scene of beauty's power, the Tournament.

* Froissart, i. 384.

† Du Cange says, the third order of Chivalry consisted of the Esquires; but he evidently thinks they were the personal attendants of knights, for he calls them infancons or damoiseaux. He does not seem to have thought that a grave old squire ever existed.

‡ —— "Mais le dit escuyer s'excusa; et dit qu'il ne pouvoit trouver son bacinet."—Froissart, i., 211.

CHAPTER II.

THE EDUCATION OF A KNIGHT. THE CEREMONIES OF INAUGURATION AND OF DEGRADATION.

Description in Romances of Knightly Education.—Hawking and Hunting.—Education commenced at the age of Seven.—Duties of the Page.—Personal Service.—Love and Religion.—Martial Exercises.—The Squire.—His Duties of Personal Service.—Curious Story of a bold young Squire.—Various Titles of Squires.—Duties of the Squire in Battle.—Gallantry.—Martial Exercises.—Horsemanship.—Importance of Squires in the Battle Field.—Particularly at the Battle of Bovines.—Preparation for Knighthood.—The Anxiety of the Squire regarding the Character of the Knight from whom he was to receive the Accolade.—Knights made in the Battle Field.—Inconveniences of this.—Knights of Mines.—General Ceremonies of Degradation.—Ceremonies in England.

THE romances of Chivalry, in their picturesque and expressive representation of manners, present us with many interesting glimpses of the education in knighthood of the feudal nobility's chil-

dren. The romance of Sir Tristrem sings thus:

"Now hath Rohant in ore,*
Tristrem, and is full blithe,
The childe he set to lore,
And lernd him al so swithe;†
In bok while he was thore
He stodieth ever that stithe,‡
Though that bi him wore
Of him were ful blithe,
That bold.
His craftes gan he kithe,§
Oyaines‖ hem when he wold.

"Fiftene yere he gan him fede,
Sir Rohant the trewe;
He taught him ich alede¶
Of ich maner of glewe;**
And everich playing thede,
Old lawes and newe.
On hunting oft he yede,††
To swich alawe he drewe,
Al thus;
More he couthe‡‡ of veneri
Than couthe Manerious."

Very similar to this picture is the description of the education of Kyng Horn, in the romance which bears his name.

"Stiward tac thou here,
My fundling for to lere
Of thine mestere,
Of wode and of ryvere,
Ant toggen o' the harpe,
With is nayles sharpe;
Ant tech him alle the listes
That thou ever wystes
Byfore me to kerven,
Ant of my coupe to serven;
Ant his feren devyse
With ous other servise.
Horn, child, thou understand
Tech him of harpe and of song."§§

For only one more extract from the old romances, shall I claim the indulgence of my readers in the words of the minstrel,

"Mekely, lordynges gentyll and fre,
Lysten awhile and herken to me."

The life of Sir Ipomydon is a finished picture of knightly history. His foster-father, Sir Tholomew,

"A clerk he toke
That taught the child upon the boke
Both to synge and to rede,
And after he taught him other dede.
Afterwards to serve in halle,
Both to great and to small.
Before the king meat to kerve
Hye and low feyre to serve.
Both of houndis and hawkis game,
After he taught him all and same,
In se, in field, and eke in river,
In wood to chase the wild deer;
And in the field to ride a steed,
That all men had joy of his deed."

The mystery of rivers and the mystery of woods were important parts of knightly education. The mystery of woods was hunting; the mystery of rivers was not fishing, but hawking, an expression which requires a few words of explanation. In hawking, the pursuit of waterfowls afforded most diversion. Chaucer says that he could

"Ryde on hawking by the river,
With grey gos hawk on hand."

The favourite bird of chase was the heron, whose peculiar flight is not horizontal, like that of field birds, but perpendicular. It is wont to rise to a great height on finding itself the object of pursuit, while its enemy, using equal efforts to out-tower it, at length gains the advantage, swoops upon the heron with prodigious force, and strikes it to the ground. The amusement of hawking, therefore, could be viewed without the spectators moving far from the river's side where the game was sprung; and from that circumstance it was called the mystery of rivers.*

But I shall attempt no further to describe in separate portions the subjects of knightly education, and to fill up the sketches of the old romances; for those sketches, though correct, present no complete outline, and the military exercises are altogether omitted. We had better trace the cavalier, through the gradations of his course, in the castle of his lord.

The education of a knight generally commenced at the age of seven or eight years,† for no true lover of chivalry

* Favour. † Soon.
‡ Diligently. § Attempted.
‖ Against. ¶ Rule.
** The minstrelsy art. †† Went.
‡‡ Knew.
§§ Geste of Kyng Horn, v. 233.

* Mr. Rose's note on the Romance of Partenopex of Blois, p. 51.

† Caxton, Fayt of Armes and of Chyvalrye, c. 9. Mémoires du bon Messire Jean le Maingre,

wished his children to pass their time in idleness and indulgence. At a baronial feast, a lady in the full glow of maternal pride pointed to her offspring, and demanded of her husband whether he did not bless Heaven for having given him four such fine and promising boys. "Dame," replied her lord, thinking her observation ill timed and foolish, "so help me God and Saint Martin, nothing gives me greater sorrow and shame than to see four great sluggards, who do nothing but eat and drink and waste their time in idleness and folly." Like other children of gentle birth, therefore, the boys of this noble Duke Guerin of Montglaive, in spite of their mother's wishes, commenced their chivalric exercises.* In some places there were schools appointed by the nobles of the country, but most frequently their own castles served. Every feudal lord had his court, to which he drew the sons and daughters of the poorer gentry of his domains; and his castle was also frequented by the children of men of equal rank with himself, for (such was the modesty and courtesy of chivalry) each knight had generally some brother in arms, whom he thought better fitted than himself to grace his children with noble accomplishments.

The duties of the boy for the first seven years of his service were chiefly personal. If sometimes the harsh principles of feudal subordination gave rise to such service, it oftener proceeded from the friendly relations of life; and as in the latter case it was voluntary, there was no loss of honourable consideration in performing it. The dignity of obedience, that principle which blends the various shades of social life, and which had its origin in the patriarchal manners of early Europe, was now fostered in the castles of the feudal nobility. The light-footed youth attended the lord and his lady in the hall, and followed them in all their exercises of war and pleasure; and it was considered unknightly for a cavalier to wound a page in battle. He also acquired the rudiments of those incongruous subjects, religion, love, and war, so strangely blended in chivalry; and generally the intellectual and moral education of the boy was given by the ladies of the court.

From the lips of the ladies the gentle page learned both his catechism and the art of love, and as the religion of the day was full of symbols, and addressed to the senses, so the other feature of his devotion was not to be nourished by abstract contemplation alone. He was directed to regard some one lady of the court as the type of his heart's future mistress; she was the centre of all his hopes and wishes; to her he was obedient, faithful, and courteous.

While the young Jean de Saintre was a page of honour at the court of the French king, the Dame des Belles Cousines inquired of him the name of the mistress of his heart's affections. The simple youth replied, that he loved his lady mother, and next to her, his sister Jacqueline was dear to him. "Young man," rejoined the lady, "I am not speaking of the affection due to your mother and sister; but I wish to know the name of the lady to whom you are attached *par amours*." The poor boy was still more confused, and he could only reply, that he loved no one *par amours*. The Dame des Belles Cousines charged him with being a traitor to the laws of chivalry, and declared that his craven spirit was evinced by such an avowal. "Whence," she required, "sprang the valiancy and knightly feats of Launcelot, Gawain, Tristram, Giron the courteous, and other ornaments of the round table; of Ponthus, and of those knights and squires of this country whom I could enumerate: whence the grandeur of many whom I have known to arise to renown, except from the noble desire of maintaining themselves in the grace and esteem of the ladies; without which spirit-stirring sentiment they must have ever remained in the shades of obscurity? And do you, coward valet, presume to declare that you possess no sovereign lady, and desire to have none?"

Jean underwent a long scene of persecution on account of his confession of the want of proper chivalric sentiment, but he was at length restored to favour by the intercession of the ladies of the court. He then named as his mistress

dit Boucicaut, Maréchal de France, c. 5, 9, in the sixth volume of the large collection of French Memoirs.

* L'Histoire de Guerin de Montglaive.

Matheline de Couey, a child only ten years old. "Matheline is indeed a pretty girl," replied the Dame des Belles Cousines, "but what profit, what honour, what comfort, what aid, what council for advancing you in chivalrous fame can you derive from such a choice? You should elect a lady of noble blood, who has the ability to advise, and the power to assist you; and you should serve her so truly, and love her so loyally, as to compel her to acknowledge the honourable affection which you entertain for her. For, be assured, that there is no lady, however cruel and haughty she may be, but through long service, will be induced to acknowledge and reward loyal affection with some portion of mercy. By such a course you will gain the praise of worthy knighthood, and till then I would not give an apple for you or your achievements: but he who loyally serves his lady will not only be blessed to the height of man's felicity in this life, but will never fall into those sins which will prevent his happiness hereafter. Pride will be entirely effaced from the heart of him who endeavours by humility and courtesy to win the grace of a lady. The true faith of a lover will defend him from the other deadly sins of anger, envy, sloth, and gluttony; and his devotion to his mistress renders the thought impossible of his conduct ever being stained with the vice of incontinence."*

The military exercises of the page were not many, and they were only important, inasmuch as they were the earliest ideas of his life, and that consequently the habits of his character were formed on them. He was taught to leap over trenches, to launch or cast spears and darts, to sustain the shield, and in his walk to imitate the measured tread of the soldier. He fought with light-staves against stakes raised for the nonce, as if they had been his mortal enemies, or met in encounters equally perilous his youthful companions of the castle.* During the seven years of these instructions he was called a valet, a damoiseau, or a page. The first title was of the most ancient usage, and was thoroughly chivalric; the second is nearly of equal authority,† but the word page was not much used till so late a period as the days of Philip de Comines.‡ Before that time it was most frequently applied to the children of the vulgar.

The next titles of the candidate for chivalry were armiger, scutifer or escuyer: but though these words denoted personal military attendance, yet his personal domestic service continued for some time. He prepared the refection in the morning, and then betook himself to his chivalric exercises. At dinner he, as well as the pages, furnished forth and attended at the table, and presented to his lord and the guests the water wherewith they washed their hands before and after the repast. The knight and the squire never sat before the same table, nor was even the relation of father and son allowed to destroy this principle of chivalric subordination. We learn from Paulus Warnefridus, the historian of the Lombards in Italy, that among that nation the son of a king did not dine with his father, unless he had been knighted by a foreign sovereign.§ Such, too, was the practice among nations whose chivalry wore a brighter polish than it shone with among the Italian Lombards. In Arragon, no son of a knight sat at the table of a knight till he had been admitted into the order.‖ The young English squire in the time of Edward III. carved before his father at the table; and again in the Merchant's Tale, it is said,—

"All but a squire that hight Damian,
That carft before the knight many a day."

And about the same time the sewers

* L'Historie et plaisante Cronicque du petit Jehan de Saintré, vol. 1, c. 3—6. I have the authority of Sir Walter Scott and other able writers on chivalry, to cite this romance as good evidence for the laws and manners of knighthood. It was written in 1459; the first edition was printed in Gothic characters in 1523, and it was reprinted in three volumes, 12mo. in 1724.

* Caxton, Fayt of Armes and Chevalrye, c. 9.

† *Damoisel* et Escuyer, sont arrives à Novandel demandant chivalarie, lequel layant reçu n'est plus appellé de tels tiltres, sins seulement des tiltre de chevalier.—Amadis de Gaul, liv. 3, c. 3.

‡ Fauchet de l'Origine des Chevaliers, liv. 1, ch. 1. Monstrelet, vol. 1, c. 138. L'Histoire de Bertrand du Guesclin, c. 1.

§ Paulus Warnefridus, lib. 1, c. 23.

‖ Eximinus Petri Salonava Justitia Arragonum. Lib. de privilegiis baronum et riccorum hominum.

and cup-bearers of the Earl of Foix were his sons.* The squire cup-bearer was often as fine and spirited a character as his knight. Once, when Edward the Black prince was sojourning in Bordeaux, he entertained in his chamber many of his English lords. A squire brought wine into the room, and the prince, after he had drank, sent the cup to Sir John Chandos, selecting him as the first in honour, because he was constable of Aquitain. The knight drank, and by his command the squire bore the cup to the Earl of Oxenford, a vain, weak man, who, unworthy of greatness, was ever seeking for those poor trifles which noble knights overlooked and scorned. Feeling his dignity offended that he had not been treated according to his rank, he refused the cup, and with mocking gesture desired the squire to carry it to his master, Sir John Chandos. "Why so?" replied the youth, "he hath drank already, therefore drink you, since he hath offered it to you. If you will not drink, by St. George, I will cast the wine in your face." The Earl, judging from the stern and dogged manner of the squire, that this was no idle threat, quietly set the cup to his mouth.†

After dinner the squires prepared the chess tables or arranged the hall for minstrelsy and dancing. They participated in all these amusements; and herein the difference between the squire and the mere domestic servant was shown. In strictness of propriety the squire's dress ought to have been brown, or any of those dark colours which our ancestors used to call '*sad*.' But the gay spirit of youth was loth to observe this rule.

"Embroidered was he, as it were a mede,
Alle full of freshe floures, white and rede."

His dress was never of the fine texture, nor so highly ornamented as that of the knight. The squires often made the beds of their lords, and the service of the day was concluded by their presenting them with the vin du coucher.

"Les lis firent le Escuier,
Si coucha chacun son seignor."

Personal service was considered so much the duty of a squire that his title was always applied to some particular part of it. The squires of a lord had each his respective duties — one was the squire of the chamber, or the chamberlain; and another the carving squire. Every branch of the domestic arrangements of the castle was under the charge of an aspirant to chivalry. Spenser, who has opened to us so many interesting views of chivalric manners, has admirably painted the domestic squire discharging some of his duties: —

"There fairly them receives a gentle squire,
Of mild demeanor and rare courtesy,
Right cleanly clad in comely sad attire;
In word and deed that show'd great modesty,

* Froissart, vol. 2, c. 31.

† Froissart, vol. 2, c. 92. The Earl of Oxenford had reason to repent of his arrogance. Sir John Chandos, observes Froissart, marked well all the matter between his squire and the earl, and remained quiet till the prince was gone from them, and then coming to the earl, he said, "Sir Thomas, are you displeased that I drank before you, I am constable of this country; I may well drink before you, since my lord the prince, and other lords here, are content therewith. It is of truth that you were at the battle of Poictiers; but all who were there do not know so well as I what you did. I shall declare it. When my lord the prince had made his voyage in Languedock and Carcassone to Narbonne, and was returned hither to his town of Bordeaux, you chose to go to England. What the king said to you on your arrival I know right well, though I was not present. He demanded of you whether you had finished your voyage, and what you had done with his son the prince. You answered, that you had left him in good health at Bordeaux. Then the king said, 'How durst you be so bold as to return without him? I commanded you and all others when ye departed, that you should not return without him, and you thus presume to come again to England. I straightly command you, that within four days you avoid my realm and return again to him, and if I find you within this my realm on the fifth day, you shall lose your life, and all your heritage forever.' And you feared the king's words, as it was reason, and left the realm, and so your fortune was good, for truly you were with my lord the prince four days before the battle of Poictiers. On the day of the battle you had forty spears under your charge, and I had fourscore. Now you may see whether I ought to drink before you or not, since I am constable of Aquitain." The Earl of Oxenford was ashamed, and would gladly have been thence at the time; but he was obliged to remain and hear this reproof from that right noble knight, Sir John Chandos.

And knew his good to all of each degree,
Hight reverence. He them with speeches meet,
Does faire entreat, no courting nicety,
But simple, true, and eke unfained sweet,
As might become a squire so great persons to greet."*

The most honourable squire was he that was attached to the person of his lord; he was called the squire of the body, and was in truth for the time the only military youth of the class: every squire, however, became in turn by seniority the martial squire. He accompanied his lord into the field of battle, carrying his shield and armour, while the page usually bore the hemlet.† He held the stirrup, and assisted the knight to arm. There was always a line of squires in the rear of a line of knights; the young cavaliers supplying their lords with weapons, assisting them to rise when overthrown, and receiving their prisoners.‡

The banner of the banneret and baron was displayed by the squire. The pennon of the knight was also waved by him when his leader was only a knight, and conducted so many men-at-arms, and other vassals, that, to give dignity and importance to his command, he removed his pennon from his own lance to that of his attendant. We can readily believe the historians of ancient days, that it was right pleasant to witness the seemly pride and generous emulation with which the squires of the baron, the banneret, and the knight displayed the various ensigns of their master's chivalry.

But whatever were the class of duties to which the candidate for chivalry was attached, he never forgot that he was also the squire of dames. During his course of a valet he had been taught to play with love, and as years advanced, nature became his tutor. Since the knights were bound by oath to defend the feebler sex, so the principle was felt in all its force and spirit by him who aspired to chivalric honours. Hence proceeded the qualities of kindness, gentleness, and courtesy. The minstrels in the castles harped of love as well as of war, and from them (for all young men had not, like Sir Ipomydon, clerks for their tutors) the squire learned to express his passion in verse. This was an important feature of chivalric education, for among the courtesies of love, the present of books from knights to ladies was not forgotten, and it more often happened than monkish austerity approved of, that a volume, bound in sacred guise, contained, not a series of hymns to the Virgin Mary, but a variety of amatory effusions to a terrestrial mistress.* Love was mixed in the mind of the young squire with images of war, and he, therefore, thought that his mistress, like honour, could only be gained through difficulties and dangers; and from this feeling proceeded the romance of his passion. But while no obstacle, except the maiden's disinclination, was in his way, he sang, he danced, he played on musical instruments, and practised all the arts common to all ages and nations to win the fair. In Chaucer, we have a delightful picture of the manners of the squire: —

"Singing he was or floyting all the day,
He was as fresh as is the month of May.†
He could songs make, and well endite,
Just and eke dance, and well pourtraie and write;
So hote he loved, that by nighterdale (night time)
He slept no more than doth the nightingale."

Military exercises were mingled with the anxieties of love. He practised every mode by which strength and activity could be given to the body. He learned to endure hunger and thirst; to disregard the seasons' changes, and like the Roman

* Fair Queen, book 1, canto 10, st. 7.
† Froissart, 1, c. 269. M. Paris, 873.
‡ "Les prisons firent arreter,
Et en lieu seur tourner,
A leurs escuyers les liverent
Et à garder les commandement."

* Ulrich von Lichtenstein, p. 70. Ulrich was a German knight, who lived in the fourteenth century, and wrote his own memoirs. They often give us curious glimpses into ancient chivalry.

† Chaucer, in drawing his squire, had certainly in mind a passage from his favourite poem, "The Romaunt of the Rose:" —
"Si avoient bien a Bachalier,
Que il sache de vieler,
De fleuter et de danser."
I do not notice this circumstance on account of the literary coincidence, but to show that the squire of France and the squire of England were in Chaucer's view the same character.

youths in the Campus Martius when covered with dust, he plunged into the stream that watered the domains of his lord. He accustomed himself to wield the sword, to thrust the lance, to strike with the axe, and to wear armour. The most favourite exercise was that which was called the Quintain: for it was particularly calculated to practise the eye and hand in giving a right direction to the lance. A half figure of a man, armed with sword and buckler, was placed on a post, and turned on a pivot, so that if the assailant with his lance hit him not on the middle of the breast but on the extremities, he made the figure turn round, and strike him an ill-aimed blow, much to the merriment of the spectators. The game of the Quintain was sometimes played by hanging a shield upon a staff fixed in the ground, and the skilful squire riding apace struck the shield in such a manner as to detach it from its ligatures.*

But of all the exercises of chivalry, none was thought so important as horsemanship.

"Wel could he sit on horse and fair ride:"

— is Chaucer's praise of his young squire. Horsemanship was considered the peculiar science of men of gentle blood. That Braggadochio had not been trained in chivalry was apparent from his bad riding. Even his valiant courser chafed and foamed, for he disdained to bear any base burthen.†

Notions of religion were blended with those of arms in the mind of the squire, for his sword was blessed by the priest, and delivered to him at the altar. As he advanced to manhood he left to younger squires most of the domestic duties of his station. Without losing his title of squire he became also called a bachelor, a word also used to designate a young unmarried knight. He went on military expeditions. The squire in Chaucer, though but twenty years old, had

"Sometime been in chevauchee,
In Flanders, in Artois, and in Picardy."

Love was the inspirer of his chivalry: for he

"Bore him well, as of so little space,
In hope to stonden in his lady's grace."*

For the squire, instead of being merely the servant of the knight, often periled himself in his defence. When the knight was impetuous beyond the well-tempered bravery of chivalry, the admirer of his might followed him so close, and adventured himself so jeopardously, as to cover him with his shield.† A valiant knight, Ernalton of Saint Colombe, was on the point of being discomfited by a squire called Guillonet, of Salynges; but when the squire of Sir Ernalton saw his master almost at utterance, he went to him, and took his axe out of his hands, and said, "Ernalton, go your way, and rest you; ye can no longer fight;" and then with the axe he went to the hostile squire, says Froissart, and gave him such a stroke on the head that he was astonished, and had nigh fallen to the earth. He recovered himself, and aimed a blow at his antagonist, which would have been fatal, but that the squire slipped under it, and, throwing his arms round Guillonet,

* Du Cange, Dissert. 7, au Joinville, and Menage, Dict. Et. in verb.

† Fairy Queen, book 2, canto 3, st. 46.

"So to his steed he got, and 'gan to ride,
As one unfit therefore, that all might see
He had not trained been in chivalry;
Which well that valiant courser did discern;
For he despised to tread in dew degree,
But chaf'd and foam'd with courage fierce and stern,
And to be eas'd of that base burthen still did erne"

In the old poem called the Siege of Karvalerock, a knight is praised for not appearing on horseback like a man asleep.

"Ki kant seroit sur le cheval,
Ne sembloit home ki someille."

* Chaucer, Prologue to the Canterbury tales. Selden, Titles of Honour, part 2, c. 3, 6.

† Froissart, vol. 1, c. 321. 'The lord Languirant did that day marvels in arms, so that his own men and also strangers had marvels of his deeds. He advanced himself so much forward that he put his life in great jeopardy, for they within the town (against whose walls he was standing on a ladder), by clean force raised his helm from his head, and so had been dead without remedy, if a squire of his had not been there, who followed him so near that he covered him with his target, and the lord and he together descended down the ladder by little and little, and in their descending they received on their target many a great stroke. They were greatly praised by all that saw them.'—Berner's Froissart.

wrestled, and finally threw him. The victor exclaimed that he would slay his prostrate foe, unless he would yield himself to his master. The name of his master was asked: "Ernalton of Saint Colombe," returned the squire, "with whom thou hast fought all this season." Guillonet seeing the dagger raised to strike him, yielded him to render his body prisoner at Lourde within fifteen days after, rescue or no rescue.* The squires were brought into the *mêlée* of knights, at the famous battle of Bovines, on the 27th of July, 1214. The force of Philip Augustus was far inferior in number to that of the united Germans and Flemish; and, in order to prevent them from surrounding him, he lengthened his line by placing the squires at the two extremities of the knights. The mail-clad chivalry of the emperor Otho were indignant at such soldiers daring to front them; but the young warriors were not dismayed by haughty looks and contumelious speeches, and their active daring mainly contributed to the gaining of the victory, the most considerable one that France had ever obtained.†

Seldom before the age of twenty-one was a squire admitted to the full dignity of chivalry. Chaucer's squire was twenty, and had achieved feats of arms. St. Louis particularly commanded that the honour of knighthood should not be conferred upon any man under the age of twenty-one. As the time approached for the completing and crowning of his character, his religious duties became more strictly enforced. Knighthood was assimilated, as much as possible, to the clerical state, and prayer, confession, and fasting were necessary for the candidate for both. The squire had his sponsors, the emblems of spiritual regeneration were applied to him, and the ceremonies of inauguration commenced by considering him a new man. He went into a bath, and then was placed in a bed. They were symbolical,—the bath of purity of soul, and the bed of the rest which he was hereafter to enjoy in paradise. In the middle ages people generally reposed naked,* and it was not till after he had slept that the neophyte was clad with a shirt. This white dress was considered symbolical of the purity of his new character. A red garment was thrown over him to mark his resolution to shed his blood in the cause of Heaven. The vigil of arms was a necessary preliminary to knighthood. The night before his inauguration he passed in a church, armed from head to foot,† and engaged in prayer and religious meditation. One of the last acts of preparation was the shaving of his head to make its appearance resemble that of the ecclesiastical tonsure. To part with hair was always regarded in the church as a symbol of servitude to God.‡

The ceremony of inauguration was generally performed in a church, or a hall of a castle, on the occasion of some great religious or civic festival. The candidate advanced to the altar, and, taking his sword from the scarf to which it was appended, he presented it to the priest, who laid it upon the altar, praying that Heaven would bless it, and that it might serve for a protection of the church, of widows, and orphans, and of all the servants of God, against the tyrannies of pagans and other deceivers, in whose eyes he mercifully hoped that it would appear as an instrument of terror. The young soldier took his oaths of chivalry; he solemnly swore to defend the church, to attack the wicked, to respect the priesthood, to

* Froissart, liv. 2, c. 24.

† Rigordus in Du Chesne, vol. 5, p. 59. Mr. Maturin, in that powerful and magnificent romance, the Albigenses, has made a very fine use of the instance related above of the squirehood of Philip Augustus.

* This strange practice prevailed, says Mr. Ellis, (Specimens of Early English Poetry, vol. i., p. 325,) at a time when the day-dress of both sexes was much warmer than at present, it being generally bordered, and often lined with furs; insomuch that numberless warrens were established in the neighbourhood of London for the purpose of supplying its inhabitants with rabbit skins. "Perhaps," continues Mr. Ellis, in his usual style of pleasantry, "it was this warmth of clothing that enabled our ancestors, in defiance of a northern climate, to serenade their mistresses with as much perseverance as if they had lived under the torrid zone."

† This circumstance was satirised, as the reader must remember, by Cervantes, who did not always spare chivalry itself in his good humoured satire of the romances of chivalry.

‡ Du Cange, articles Barbani radere, and Capilli. The complete shaving of the head was not often submitted to by knights. It was generally thought sufficient if a lock of hair was cut off.

protect women and the poor, to preserve the country in tranquillity, and to shed his blood, even to the last drop, in behalf of his brethren. The priest then re-delivered the sword to him with the assurance that, as it had received God's blessing, he who wielded it would prevail against all enemies and the adversaries of the church. He then exhorted him to gird his sword upon his strong thigh, that with it he might exercise the power of equity to destroy the hopes of the profane, to fight for God's church, and defend his faithful people, and to repel and destroy the hosts of the wicked, whether they were heretics or pagans. Finally, the soldier in chivalry was exhorted to defend widows and orphans, and to restore and preserve the desolate, to revenge the wronged, to confirm the virtuous; and he was assured that by performing these high duties he would attain heavenly joys.*

The young warrior afterwards advanced to the supreme lord in the assembly, and kneeled before him with clasped hands; an attitude copied from feudal manners, and the only circumstance of feudality in the whole ceremony. The lord then questioned him whether his vows had any objects distinct from the wish to maintain religion and chivalry. The soldier having answered in the negative, the ceremony was permitted to advance. He was invested with all the exterior marks of chivalry. The knights and ladies of the court attended on him, and delivered to him the various pieces of his harness.* The armour varied with the military customs of different periods and of different countries, but some matters were of permanent usage. The spurs were always put on first, and the sword was belted on last. The concluding sign of being dubbed or adopted into the order of knighthood was a slight blow† given by the lord to the cavalier, and called the accolade, from the part of the body, the neck, whereon it was struck. The lord then proclaimed him a knight in the name of God and the Saints, and such cavaliers as were present embraced their newly-made brother, the priest exhorted him to go forth like a man, and observe the ordinances of heaven. Impressed with the solemnity of the scene, all the

* In the Fabliau of the order of knighthood the exhortation is somewhat different, and necessarily so, for the candidate was a Saracen. It was not to be expected that he would vow to destroy his erring brethren. The exhortation deserves to be extracted, for it contains some particulars not noticed in the one which I have inserted in the text. Whether specially mentioned or not, attendance at church and serving the ladies were always regarded as essentials of a knight's duty."

"Still to the truth direct thy strong desire,
And flee the very air where dwells a liar:
Fail not the mass, there still with reverend feet
Each morn be found, nor scant by offering meet:
Each week's sixth day with fast subdue thy mind,
For 'twas the day of PASSION for mankind:
Else let some pious work, some deed of grace,
With substituted worth fulfil the place:
Haste thee, in fine, where dames complain of wrong,
Maintain their right, and in their cause be strong.
For not a wight there lives, if right I deem,
Who holds fair hope of well-deserv'd esteem,
But to the dames by strong devotion bound,
Their cause sustains, nor faints for toil or wound."

WAY'S *Fabliaux*, vol. i., p. 94.

The expressive conciseness of the exhortation to the duties of knighthood in the romance of Ysaie le Triste is admirable. "Chevalier soies cruel a tes ennemys, debonnaire a tes amys, humble a non puissans, et aidez toujours le droit a soustenir, et confons celluy qui tort a vefves dames, poures pucellus et orphelins, et poures gens aymes toujours a ton pouvir, et avec ce aime toujours Saincte Eglise."

* The more distinguished the rank of the aspirant, the more distinguished were those who put themselves forward to arm him. The romances often state that the shield was given to a knight by the king of Spain, the sword by a king of England, the helmet from a French sovereign, &c.

† The word dub is of pure Saxon origin. The French word adouber is similar to the Latin adoptare, not adaptare, for knights were not made by adapting the habiliments of chivalry to them, but by receiving them, or being adopted into the order. Many writers have imagined that the accolade was the last blow which the soldier might receive with impunity; but this interpretation is not correct, for the squire was as jealous of his honour as the knight. The origin of the accolade it is impossible to trace, but it was clearly considered symbolical of the religious and moral duties of knighthood, and was the only ceremony used when knights were made in places (the field of battle, for instance), where time and circumstances did not allow of many ceremonies.

other knights renewed in a few brief and energetic sentences their vows of chivalry; and while the hall was gleaning with drawn swords, the man of God again took up the word, blessing him who had newly undertaken, and those who had been long engaged in holy warfare, and praying that all the hosts of the enemies of heaven might be destroyed by Christian chivalry. The assembly then dispersed. The new knight, on leaving the hall, vaulted on his steed, and showed his skill in the management of the lance, that the admiring people might know that a cavalier had been elected for their protection. He distributed largesses among the servants and minstrels of the castle, for whoso received so great a gift as the order of chivalry honoured not his order if he gave not after his ability. The remainder of the day passed in congratulation and festivity.*

Many of the most virtuous affections of the heart wound themselves round that important circumstance in a man's life, his admission into knighthood. He always regarded with filial piety the cavalier who invested him with the order. He never would take him prisoner if they were ranged on opposite sides, and he would have forfeited all title to chivalric honours if he had couched his lance against him.

A noble aspirant to chivalry would only receive the accolade from a warrior, whose fame had excited his emulation, or sometimes the feelings of feudal attachment prevailed over the higher and sterner sense of chivalry. In expectation of a battle, the Earl of Buckingham called forth a gentle squire of Savoy, and said, "Sir, if God be pleased, I think we shall this day have a battle; therefore I wish that you would become a knight." The squire excused himself by saying, "Sir, God thank you for the nobleness that ye would put me unto; but, Sir, I will never be a knight without I am made by the hands of my natural lord, the Earl of Savoy."†

A very singular tribute was paid to bravery during the famous battle of Homildon Hill. When the cloth-yard arrows of the English yeomen were piercing the opposite line through and through, Sir John Swinton exhorted the Scotsmen not to stand like deer to be shot at, but to indulge their ancient courage and meet their enemy hand to hand. His wish, however, was echoed only by one man, Adam Gordon, and between their families a mortal feud existed. Generously forgetting the hatred which each house bore to the other, Gordon kneeled before Swinton, and solicited to be knighted by so brave a man. The accolade was given, and the two friends, like companions in arms, gallantly charged the English. If a kindred spirit had animated the whole of the Scottish line, the fate of the day might have been reversed; but the two noble knights were only supported by about a hundred men-at-arms devoted to all their enterprises; and they all perished.*

The ceremonies of inauguration which have been described were gone through when knighthood was conferred on great and public occasions of festivity, but they often gave place to the power of rank and circumstances. Princes were exempted from the laborious offices of page and squire. Men were often adopted into chivalry on the eve of a battle, as it was considered that a sense of their new honours would inspire their gallantry. Once during the war of our Black Prince in Spain, more than three hundred soldiers raised their pennons; many of them had been squires, but in one case the distinction was entirely complimentary, for Peter the Cruel, who could boast neither chivalric qualities nor chivalric services, was dubbed. There was scarcely a battle in the middle ages which was not preceded or followed by a large promotion of men to the honour of knighthood. Sometimes, indeed, they were regularly educated squires,

* Caxton, Fayt of Armes and Chivalry, c. 49. Favyn Theatre of Honour, liv. i., c. 6. Daniel, Hist. de la Milice Francaise, liv. i., c. 4.

† Froissart, vol. i., c. 364. The romance writers made strange work of this disposition of candidates for chivalry to receive the wished for honours from the hands of redoubted heroes. In one of them a man wanted to be knighted by the famous Sir Lancelot of the Lake. He however happened to be dead, but that circumstance was of no consequence, for a sword was placed in the right hand of the skeleton, and made to drop upon the neck of the kneeling squire, who immediately rose a knight.

* Pinkerton's History of Scotland, vol. i. p. 71.

but more frequently the mere contingency of the moment was regarded, and soldiers distinguished only for their bravery and ungraced by the gentle virtues of chivalry were knighted. We often read of certain squires being made cavaliers and raising their pennons, but very often no pennons were raised, that is to say, the men who were knighted were not able to summon round their lances a single man-at-arms; hence it occurred that the world was overspread with poor knights, some of whom brought chivalry into disgrace by depredations and violence; others wandered about the world in quest of adventures, and let out their swords to their richer brethren. In the romance of Partenopex of Blois, there is a picture of a knight of this last class.

"So riding, they o'ertake an errant knight,
Well hors'd and large of limb, Sir Gaudwin hight,
He nor of castle nor of land was lord,
Houseless he reap'd the harvest of the sword;
And now, not more on fame than profit bent,
Rode with blithe heart unto the tournament;
For cowardice he held it deadly sin,
And sure his mind and bearing were akin,
The face an index to the soul within;
It seem'd that he, such pomp his train bewray'd,
Had shap'd a goodly fortune by his blade;
His knaves were point device, in livery dight,
With sumpter nags, and tents for shelter in the night."

Cavaliers sometimes took their title from the place where they were knighted: a very distinguished honour was to be called a Knight of the Mines, which was to be obtained by achieving feats of arms in the subterraneous process of a siege. The mines were the scenes of knightly valour; they were lighted up by torches; trumpets and other war instruments resounded, and the general affair of the siege was suspended, while the knights tried their prowess; the singularity of the mode of combat giving a zest to the encounters. No prisoners could be taken, as a board, breast high, placed in the passage by mutual consent, divided the warriors. Swords or short battle-axes were the only weapons used.

In the year 1388, the castle of Vertueill, in Poictou, then held by the English, was besieged by the Duke of Bourbon. Its walls raised on a lofty rock were not within the play of the battering ram, and therefore the tedious operation of the mine was resorted to: both parties frequently met and fought in the excavated chambers, and a battle of swords was one day carried on between Regnaud de Montferrand, the squire of the castle, and the Duke of Bourbon, each being ignorant of the name and quality of the other. At length the cry "Bourbon, Bourbon? Our Lady!" shouted by the attendants of the Duke, in their eager joy at the fray, struck the ears of the squire, and arrested his hand. He withdrew some paces, and inquired whether the duke was present: when they assured him of the fact, he requested to receive the honour of knighthood in the mine, from the hands of the duke, and offering to deliver up the castle to him in return for the distinction, and from respect for the honour and valour he found in him. Never was a castle in the pride of its strength and power gained by easier means. The keys were delivered to the Duke of Bourbon by Regnaud de Montferrand, and the honour of knighthood, with a goodly courser and a large golden girdle, were bestowed on the squire in return.*

Such were the various ceremonies of chivalric inauguration. Those of degradation should be noticed. What the offences were which were punishable by degradation it is impossible to specify. If a knight offended against the rules of the order of chivalry he was degraded, inasmuch as he was despised by his brother knights; and as honour was the life-blood of chivalry, he dreaded contempt more than the sword. Still, however, there were occasions when a knight might be formally deprived of his distinctions. The ceremony of degradation generally took place after sentence, and previous to the execution of a legal judgment against him.† Sometimes his sword was broken over his

* Favyn, liv. iii., c. 12. Monstrelet, vol. vi., p. 82. Honoré, Dissertations Historiques et Critiques sur la Chevaliere. 4to. Paris, 1718, p 55.

† Selden likens the degradation of a knight to the degradation of a clergyman by the canon law, previously to his being delivered over to the secular magistrate for punishment. The order of the clergy and the order of knighthood were supposed to be saved from disgrace by this ex-

head, and his spurs were chopped off; and, to make the bitterness of insult a part of the punishment, these actions were performed by a person of low condition; but at other times the forms of degradation were very elaborate. The knight who was to be degraded was in the first instance armed by his brother knights from head to foot, as if he had been going to the battle-field; they then conducted him to a high stage, raised in a church, where the king and his court, the clergy, and the people, were assembled; thirty priests sung such psalms as were used at burials; at the end of every psalm they took from him a piece of armour. First, they removed his helmet, the defence of disloyal eyes, then his cuirass on the right side, as the protector of a corrupt heart; then his cuirass on the left side, as from a member consenting, and thus with the rest; and when any piece of armour was cast upon the ground, the king of arms and heralds cried, "Behold the harness of a disloyal and miscreant knight!" A basin of gold or silver full of warm water was then brought upon the stage, and a herald holding it up, demanded the knight's name. The pursuivants answered that which in truth was his designation. Then the chief king of arms said, "That is not true, for he is a miscreant and false traitor, and hath transgressed the ordinances of knighthood." The chaplains anwered, "Let us give him his right name." The trumpets sounded a few notes, supposed to express the demand, "what shall be done with him?" The king, or his chief officer, who was present replied, "Let him with dishonour and shame be banished from my kingdom as a vile and infamous man, that hath offended against the honour of knighthood.' The heralds immediately cast the warm water upon the face of the disgraced knight, as though he were newly baptized, saying, "Henceforth thou shalt be called by thy right name, Traitor." Then the king, with twelve other knights, put upon them mourning garments, declaring sorrow, and thrust the degraded knight from the stage: by the buffetings of the people he was driven to the altar, where he was put into a coffin, and the burial-service of the church was solemnly read over him.*

The English customs regarding degradation are minutely stated by Stowe in the case of an English knight, Sir Andrew Harcloy, Earl of Carlisle, who (in the time of Edward II.) was deprived of his knighthood, previously to his suffering the penalties of the law for a treasonable correspondence with Robert Bruce. "He was led to the bar as an earl, worthily apparelled, with his sword girt about him, horsed, booted, and spurred, and unto him Sir Anthony Lucy, (his judge) spoke in this manner: 'Sir Andrew,' quoth he, 'the king for thy valiant service hath done thee great honour, and made thee Earl of Carlisle, since which time thou as a traitor to thy lord, the king, led his people, that should have helped him at the battle of Heighland, away by the county of Copland, and through the earldom of Lancaster, by which means our lord the king was discomfited there of the Scots, through thy treason and falseness; whereas, if thou haddest come betimes, he hadde had the victory, and this treason thou committed for the great sum of gold and silver that thou received of James Douglas, a Scot, the king's enemy. Our lord the king wills, therefore, that the order of knighthood, by the which thou received all the honour and worship upon thy body, be brought to nought, and thy state undone, that other knights of lower degree may after thee beware and take example truly to serve.' Then commanded he to hew his spurs from his heels, then to break his sword over his head, which the king had given him to keep and defend his land therewith, when he made him earl. After this, he let unclothe him of his furred tabard, and of his hood, of his coat of arms, and also of his girdle; and when this was done, Sir Anthony said unto him, 'Andrew,' quoth he, 'now art thou no knight, but a knave; and for thy treason the king wills that thou shalt be hanged and drawn, and thy head smitten off from thy body, and burned before thee, and thy body quartered, and thy head being smitten off, afterwards to be set upon London bridge, and thy four quarters shall be sent into four good towns of England, that all others may beware by

pulsion of an unworthy member. Selden, Titles of Honour, p. 787.

* Segar, Of Honour, lib. ii., c. 5.

thee;' and as Sir Anthony Lucy had said, so was it done in all things on the last day of October."*

CHAPTER III.

THE EQUIPMENT.

Beauty of the chivalric Equipment.—The Lance.—The Pennon.—The Axe, Maule, and Martel.—The Sword.—Fondness of the Knight for it.—Swords in romances.—The Shield.—Various sorts of Mail.—Mail.—Mail and Plate.—Plate Harness.—The Scarf.—Surcoats.—Armorial Bearings.—Surcoats of the Military Orders.—The Dagger of Mercy.—Story of its Use.—Value of Inquiries into ancient Armour.—A precise Knowledge unattainable.—Its general Features interesting.—The broad Lines of the Subject.—Excellence of Italian Armour.—Armour of the Squire, &c.—Allegories made on Armour.—The Horse of the Knight.

THE fierce equipage of war deserves a fuller consideration than was given to it in the last chapter. The horse whereon the knight dashed to the perilous encounter should be described, the weapons by which he established the honour of his fame and the nobleness of his mistress' beauty deserve something more than a general notice. Never was military costume more splendid and graceful than in the days which are emphatically called "The days of the shield and the lance." What can modern warfare present in comparison with the bright and glittering scene of a goodly company of gentle knights pricking on the plain with nodding plumes, emblazoned shields, silken pennons streaming in the wind, and the scarf, that beautiful token of lady-love, crossing the strong and polished steel cuirass.

The lance was the chief offensive weapon of the knight: its staff was commonly formed from the ash-tree.

Its length was fitted to the vigour and address of him who bore it, and its iron and sharpened head was fashiond agreeably to his taste. To the top of the wooden part of the lance was generally fixed an ensign, or piece of silk, linen, or stuff. On this ensign was marked the cross, if the expedition of the soldier had for its object the Holy Land, or it bore some part of his heraldry; and in the latter case, when the lance was fixed in the ground near the entrance of the owner's tent, it served to designate the bearer. Originally this ensign was called a gonfanon, the combination of two Teutonic words, signifying war and a standard. Subsequently, when the ensign was formed of rich stuffs and silks, it was called a pennon, from the Latin word pannus.* The pennon cannot be described from its exact breadth, for that quality of it varied with the different fancies of knights, and it had sometimes one, but more often two indentations at the end.

When the pennon was cut square on occasion of a simple knight becoming a knight banneret it received the title of a banner, the ancient German word for the standard of a leader or prince.†

To transfix his foe with a lance was the ordinary endeavour of a knight; but some cavaliers of peculiar hardihood preferred to come to the closest quarters, where the lance could not be used. The battle-axe, which they therefore often wielded, needs no particular description. But the most favourite weapons were certain ponderous steel or iron hammers, carrying death either by the weight of their fall or the sharpness of the edge. They were called the martel and the maule, words applied indifferently in old times; for writers of days of chivalry cared little about extreme accuracy of

* Stow's Chronicle.

† The iron of Poictou was particularly famous for making admirable lance-heads; nor was it disliked as a shield. Thus an old French poet says, —

"Et fu armé so le cheval de pris,
D'Aubere, et d'iaume d'escu Poitevin."
Du Cange, art. Ferrum Pictavense.

The iron of Bourdeaux is frequently mentioned by Froissart as of excellent use in armour. I.iv. 2, c. 117, 4, 6. And the old chronicle of Bertrand du Guesclin says, —

"Un escuier y vint qui au comte lanca
D'une espée de Bourdeaux, qui moult chier li cousta"

* Menage, Diction. Etym. in verb.

† It is not worth while to say much about mere words. I shall only add that the banner was sometimes called the Gonfanon.

"Li Barons aurent gonfanons,
Li chevaliers aurent penons."

diction, not foreseeing the fierce disputes which their want of minuteness in description would give rise to. This was the weapon which ecclesiastics used when they buckled harness over rochet and hood, and holy ardour impelled them into the field; for the canons of the church forbad them from wielding swords, and they always obeyed the letter of the law. Some cavaliers, in addition to their other weapons, carried the mallet, or maule, hanging it at their saddle bow, till the happy moment for 'breaking open skulls' arrived. When it was used alone, this description of offensive armour was rather Gothic than chivalric; yet the rudeness of earlier ages had its admirers in all times of chivalry, the affected love of simplicity not being peculiar to the present day. A lance could not execute half the sanguinary purposes of Richard Cœur de Lion, and it was with a battle-axe,* as often as with a sword, that he dashed into the ranks of the Saracens. Bertrand du Guesclin had a partiality for a martel, and as late as the year 1481 the battle-axe was used.

Among the hosts of the Duke of Burgundy was a knight named Sir John Vilain. He was a nobleman from Flanders, very tall, and of great bodily strength: he was mounted on a good horse, and held a battle-axe in both hands. He pressed his way into the thickest part of the battle, and, throwing his bridle on the neck of his steed, he gave such mighty blows on all sides with his battle-axe that whoever was struck was instantly unhorsed, and wounded past recovery.* Generally speaking, however, the polite and courteous knights of chivalry thought it an ungentle practice to use a weapon which was associated with ideas of trade; and the romance-writers, who reflect the style of thinking of their times, commonly give the lance to the knight, and the axe or mallet to some rude and ferocious giant.†

The usual weapon for the press and mêlée was the sword, and there were a great many interesting associations attached to it. The knight threw round it all his affections. In that weapon he particularly trusted. It was his *good* sword, and with still more confidence and kindness he called it his *own good* sword. He gave it a name, and engraved on it some moral sentence, or a word referring to a great event of his life. Not indeed that these sentences were confined to the sword; they were sometimes engraven on the frontier of the hemlet, or even on the spurs,‡ but the hilt or blade of the sword were their usual and proper places. The sword rather than the lance was the weapon which represented the chivalry of a family, and descended as the heir-loom of its knighthood. When no one inherited his name, there was as much generous contention among his friends to possess his good sword, as in the days of Greece poetry has ascribed to the warriors who wished for the armour of Achilles.§ The sword was the weapon which connected the religious and military parts of the chivalric character. The knight swore by his sword, for its cross hilt was emblematical of his Saviour's cross.

> David in his daies dubbed knights,
> And did him *swere on her sword* to serve truth ever.
>
> P. Ploughman.

The word Jesus was sometimes engraven on the hilt to remind the wearer of his religious duties. The sword was his only crucifix, when mass was said in the awful pause between the forming of the military array and the laying of lances

* This battle-axe is very amusingly described in the metrical romance of Richard Cœur de Lion: —

> "King Richard I understand,
> Or he went out of England,
> Let him make an axe for the nones,
> To break therewith the Sarasyns bones.
> The bead was wrought right wele,
> Therein was twenty pounds of steel,
> And when he came into Cyprus land,
> The ax he took in his hand.
> All that he hit he all to-frapped,
> The Griffons away fast rapped
> Natheless many he cleaved,
> And their unthanks thereby lived,
> And the prison when he came to,
> With his ax he smot right thro,
> Dores, barres, and iron chains,
> And delivered his men out of pains."
>
> Line 2197, &c.

* Monstrelet. Johnes' edit., vol. 5, p. 294.

† Thus Pandora the giant in Palmerin of England carried a huge mallet: — but I need not multiply instances.

‡ En loyal amour tout mon cœur, was a favourite motto on the shank of a spur.

§ Ritterzeit und Ritterwesen, vol. 1, p. 193.

in their rests. It was moreover his consolation in the moment of death. When that doughty knight of Spain, Don Rodrigo Frojaz was lying upon his shield, with his helmet for a pillow, he kissed the cross of his sword in remembrance of that on which the incarnate son of God had died for him, and in that act of devotion rendered up his soul into the hands of his Creator.*

The handle of the sword was also remarkable for another matter. The knight, in order not to lose the advantage of having his seal by him, caused it to be cut in the head of his sword, and thus by impressing his seal upon any wax attached to a legal document, he exhibited his determination to maintain his obligation by the threefold figure of his seal, the upholden naked sword, and the cross.†

The sword of the knight was held in such high estimation, that the name of its maker was thought worthy of record. Thus when Geoffrey of Plantagenet received the honour of knighthood, a sword was brought out of the royal treasury, the work of Galan, the best of all sword smiths.‡ Spain was always famous for the temper and brilliancy of its swords. Martial speaks in several places of the Spanish swords which, when hot from the forge, were plunged into the river Salo near Bilbilis in Celtiberia. The armourers at Saragossa were as renowned in days of chivalry as those of Toledo in rather later times, for it was not only the sword of Toledo that became a proverbial phrase for the perfection of the art. Sometimes the armourers had establishments in both towns. The excellence, however, of the swords of Julian del Rey, who lived both at Saragossa and Toledo, is referred to by the keeper of the lions in Don Quixote. The weapons of this artist had their peculiar marks. El perillo, a little dog; el morillo, a Moor's head, and la loba, a wolf.§

But perhaps it may be thought I am passing the bounds of my subject. To return then to earlier days. The girdle round the waist, or the bauldrick descending from the shoulder across the body was simple tanned leather only, or sometimes its splendour rivalled that of prince Arthur in the Fairy Queen.

Athwart his breast a bauldrick brave he ware
That shind like twinkling stars, with stones most precious rare;
* * * * *
And in the midst thereof, one precious stone
Of wondrous worth, and eke of wondrous mights,
Shapt like a lady's head, exceeding shone,
Like Hesperus among the lesser lights,
And strove for to amaze the weaker sights:
Thereby his mortal blade full comely hung
In ivory sheath, ycarv'd with curious sights,
Whose hilt was burnish'd gold, and handle strong
Of mother perle, and buckled with a golden tong.
Book 1, c. 7. st. 29, 30.

Many of the historical circumstances just now related regarding the sword of the knights are pleasingly exaggerated in the beautiful extravagancies of romantic fabling. The most famous sword in the imagination of our ancestors was that of king Arthur; it was called Escalibert (corrupted into Caliburn). The romance of Merlin thus explains the name. Escalibert est un nom Ebricu qui vault autant à dire en Français, comme tres cher fer et acier, et aussi dissoyent il vrai. The history of this sword enters largely into the romances of Arthur, and the knights of the round table, and the subject was fondly cherished by those who detailed the exploits of other heroes. The fame of Caliburn was remembered when Richard the first went to the East. The romances affirm that he wore the terrible and trusty sword of Arthur. But, instead of mowing down ranks of Saracens with it, he presented it to Tancred, king of Sicily.

And Richard at that time gaf him a faire juelle.
The good sword Caliburne, which Arthur luffed so well.*

The romancer followed the practices of the northern scalds,† of naming the swords of knights: that of Sir Bevis of Hampton was called Morglay; and that of the Emperor Charlemagne himself

* Chronicle of the Cid, p. 46.
† Ritterzeit und Ritterwesen, vol. 1, p. 201.
‡ Hovedon.
§ Pellicer's note on Don Quixote, edit. Madrid, 1798. Dillon's Travels in Spain, p. 143.

* Robert of Brune.
† Wormius, Lit. Run., p. 110. Hickes Thes. vol. 1, p. 193.

Fusberta joyosa.* The poets were also as faithful delineators of manners as their predecessors the romance writers had been, and therefore we find in Ariosto that the sword of the courteous Rogero was called Balisarda, and that of Orlando, Durindana.

In the romance of Sir Otuel, the address of the same Orlando to his sword is perfectly in the spirit of chivalry.

Then he began to make his moan
And fast looked thereupon,
As he held it in his hond.
"O sword of great might,
Better bare never no knight,
To win with no lond!
Thou hasty — be in many batayle,
That never Sarazin, sans fayle
Ne might thy stroke withstond.
Go! let never no paynim
Into battle bear him,
After the death of Roland!
O sword of great powere,
In this world n'is nought thy peer,
Of no metal y—wrought;
All Spain and Galice,
Through grace of God and thee y—wis,
To Christendom ben brought.
Thou art good withouten blame;
In thee is graven the holy name
That all things made of nought."†

Regarding inscriptions on swords mentioned in the concluding lines, there is a very interesting passage in the romance of Giron the courteous. On one occasion where the chaste virtue of that gentle knight and noble companion of Arthur was in danger, his spear, which he had rested against a tree, fell upon his sword, and impelled it into a fountain. Giron immediately left the lady with whom he was conversing, and ran to the water. He snatched the weapon from the fountain, and, throwing away the scabbard, began to wipe the blade. Then his eyes lighted on the words that were written on the sword, and these were the words that were thus written:—Loyaulte passe tout, et faulsete si honneit tout, et deceit tous hommes dedans quals elle se herberge. This sentence acted with talismanic power upon the heart of that noble knight Giron the courteous, and so his virtue was saved.

Leaving those pictures of manners which the old romances have painted, I come to the defensive harness of the knight, a subject which has many claims to attention. The shield was held in equal esteem in chivalric as in classic times; for

"To lose the badge that should his deeds display,"

was considered the greatest shame and fouldest scorn that could happen to a knight. The shape of the shield was oblong or triangular, wide at the top for the protection of the body, and tapering to the bottom.* Other shapes were given to it agreeably to the fancy of the knight, and it was plain or adorned with emblazonry of arms and other ornaments of gold and silver, according to his estate, and the simplicity or comparative refinement of his age. Some knights, as gentle as brave, adorned their shields with a portrait of their lady-love,† or stamped on them impresses quaint, with a device emblematical of their passion. Knights formed of sterner stuff retained their heraldic insignia, and their mottoes breathed war and homicide; but gallant cavaliers showed the gentleness of their minds, and their impressed sentences were sometimes plain of meaning, but oftener dark to all, except the knight himself, and the damsel whose playful wit had invented them. We can readily imagine that those amorous devices and impresses were not so frequently used in the battle-field as in the tournament, and that they were sometimes worn together with gentilitial distinctions.

The casing of the body is a very cu-

* The notion of applying the word jocosé to a sword is thus pleasantly dilated on by St. Palaye. "Ils ont continuellement repandu sur toutes les images de la guerre un air d'enjouement, qui leur est propre: ils n'ont jamais parlé que comme d'une fête, d'un jeu, et d'un passe-temps. *Jouer leur jeu*, ont-ils dit, les arbalétriérs qui faisoient pleuvoir une grêle de traits. *Jouer gros jeu*, pour donner battaile. *Jouer des mains*, et une infinité d'autres façons de parler semblables se recontrent souvent dans la lecture de recits militaires nos écrivains."

† Ellis' Metrical Romances, 2, 362.

* The shield therefore was fitted by its shape to bear a wounded knight from the field, and to that use it was frequently applied. Another purpose is alluded to in the spirited opening to the Lay of the Gentle bachelor.

"What gentle Bachelor is he
Sword-begot in fighting field,
Rock'd and cradled in a shield,
Whose infant food a helm did yield."

† Malmsbury, p. 170.

rious subject of inquiry. The simplicity of ancient times, in using the skins of beasts, is marked in the word *loricum*, from the word *lorum*, a thong, and the word *cuirasse* is traceable to *cuir*, leather. Body harness has three general divisions; mail; plate and mail mixed; plate mail entirely. Rows of iron rings, sown on the dress, were the first defences, and then, for additional defence, a row of larger rings was laid over the first. These rings gave way to small iron plates which lapped over each other, and this variety of mail is interesting, for armour now resembled the *lorica squammata* of the Romans, and hence ancient mail of this description has generally been called scale-mail, while the ordinary appearance of armour being like the meshes of a net, gained it the title of mail from the *macula* of the Latins, and the *maglia* of the Italians. Sometimes the plates were square, and sometimes of a lozenge form: but it would be considering the matter much too curiously to divide armour into as many species as the shapes and forms which a small piece of iron or steel was capable of being divided into.*

All this variety of mail harness was sown on an under garment of leather or cloth, or a more considerable wadding of various sorts of materials, and called a gambeson. If the garment were a simple tunic or frock the whole was called a hauberk. The lower members were fended by *chausses*, which may be intelligible to modern understandings by the words breeches or pantaloons. When the mailed frock and *chausses* were joined, the union was called the haubergeon. In each case, the back and crown of the head were saved harmless, by a hood of mail, which sometimes formed part of the hauberk or haubergeon, and sometimes was detached. In Spain, the hood and the other parts of the dress were united, if the case of the Cid be held as evidence of the general state of manners; for after his battles he is always represented as slowly quitting the field with his gory hood thrown back. The mail covered also the chin, and sometimes the mouth; in the latter case the office of breathing being entirely committed to the care of the nose. Finally, the sleeves of the jacket were carried over the fingers, and a continuation of the *chausses* protected the toes.

"A goodly knight all arm'd in harness meet
That from his head no place appeared to his feete."

It is curious that foppery in armour began at the toe. It was the fashion for the knight to have the toe of the mail several inches in length and inclining downwards. To fight on foot with such incumbrances was impossible, and therefore the enemies of the crusaders (for foppery prevailed even in religious wars) shot rather at the horses than at the men. The fashion I am speaking of crossed the Pyrenees, for in the pictoral representation of a tournament at Grenada, between Moorish and Christian knights, the former are drawn with the broad shovel shoes of their country, while the latter have long pointed shoes, like the cavaliers of the North.

Such were the various descriptions of mail armour from the earliest æra of chivalry to the thirteenth century. They were worn at different times in different countries, and often in the same country at the same time by different individuals: but at length so excellent an improvement was made in chain mail, that military fashion could have no longer any pretence for variety. The different descriptions of mail armour show the skill of the iron-smiths among our ancestors, and that they were capable of inventing the next and last great change. But as it was made at a time when the Asiatic mode of warfare was known in Europe, and as the improvement I am about to mention was the general mode of the Saracenian soldiers, it is as probable that it was borrowed as that it was invented. The rings of mail were now no longer sewn on the dress, but they were interlaced, each ring having four others inserted into it, and consequently the rings formed a garment of themselves. The best coats of mail were made of double rings.* The admirable

* Dr. Meyrick, in his huge work on armour, divides the sorts of this early mail into the rustred, the scaled, the trellissed, the purpointed, and the tegulated. The grave precision of this enumeration will amuse the curious inquirer into the infinite divisibility of matter.

* In a masterly dissertation upon Ancient Armour, in the sixtieth number of the Quarterly

convenience of this twisted or reticulated mail secured its general reception. A knight was no longer encumbered by his armour in travelling. His squire might be the bearer of his mail, for it was both flexible and compact, or it could be rolled upon the hinder part of a saddle.

Before, however, this last great improvement in mail-armour took place, changes were made in that general description of harness which foretold its final fall, although it might be partially and for a time supported by any particular invention of merit. Plates of solid steel or iron were fixed on the breast or other parts of the body, where painful experience had assured the wearer of the insufficiency of his metal rings. The new fashion of reticulated mail added nothing to the strength of defence, and, therefore, ingenuity and prudence were ever at work to make defensive armour equal to offensive. New plates continually were added, and many of them received their titles from the parts of the body which they were intended to defend: the pectoral protected the breast, the cuisses were for the thighs, the brassarts for the arms, the ailettes for the shoulders, while the gorget defended the throat, and a scaly guantlet gloved the hand. The cuirass was the title for the defence of the breast and the back. This mixed harness gained ground till the knight had nearly a double covering of mail and plate. The plate was then found a perfect defence, and the mail was gradually thrown aside; and thus, finally, the warrior was entirely clad in steel plates. This harness was exceedingly oppressive to the limbs, and therefore we find the circumstance so frequently mentioned in old writers, that when a knight alighted at his hostel or inn, he not only doffed his armour, but went into a bath. No wonder that it was necessary to keep changes of dress to present to the cavaliers who arrived. Plate armour must have been as destructive of clothes as the old chain mail, and describing his knight, Chaucer says.

> "Of fustian he wered a gipon
> Alle besmotred with his harbergeon.
> For he was of late y come fro his viage,
> And wente for to don his pilgrimage."

The plate harness was in one respect far more inconvenient than the armour it superseded. The coat of chain mail could be put on or slipped off with instantaneous celerity; but the dressing of a plate-armed knight was no simple matter.

> "From the tents
> The armourers, accomplishing the knights,
> With busy hammers closing rivets up,
> Give dreadful note of preparation."

Besides this deprivation of rest before a battle, the knight, in order to prevent surprise, was obliged to wear his heavy harness almost constantly.

It is curious to observe, that chain mail formed some part of the harness of a knight until the very last days of chivalry, chivalric feelings seeming to be associated with that ancient form of armour. It was *let into* the plates round the neck, and thus there was a collar or tippet of mail; and it also generally hung over other parts of the body, where, agreeably to its shape and dimensions, it became, if I may again express myself in the language of ladies, if not of antiquarians, an apron or a short petticoat.

The armour of the knight was often crossed by a scarf of silk embroidered by his lady-love. He wore also a dress which in different times was variously designated as a surcoat, a cyclas, or a tabard. It was long* or short, it opened at the sides, in the back, or in the front, as fashion or caprice ruled the wearer's mind; but it was always sleeveless. Originally simple cloth was its material; but as times and luxury advanced it became richer. For the reason that this sort of dress was almost the only one in which the lords, knights, and barons

Review, it is said, that "though chain-mail was impervious to a sword-cut, yet it afforded no defence against the bruising stroke of the ponderous battle-axe and martel; it did not always resist the shaft of the long or cross-bow, and still less could it repel the thrust of the lance or the long-pointed sword." There is a slight mistake here. All good coats of mail were formed of duplicated rings, and their impenetrability to a lance thrust was an essential quality. "Induitur lorica incomparabili, quæ maculis duplicibus intexta, nullius lanceæ ictibus transforabilis haberetur." Mon. l. 1. ann. 1127.

* Froissart describes Sir John Chandos as dressed in a long robe, which fell to the ground, blazoned with his arms on white sarcenet, argent a field gules, one on his breast, and another on his back.

could display their magnificence, and because it covered all their clothing and armour, they had it usually made of cloths of gold or silver, of rich skins, furs of ermine, sables, minever, and others.* There was necessarily more variety in the appearance of the surcoat than in that of any other part of his harness, and hence it became the distinction of a knight. In public meetings and in times of war the lords and knights were marked by their coats of arms; and when they were spoken of, or when any one wished to point them out by an exterior sign, it was sufficient to say that he wears a coat of or, argent, gules, sinople, gris, ermine, or vair, or still shorter, he bears or, gules, &c., the words coat of arms being understood. But as these marks were not sufficient to distinguish in solemn assemblies, or in times of war every lord, when all were clothed in coats of arms of gold, silver, or rich furs, they, in process of time, thought proper to cut the cloths of gold, and silver, and furs, which they wore over their armour, into various shapes of different colours, observing, however, as a rule, never to put fur on fur, nor cloths of gold on those of silver, nor those of silver on gold; but they intermixed the cloths with the furs, in order to produce variety and relief.† With these cloths and furs were mingled devices or cognisances symbolical of some circumstance in the life of the knight, and with the crest the whole formed in modern diction the coat of arms.

Every feudal lord assumed the right of choosing his own armorial distinctions: they were worn by all his family, and were hereditary. It was also in his power to grant arms to knights and squires as marks of honour for military merit; and from all these causes armorial distinctions represented the feudalism, the gentry, and the chivalry of Europe. One knight could not give more deadly offence to another than by wearing his armorial bearings without his permission, and many a lance was broken to punish such insolence. Kings, as their power arose above that of the aristocracy, assumed the right of conferring these distinctions; —an assumption of arms without royal permission was an offence, and the business of heralds was enlarged from that of being mere messengers between hostile princes into a court for the arranging of armorial honours. Thus the usurpation of kings was beneficial to society, for disputes regarding arms and cognisances were settled by heralds and not by battle.

It is totally impossible to mark the history of these circumstances. Instances of emblazoned sopra vests are to be met with in times anterior to the crusades. They were worn during the continuance of mail and of mixed armour: but they gradually went out of usage as plate armour became general, it being then very much the custom to enamel or emboss the heraldic distinctions on the armour itself, or to be contented with its display on the shield or the banner. On festival occasions and tournaments, however, all the gorgeousness of heraldic splendour was exhibited upon the cyclas or tabard.

A word may be said on the surcoats of the military orders. The knights of St. John and the Temple wore plain sopra vests, and their whole harness was covered by a monastic mantle, marked with the crosses of their respective societies. The colour of the mantle worn by the knights of St. John was black, and from that colour being the usual monastic one, they were called the military friars. Their cross was white. The brethren of the Temple wore a white mantle with a red cross, and hence their frequent title, the Red Cross Knights.

The history of the covering of the head is not altogether unamusing. The knight was not contented to trust the protection of that part of himself to his mailed hood alone; he wore a helmet, whose shape was at first conical, then cylindrical, and afterwards resumed its pristine form. The defence of the face became a matter of serious consideration, and a broad piece of iron was made to connect the frontlet of the helm with the mail over the mouth.* This nasal piece was not in general use, it being a very imperfect

* Du Cange, Dissert. the first on Joinville. The extravagance of people in the middle ages on the subject of furs is the theme of perpetual complaint with contemporary authors. By two statutes of the English parliament, holden at London in 1334 and 1363, all persons who could not expend one hundred pounds a-year were forbidden to wear furs.

† Du Cange, ubi supra.

* Montfaucon, Pl. 2. xiv. 7, and Gough, i. 137.

protection from a sword-cut, and the knight found it of more inconvenience than service when his vanquisher held him to earth by it. Cheek-pieces of bars, placed horizontally or perpendicularly, attached to the helmet, were substituted or introduced. Then came the aventaile, or iron mask, joined to the helmet, with apertures for the eyes and mouth. It was at first fixed and immoveable, but ingenuity afterwards assisted those face defences. By means of pivots the knight could raise or let fall the plates or grating before the face, and the defence was called a visor. Subsequently, plates were brought up from the chin, and this moveable portion of the hemlet was called, as most people know, the bever, from the Italian *bevere*, to drink. In early times the helmet was without ornament; it afterwards (though the exact time it is impossible to fix) was surmounted by that part of the armorial bearings called the crest. A lady's glove or scarf was often introduced, and was not the least beautiful ornament. The Templars and the knights of St. John were not permitted to adorn their helmets with the tokens either of nobility or of love; the simplicity of religion banishing all vain heraldic distinctions, and the soldier-priests being obliged, like the monks themselves, to pretend to that ascetic virtue which was so highly prized in the middle ages.

All the splendour of chivalry is comprised in the helmet of prince Arthur.

"His haughty helmet, horrid all with gold,
Both glorious brightness and great terror bred;
For all the crest a dragon did enfold
With greedy paws, and over all did spred
His golden wings: his dreadful hideous head
Close couched on the bever, seem'd to throw
From flaming mouth bright sparkles fiery red,
That sudden horror to faint hearts did show,
And scaly tail was stretch'd adowne his back full low.

"Upon the top of all his lofty crest
A bunch of hairs discoloured diversely,
With sprinkled pearl and gold full richly drest,
Did shake and seem'd to dance for jollity,
Like to an almond-tree ymounted hye
On top of green Selinis all alone,
With blossoms brave bedecked daintily;
Whose tender locks do tremble every one
At every little breath that under heaven is blown."*

The helmet, with its visor and bever, was carried by the squire, or page, on the pommel of his saddle, a very necessary measure for the relief of the knight, particularly when the sarcasm of the Duke of Orleans was applicable, that "if the English had any intellectual armour in their heads, they could never wear such heavy head-pieces."*

The reader should know, with the barber in Don Quixote, that, except in the hour of battle, a knight wore only an open casque, or bacinet, a light and easy covering. The bacinet derived its title from its resemblance to a basin; but the word was sometimes used, however improperly, for the helmet, the close helmet of knighthood. A visor might be attached to the bacinet, and then the covering for the head became a helmet. Bacinez à visieres are often spoken of.

The helmet of war appeared to complete the perfection of defensive harness; for the lance broke hurtless on the plate of steel, the arrow and quarrel glanced away, and it is only in romance that we read of swords cutting through a solid front of iron, or piercing both plate and mail, as some bolder spirits say.

"From top to toe no place appeared bare,
That deadly dint of steel endanger may."†

The only way by which death could be inflicted was by thrusting a lance through the small holes in the visor. Such a mode of death was not very common, for the cavalier always bent his face almost to the saddle-bow when he charged. The knight, however, might be unhorsed in the shock of the two adverse lines, and he was in that case at the mercy of the foe who was left standing. But how to kill the human being enclosed in the rolling mass of steel was the question; and the armourer, therefore, invented a thin dagger, which could be inserted between the plates. This dagger was called the dagger of mercy, apparently a curious title, considering it was the instrument of death; but, in truth, the laws of chivalry obliged the conqueror to show mercy, if, when the dagger was drawn, the prostrate foe yielded himself, rescue or no rescue.

* Fairy Queen, Book i., canto vii., st. 31, 32.

* Shakspeare, Henry V., Act. iii., sc. 7.
† Fairy Queen, Book i., c. 7, st. 29.

It may be noticed that a dagger or short sword was worn by the knight even in days of chain mail, for the hauberk was a complete case.

"Straight from his courser leaps the victor knight,
And bares his deadly blade to end the fight;
The uplifted hauberk's skirt he draws aside,
In his foe's flank the avenging steel is dyed."*

Froissart's pages furnish us with an interesting tale, descriptive of the general chivalric custom, regarding the dagger of mercy. About the year 1390, the lord of Langurante in Gascony rode forth with forty spears and approached the English fortress called Cadilhac. He placed his company in ambush, and said to them, "Sirs, tarry you still here, and I will go and ride to yonder fortress alone, and see if any will issue out against us." He then rode to the barriers of the castle, and desired the keeper to show to Bernad Courant, their captain, how that the lord Langurante was there, and desired to joust with him a course. "If he be so good a man, and so valiant in arms as it is said," continued the challenger, "he will not refuse it for his ladies sake: if he do, it shall turn him to much blame, for I shall report it wheresoever I go, that for cowardice he hath refused to run with me one course with a spear."

A squire of Bernard reported this message to his master, whose heart beginning to swell with ire, he cried, "Get me my harness, and saddle my horse; he shall not go refused." Incontinently he was armed, and mounted on his war steed, and taking his shield and spear, he rode through the gate and the barriers into the open field. The lord Langurante seeing him coming was rejoiced, and couched his spear like a true knight, and so did Bernard. Their good horses dashed at each other, and their lances struck with such equal fierceness that their shields fell in pieces, and as they crossed Bernard shouldered sir Langurante's horse in such a manner that the lord fell out of the saddle. Bernard turned his steed shortly round, and as the lord Langurante was rising, his foe, who was a strong as well as a valiant squire, took his bacinet with both his hands, and wrenching it from his head, cast it under his horse's feet. On seeing all this the lord of Langurante's men quitted their ambush, and were coming to the rescue of their master, when Bernard drew his dagger, and said to the lord, "Sir, yield you my prisoner, rescue or no rescue; or else you are but dead." The lord, who trusted to the rescue of his men, spoke not a word; and Bernard then gave him a death-blow on his bare head, and dashing spurs into his horse, he fled within the barriers.*

Such was the general state of armour in days of chivalry. A more detailed account of the subject cannot be interesting; for what boots it to know the exact form of dimensions of any of the numerous plates of steel that encased the knight. Nor indeed was any shape constant long; for fashion was as variable and imperious in all her changes in those times as in ours; and as we turn with contempt from the military foppery of the present day, little gratification can be expected from too minute an inspection of the vanities of our forefathers. Chaucer says,

"With him ther wenten knights many on,
Some wol ben armed in an habergeon,
And in a breast-plate, and in a gipon;
And som wol have a pair of plates large;
And som wol have a pruse sheld or a targe.
Som wol ben armed on his legges well,
And have an axe, and some a mace stele.
'Ther n' is no newe guise, that it n' as old.
Armed they weren, as I have you told,
Everich after his opinion."

A chronological history of armour, minutely accurate, is unattainable, if any deduction may be made from the books of laborious dulness which have hitherto appeared on the armour of different countries. Who can affirm that the oldest specimen which we possess of any particular form of harness is the earliest specimen of its kind? No one can determine the precise duration of a fashion; for after ruling the world for some time it suddenly disappears, but some years afterwards it rears its head again to the confusion and dismay of our antiquarians.

Our best authorities sometimes fail us. The monumental effigies were not always carved at the moment of the knight's

* Lay of the Knight and the Sword.

* Froissart, livre i., c. 342.

death: that the bust is tardily raised to buried merit is not the peculiar reproach of our times. It is complimenting the sculptors of the middle ages too highly if we suppose that they did not sometimes violate accuracy, in order to introduce some favourite fashion of their own days. As for the illuminations of manuscripts which are so much boasted of, they are often the attempts of a scribe to imitate antiquity, beautiful in respect of execution, but of problematical accuracy, and more frequently mark the age when the manuscript was copied, than that when the work was originally written. We know that violation of costume was common in the romances. Thus, in the Morte d'Arthur, an unknown knight, completely armed, and having his visor lowered so as to conceal his features, entered the hall of the king. Again,

"Cometh Sir Launcelot du Lake,
Ridand right into the hall;
His steed and armour all was blake,
His visere over his eyen falle."*

Now if the romance whence the above lines are extracted is to be considered as a picture of the earliest days of chivalry it is certainly incorrect, for it was not before the middle age of knighthood that the face was concealed by a visor, the earlier defence of the nasal piece certainly not serving as a mask. The romances are unexceptionable witnesses for the general customs of chivalry, but we cannot fix their statements to any particular time, for they were varied and improved by successive repetitions and transcriptions, and when they were rendered into prose still further changes were made in order to please the taste of the age. Thus, in an old Danish romance, a knight fighting for his lady remains on his horse; but when in the fifteenth century the tale was translated into the idioms of most chivalric countries, he is represented as alighting from his milk-white steed and giving it to his fair companion to hold; and the reason of this departure from the old ballad was that the translators, wishing to make their work popular, adapted it to the manners of the age; and it was the general fashion then for the knights to dismount when they fought.

In spite of all our attempts at chronological accuracy, something or other is perpetually baffling us. We commonly think that mixed armour was the defensive harness in the days of our Edward the Third: but in Chaucer's portrait of the knightly character of that time, only the haubergeon is assigned to the cavalier. Plate-armour seems to have been the general costume of the fifteenth century; and in any pictorial exhibition of the murder of John Duke of Burgundy in the year 1419, the artist who should represent the Duke as harnessed in chain-mail, would be condemned by a synod of archæologists as guilty of an unpardonable anachronism; yet we know, on the unquestionable authority of Monstrelet, that when the Duke lay on the ground, Olivier Layer, assisted by Pierre Frotier, thrust a sword under the haubergeon into his belly; and that after he had been thus cruelly murdered, the Dauphin's people stripped from him his coat of mail.* But though it is difficult to determine the fashion of any part of armour in any particular century, and life may afford nobler occupations than considering the precise year and month when the Normans gave up the clumsy expedient of inserting the sword through a hole in the hauberk, and adopted the more graceful and convenient form of a belt,† yet viewing the subject of armour in some of its broad features, matter of no slight interest may be found. We may not regard the precise form and fashion of a warrior's scarf, or care to inquire whether the embroidery were worked with gold or silver, but the general fact itself involves the state of manners and feelings among our ancestors:

* Ellis's Specimens of Metrical Romances, i. 328, 366.

* Monstrelet, Johnes's edition, vol. v., p. 121, 126, et prestement un nommé Olivier Layet à l'ayde de Pierre Frotier lui bouta une espée par dessoules son haulbergeon tout dedans le ventre, &c. — En apres le dessusdit duc mis à mort, comme dit est fut tantost par les gens du Daulphin desuestude sa robbe, de son haulbergeon, &c. Monstrelet, vol. i., c. 212, 213.

† Books of military costume may illustrate the truth, how important every man's occupation is in his own eyes. The old French writer, Fauchet, has devoted some pages to a description of the regular process of dressing, and his example has been followed by some of our English antiquarians.

it carries us to the lady's bower where she was working this token of love; our fancy paints the time and mode of bestowing it; and we follow it through all the subsequent career of the knight as his silent monitor to courage and loyalty.

It is curious also to mark the perpetual efforts of defensive armour to meet the improvements in the art of destruction. Chain-mail was found an inadequate protection; plates of steel were added, and still this mixed harness did not render the body invulnerable. The covering of steel alone at length became complete, and defensive harness reached its perfection. It is utterly impossible for us to state with accuracy the year when plate-armour began to be mixed with chain-mail in any particular country, or to determine what particular part of the body the first plate that was used defended; but the general features of the subject are known well enough to enable us to sketch to our imagination the military costume of some of the most remarkable events in the warfare of the middle ages. In the first crusade, the armour was in the rude state of mail worn on the tunic. There was the emblazoned surcoat, for that part of dress was of very early use; the hood was the common covering of the head, and when the helmet was worn it was of the simplest form, and occasionally had a nasal piece. The crusades began at the close of the eleventh century, and before the end of the thirteenth, not only was the hauberk composed of twisted mail, but mixed armour of plate and mail was common. The English wars in France during the reign of our Edward III. are the next subject to which our chivalric recollections recur. By that time plate had attained a general predominance over chain-mail. Perhaps, at no period of chivalry was armour more beautiful than in those days when France was one vast tilting ground for the culled and choice-drawn cavaliers of the two mighty monarchies of Europe. It was equally removed from the gloomy sternness of chain-mail, and the elaborate foppery of embossed steel: its solid plates satisfied the judicious eye by showing that the great principle of armour was chiefly attended to, and the surcoat and scarf gave the warrior's harness a character of neat and simple elegance. The horses, too, were barded in the most vulnerable parts: the symmetry of the form not being obscured, as it was in aftertimes by a casing of steel which left one part of the legs free of action. The helmet had its crest and silken ornament; the former being the sign of nobility, the latter of love: and no warriors were so justly entitled to those graceful tokens of ladies' favour, as the warriors of Edward III., for love was the inspiring soul of their chivalry.*

In the second series of our French wars complete plate-armour was in general fashion. Gradually, as armour became more and more ponderous, the knights preferred to fight on foot with their lances. That mode of encoun-

* In Dr. Meyrick's three ponderous quartos on Armour, there is one interesting point: he shows that the celebrated title of the Black Prince, which the Prince of Wales gained for his achievements at the battle of Cressy, did not arise, as is generally supposed, from his wearing black armour on that day, nor does it appear that he ever wore black armour at all. Plain steel armour was his usual wear, and the surcoat was emblazoned with the arms of England labelled. When he attended tournaments in France or England he appeared in a surcoat with a shield, and his horse in a caparison all black with the white feathers on them; so that the colour of the covering of the armour, and not of the armour itself, gave him his title. Dr. Meyrick thinks the common story an erroneous one, that the ostrich feathers in the crest of our princes of Wales arose from young Edward's taking that ornament from the helmet of the king of Bohemia, who was slain by him at the battle of Cressy. He contends that the feathers formed a *device* on the banner of the monarch, and were not worn on the helmet, because plumes of feathers were not used as crests till the fifteenth century. That Dr. Meyrick has not been able to find any instance of their being thus worn goes but very little way to prove the negative. On the other hand, we know that the swan's neck, the feathers of favourite birds, such as the peacock and pheasant, were devices on shields, and also at the same time continually surmounted the helmet, and the ostrich feathers, which ever since the crusades the western world had been familiar with, might in all probability have been used in this twofold manner. How the King of Bohemia wore his we do not know with historic certainty, but it is very difficult to believe that he, or our chivalric ancestors, with their love of splendid ornaments, would have been contented with placing the ostrich feathers as a mere device on a shield, and not have also fixed it where they set every thing peculiarly graceful, on the summit of the helm.

ter was found best fitted for the display of skill, for in the rude encounter of the horses many cavaliers were thrown, and the field presented a ludicrous spectacle of rolling knights.* Some traces of the custom of chivalry dismounting may be found in the twelfth century. The practice grew as plate-armour became mixed with mail; and when complete suits of steel were worn, knights sought every occasion of dismounting; and they were wont to break their lances short for the convenience of the close conflict.

As the spirit of chivalry died away, the military costume of chivalry increased in brilliancy and splendour. Ingenuity and taste were perpetually varying decorations: the steel was sometimes studded with ornaments of gold and silver, and sometimes the luxury of the age was displayed in a complete suit of golden armour.

"In arms they stood
Of golden panoply, refulgent host."

But such splendour was only exhibited in the courteous tournament; less costly armour sheathed the warrior of the working day. Armour gradually fell out of use as infantry began to be considered and felt as the principal force in war. It was not, however, till the beginning of the seventeenth century that the proud nobility of Europe would abandon the mode of combat of their ancestors, and no longer hope that their iron armour of proof should hang up in their halls as an incentive to their children's valour. "The first laid aside the jambes or steel boots; then the shield was abandoned, and next the covering for the arms. When the cavalry disused the lance, the cuisses were no longer worn to guard against its thrust, and the stout leathern or buff coat hung down from beneath the body armour to the knees, and supplied the place of the discarded steel. The helmet was later deprived of its useless visor; but before the middle of the seventeenth century nothing remained of the ancient harness, but the open cap and the breasts and backs of steel, which the heavy cavalry of the Continent have more or less worn to our times. In our service these have been but lately revived for the equipment of the finest cavalry in Europe, the British Life-guards, who, unaided by such defences, tore the laurels of Warterloo from the cuirassiers of France."*

The history of armour would be interesting in another point of view, if any of the great battles in the middle ages had been decided by the superior qualities of any particular weapon possessed by either side. No such circumstances are recorded. Nor can we trace the progress of armour through the various countries of chivalry. But the superiority of Italian civilization, and our knowledge that the long pointed sword was invented in Italy, authorize our giving much honour to the Italians; and we also know that down to the very latest period of chivalric history Milanese armour was particularly esteemed.† Germany, as far as the ancient martial costume of that country is known, can claim nothing of invention, nor did armour always take in that country during its course from Italy through other lands. France quickly received all the varieties in armour of Italian ingenuity, and in a few years they passed into England. This geographical course was not, however, the usual mode of communicating ideas in chivalric ages. Knights of various countries met in tournaments,

* A very singular instance of the inconvenience of heavy armour occurred in the year 1427, during a war between the Milanese and the Venetians. Carmagnola, the Venetian general, had skilfully posted his army behind a morass, the surface of which, from the dryness of the season, was capable of bearing the weight of infantry. He irritated the enemy (the Milanese) to attack him, by capturing the village of Macalo before their eyes, but their heavy cavalry had no sooner charged along the causeway intersecting the marshy ground, which he purposely left unguarded, than his infantry assailed them with missiles on both flanks. In attempting to repulse them the Milanese cuirassiers sank into the morass: their column was crowded on the narrow passage, and thrown into confusion, and the infantry of Carmagnola then venturing among them on the causeway, and stabbing their horses, made prisoners of the dismounted cuirassiers to the number of eight thousand, as they lay helpless under the enormous weight of their own impervious armour. Percival's History of Italy, vol. ii., p. 77.

* Quarterly Review, No. lx., p. 351.

† In marking the progress of chivalry through Italy I shall again have occasion to notice the excellence of the Milanese armour.

and in those spendid scenes every description of armour was displaced, and fashions were interchanged.

Notwithstanding the general similarity of costume which these gallant and friendly meetings of cavaliers in tournaments were likely to produce, each nation had its peculiarities which it never resigned. Thus it may be mentioned that the swords of the Germans and also of the Normans were always large, and that those of the French were short. As the bow was the great weapon of the Normans, the attendants of the English knights used the bow more frequently than similar attendants in any other country. The peasantry of Scotland, in spite of repeated statutes, never would use the bow: spears and axes were their weapons, while their missiles were cross-bows and culverins. The mace was also a favourite, and their swords were of excellent temper. Their defensive armour was the plate-jack, hauberk, or brigantine, and a voluminous handkerchief round their neck, "not for cold but for cutting," as one of their writers describes it. Almost all the Scottish forces, except a few knights, men-at-arms, and the border prickers, who formed excellent light cavalry, acted upon foot.*

Little need be said concerning the military costume of the esquire, and the men-at-arms. The esquire wore silver spurs in distinction from the golden spurs of the knight; but when an esquire as a member of the third class of chivalry held a distinct command, he was permitted to bear at the end of his lance a penoncel, or small triangular streamer. In countries where the bow was not used, the weapons of the men-at-arms were generally the lance and the sword. This was the case when the knight led his personal retainers to battle; but when his followers were the people of any particular town which he protected, few chivalric arms were borne, and the bill more frequently than the spear was brought into the field. The cross-bow can hardly be considered a weapon of chivalry. It required no strength of arm like the long bow; it allowed none of that personal display which was the soul of knighthood. The popes, to their honour, frequently condemned its use; and it was more often bent by the mercenaries, than the regular attendants of knights.

The men-at-arms generally fought on horseback, and it often happened that archers, after the Asiatic mode, were mounted. The defensive armour of the knight's attendants was not so complete as his own, for they could not afford its costliness, and difference of rank was marked by difference of harness. Thus, in France, only persons possessed of a certain estate were permitted to wear the haubergeon, while esquires had nothing more than a simple coat of mail, without hood or hose,* though their rank in nobility might equal that of the knights. The men-at-arms had generally the pectoral and the shield, and the morion or open helmet, without visor or bever. They frequently wore a long and large garment called the aketon, gambeson, or jack, formed of various folds of linen cloth or leather: but it is totally impossible to give any useful or interesting information on a subject which caprice or poverty perpetually varied.

Armour had other purposes in the mind of the knight besides its common and apparent use. Days of chivalry were especially times when imagination was in its freest exercise, and every thing was full of allegories and recondite meanings. To the knight a sword was given in resemblance of a cross to signify the death of Christ, and to instruct him that he ought to destroy the enemies of religion by the sword. This is intelligible; but there is something apparently arbitrary in the double edge signifying that a knight should maintain chivalry and justice. The spear, on account of its straitness, was the emblem of truth, and the iron head meant strength, which truth should possess. The force and power of courage were expressed by the mace. The helmet conveyed the idea of shamefacedness; and the hauberk was emblematical of the spiritual panoply which should protect a man and a soldier from the vices to which his nature was liable. The spurs meant diligence. The gorget was the sign of obedience; for as the gorget went about the neck protecting it from wounds, so the virtue of obedience kept a knight within the commands of

* Note 8, on Marmion, canto 5.

* Grose, ii. 246.

his sovereign and the order of chivalry; and thus neither treason nor any other foe to virtue corrupted the oath he had taken to his lord and knighthood. The shield showed the office of a knight, for as the knight placed his shield between himself and his enemy, so the knight was the barrier between the king and the people, and as the stroke of a sword fell upon the shield and saved the knight, so it behoved the knight to present his body before his lord when he was in danger. The equipment and barding of the horse furnished also subjects of instruction. The saddle meant safety of courage; for as by the saddle a knight was safe on his horse, so courage was the knight's best security in the field. The great size of the saddle was regarded as emblematical of the greatness of the chivalric charge. It was added, that as the head of a horse went before its rider, so should reason precede all the acts of a knight; and as the armour at the head of a horse defended the horse, so reason kept the knight from blame. The defensive armour of a horse illustrated the necessity of wealth to a knight; for a knight without estate could not maintain the honours of chivalry, and be protected from temptation, for poverty opens the door to treason and vice.

It was in this manner that the romantic imaginations of the knights of chivalry drew moralities from subjects apparently little capable of furnishing instruction; and then assuming a more sober and rational tone, they would exclaim that chivalry was not in the horse, nor in the arms, but was in the knight, who taught his horse well, and accustomed himself and his sons to noble actions and virtuous deeds; and a foul and recreant knight, who taught himself and his son evil words, converted one into the other, the cavaleresque and equestrian qualities, making himself and his son beasts, and his horse a knight.*

Before we close our account of the cavalier's equipment, something must be said regarding his steed, his *good* steed, as he was fond of calling him. The horse of the knight was necessarily an animal of great power when his charge was a cavalier with his weighty armour. The horses of Spain were highly famed. In the country itself those of Asturia were preferred, but in other chivalric states they regarded not the particular province wherein the horse was bred.* The favourite steed of William the Conqueror came from Spain. The crusades were certainly the means of bringing Asiatic horses into Europe; and it was found that the Arabian, though smaller than the bony charger of the west, had a compensating power in his superior spirit. French and English romance writers were not from natural prejudices disposed to praise any productions of Heathenesse, yet the Arabian horse is frequently commended by them. That doughty knight, Guy, a son of Sir Bevis of Hampton,

> ——— "Bestrode a *Rabyte*,†
> That was mickle and nought *light*,‡
> That Sir Bevis in Paynim lond
> Had iwunnen with his hond."

The Arab horse was the standard of perfection, as is evident from the romancer's praise of the two celebrated steeds, Favel and Lyard, which Richard Cœur de Lion procured at Cyprus.

> "In the world was not their peer,
> Dromedary, nor destreer,
> Steed, Rabyte, ne Camayl,
> That ran so swift sans fail.
> For a thousand pounds of gold
> Should not that one be sold."

The Arabian horse must have been already prepared for part of the discipline of a chivalric horse. On his own sandy plains he had been accustomed to stop his career when his fleetness had cast the rider from his seat; and in the encounter of lances so often were knights overthrown, that to stand firm, ready to be mounted again, was a high quality of a good horse. The steed of the Cid was very much celebrated in Spain; and, in acknowledgment for an act of great kind-

* Caxton, Fayt of Armes and of Chyvalrye, c. 62, &c. If the reader be curious for information on the subject of the allegories which were formed from the armour and dress of the Knights of the Garter and the Bath, he will find it in Anstis's Register of the Garter, p. 119, 120, and his History of the Knighthood of the Bath, p. 77–80.

* Asturco aextrarius est, Astur caput ejus
Nam prius Astur equum dextrandi repperit usum.
Ebrardus Betuniensis in Græcismo, c. 7.

† An Arabian horse. ‡ Weak.

ness, the owner wished to present him to the king, Alfonso of Castile. To induce the king to accept him, he showed his qualities.

"With that the Cid, clad as he was in mantle furr'd and wide,
On Bavieca vaulting, put the rowel in his side;
And up and down, and round and round, so fierce was his career,
Stream'd like a pennon on the wind Ruy Diaz' minivere.

"And all that saw them prais'd them, — they lauded man and horse,
As matched well, and rivalless for gallantry and force.
Ne'er had they look'd on horseman might to this knight come near,
Nor on other charger worthy of such a cavalier.

"Thus, to and fro a-rushing, the fierce and furious steed,
He snapp'd in twain his hither rein: — 'God pity now the Cid;'
'God pity Diaz,' cried the Lords; — but when they look'd again.
They saw Ruz Diaz ruling him with the fragment of his rein;
They saw him proudly ruling, with gesture firm and calm,
Like a true Lord commanding, — and obey'd as by a lamb.

"And so he led him foaming and panting to the king,
But 'No,' said Don Alphonso, 'it were a shameful thing
That peerless Bavieca should ever be bestrid,
By any mortal but Bivar, — mount, mount again, my Cid.'"*

It has been often said that the knight had always his ambling palfrey, on which he rode till the hour of battle arrived; and that the war-horse, from the circumstance of his being led by the right hand of the squire, was called dextrarius.† With respect to sovereigns and men of great estate this was certainly the custom, but was by no means a general chivalric practice. Froissart's pages are a perfect picture of knightly riding and combating; and each of his favourite cavaliers seems to have had but one and the same steed for the road and the battle-plain. Even romance, so prone to exaggerate, commonly represents the usage as similar; for when we find that a damsel is rescued, she is not placed upon a spare horse, but the knight mounts her behind himself.*

The *destrier*, *cheval de lance*, or war-steed, was armed or barded† very much on the plan of the harness of the knight himself, and was defended, therefore, by mail or plate, agreeably to the fashion of the age. His head, chest, and flanks were either wholly or partially protected, and sometimes, on occasions of pomp, he was clad in complete steel, with the arms of his master engraven or embossed on his bardings. His caparisons and housings frequently descended so low that they were justly termed bases, from the French *bas à bas*, upon the ground. His head, too, was ornamented with a crest, like the helmet of a knight. The bridle of the horse was always as splendid as the circumstances of the knight allowed; and thus a horse was often called Brigliadore, from *briglia d'oro*, a bridle of gold. The knight was fond of ornamenting the partner of his perils and glories. The horse was not always like that of Chaucer's knight;

"His hors was good, but he was not gay."

Bells was a very favourite addition to the equipment of a horse, particularly in the early times of chivalry. An old Troubadour poet, Arnold of Marsan, states very grave reasons for wearing them. He says, "Let the neck of the knight's horse be garnished with bells

* Lockhart's Spanish Ballads, p. 66.

† William of Newbridge, c. 11, lib. ii. Brunetus in Thesauro, MS. part 1, c. 155, says, "Il y a chevaus de plusieurs manieres, à ce que li un sont déstreir quant pour li combat, li auter sont palefroy pour chevaucher à l'aise de son pour li autres son roueis pour sommes porter," &c., and the continuator of Nangis says, "Et apres venoient les grans chevaux et palefrois du roy tres rechement enssellez, et les valets les menaient en dextre sur autres rouissins."

* History of the Crusades, vol. i., p. 357, note.

† Lest the reader's mind should wander in conjecture regarding the purpose of barding a horse, I will transcribe, for his instruction and illumination, a few lines from Dr. Meyrick's Chronological Inquiry into Ancient Armour, vol. ii., p. 126. "The principal reason for arming the horse in plate as well as his rider, was to preserve his life, on which depended the life or liberty of the man-at-arms himself; for when he was unhorsed, the weight of his own armour prevented him from speedily recovering himself or getting out of the way, when under the animal. Besides this, by thus preserving the horse, the expense of another was saved." Wonderful!

well hung. Nothing is more proper to inspire confidence in a knight, and terror in an enemy." The war-horse of a soldier of a religious order of knighthood might have his collar of bells, for their jangling was loved by a monk himself.

"And when he rode men might his bridel hear,
Gingeling in a whistling wind as clere,
And eke as loud as doth the chapel bell."

But here the comparison ceases, for the horse-furniture of the religious soldiers was ordered to be free from all golden and silver ornaments.* This regulation was, however, ill observed; for the knight-templars in the middle of the thirteenth century was censured for having their bridles embroidered, or gilded, or adorned with silver.†

CHAPTER IV.

THE CHIVALRIC CHARACTER.

General Array of Knights.—Companions in Arms.—The Nature of a Cavalier's Valiancy.—Singular Bravery of Sir Robert Knowles.—Bravery incited by Vows.—Fantastic Circumstances.—The Humanities of Chivalric War.—Ransoming.—Reason of Courtesies in Battles.—Curious Pride of Knighthood.—Prisoners.—Instance of Knightly Honour.—Independence of Knights, and Knight Errantry.—Knights fought the Battles of other Countries.—English Knights dislike Wars in Spain.—Thier disgust at Spanish Wines.—Principles of their active Conduct.—Knightly independence consistent with Discipline.—Religion of the Knight.—His Devotion.—His Intolerance.—General Nature of his Virtue—Fidelity to Obligations.—Generousness.—Singular instance of it.—Romantic excess of it.—Liberality.—Humility.—Courtesy.—EVERY DAY LIFE OF THE KNIGHT.—Falconry.—Chess playing.—Story of a Knight's Love of Chess.—Minstrelsy.—Romances.—Conversation.—Nature and Form of Chivalric Entertainments.—Festival and Vow of the Pheasant.

THE knight was accompanied into the field by his squires and pages, by his armed vassals on horseback and on foot, all bearing his cognisance. The number of these attendants varied necessarily with his estate, and also the occasion that induced him to arm; and I should weary, without instructing my readers, were I to insert in these volumes all the pretty details of history regarding the amount of force which in various countries, and in different periods of the same country's annals, constituted, to use the phraseology of the middle ages, the complement of a lance. Armies were reckoned by lances, each lance meaning the knight himself with his men-at-arms, or lighter cavalry, and his foot soldiers.

The knight was not only supported by his vassals, who formed the furniture of his lance, but by his brother in arms, when such an intercourse subsisted between two cavaliers; and instances of such unions are extremely frequent in chivalric history: they may be met with in other animals. In the early days of Greece, brotherhood in arms was a well-known form of friendship: the two companions engaged never to abandon each other in affairs however perilous, and in pledge of their mutual faith they exchanged armour. No stronger proof of affection could be given than thus parting with what they held most dear. Among barbarous people the fraternity of arms was established by the horrid custom of the new brothers drinking each other's blood: but if this practice was barbarous, nothing was farther from barbarism than the sentiment which inspired it.

The chivalry of Europe borrowed this sacred bond from the Scandinavians, among whom the future brothers in arms mingled their blood, and then tasted it.

"Father of Slaughter, Odin, say,
Rememberest not the former day,
When ruddy in the goblet stood,
For mutual drink, our blended blood?
Rememberest not, thou then did'st swear,
The festive banquet ne'er to share,
Unless thy brother Lok was there?"*

This custom, like most others of Pagan Europe, was corrected and softened

* Statutes of the Templars, c. 37.
† Vincent de Beauvais, Hist. lib. 30, c. 85.

* From the Loka Lenna, or Strife of Loc, cited in the notes on Sir Tristrem, p. 350; St. Palaye, "Memoires sur l'ancienne Chevaliere," partie 3; Du Cange, Twenty-first Dissertation on Joinville; Glossary, Arma Mutare, Companionship in weal and wo sanctioned by religious solemnities, still exist among the Albanians and other people of the eastern shore of the Adriatic. The custom is wrought into a very interesting story in the tale of Anastasius, vol. i., c. 7.

by the light and humanity of religion. Fraternal adoptions then took place in churches, in presence of relations, and with the sanction of priests. The knights vowed that they would never injure or vilify each other, that they would share each other's dangers? and in sign of the perfection of love, and of true unity, and in order to possess, as much as they could, the same heart and resolves, they solemnly promised true fraternity and companionship of arms.* They then received the holy sacrament, and the priest blessed the union. It was a point rather of generous understanding than of regular convention, that they would divide equally all their acquisitions. Of this custom an instance may be given. Robert de Oily and Roger de Ivey, two young gentlemen who came into England with the duke of Normandy, were sworn brothers. Some time after the conquest, the king granted the two great honours of Oxford, and St. Waleries, to Robert de Oily, who immemediately bestowed one of them, that of St. Waleries, on his sworn brother, Roger de Ivery.†

Fraternity of arms was entered into for a specific object, or general knightly quests, for a limited term, or for life. It did not always occur, however, that the fraternity of arms was established with religious solemnities: but whatever might have been the ceremonies, the obligation was ever considered sacred; so sacred, indeed, that romance writers did not startle their readers by a tale, whose interest hangs upon the circumstance of a knight slaying his two infant children for the sake of compounding a medicine with their blood which should heal the leprosy of his brother in arms.‡

This form of attachment was the strongest tie in chivalry.

"From this day forward, ever mo
Neither fail, either for weal or wo,
To help other at need,
Brother, be now true to me,
And I shall be as true to thee."

So said Sir Amylion to Sir Amys, and it was the common language of chivalry. Friendship was carried to the romantic extremity of the Homeric age. Brethren in arms adopted all the enmities and loves of each other,

"A generous friendship no cold medium knows,
Burns with one love, with one resentment glows."

And so powerful was the obligation that it even superseded the duty of knighthood to womankind. A lady might in vain have claimed the protection of a cavalier, if he could allege that at that moment he was bound to fly to the succour of his brother in arms.

* Juv. des Ursins anno 1411. Vraye fraternité et compagnie d'armes, is the frequent expression in old writers for this chivalric union.

† Kennet's Parochial Antiquities, p. 57, cited in Henry's History of England, vol. iii., p. 360. 4to.

‡ The romance of Amys and Amylion. It is abridged by Mr. Ellis in the third volume of his Specimens of early English Metrical Romances, and inserted at length by Mr. Weber in the second volume of his collection. The reader may be amused to learn that the mother of the children was so complaisant to her husband as to approve of his having cut their little throats

"O lef lief! she said tho,
God may send us children mo!
Of them have thou no care.
And if it were at my heart's root,
For to bring thy brother boot,
My life I would not spare.
There shall no man our children sene,
For to-morrow they shall buried ben,
As they fairly dead were.
Thus that lady, fair and bright,
Comforted her lord with her might,
As ye may understand
Sin* they went both right
To Sir Amylion, that gentle knight,
That ever was fre to fonde.†
When Sir Amylion awakened though,
All his foulehead away was go
Through grace of God's Son.
Then was he as fair a man
As ever he was ere than
Since he was been inlonde."

The conclusion of the story shows the belief of the writer that heaven approved of such sacrifices to friendship.

"Then were they all blithe,
Their joy could no man kithe,
They thanked God that day.
As ye may at me liste and lythe.‡
Into the chamber they went swyte.§
Thor as the children lay.
Without wern,‖ without a wound,
All whole the children there they found,
And lay together in play.
For joy they went there, they stood
And thanked God with mild mode
Their care was all away."

* After. † That ever could be met with.
‡ Now you must listen to me.
§ Quickly. ‖ Scar.

Thus accompanied, the knight proceeded to achieve the high emprises of his noble and gallant calling. Both the principles and the objects of chivalry having been always the same, a general similarity of character existed through all the chivalric ages; and as certain moral combinations divide human nature into classes, so the knight was a distinct character, and the qualities peculiar to his order may be delineated in one picture, notwithstanding individual and national variations, which had better be described when we come to mark the degrees of the influence of chivalry in the different countries of Europe.

The courage of the knight is the part of his character which naturally calls for our first attention. It was daring and enterprising: but I cannot insist upon recklessness of danger as the quality of chivalry only, for in every nation's battles, to be the first to advance and the last to retreat have been the ambition of warriors. The knight, however, cared little for the cause or necessity of his doing battle so that he could display his valour. About the year 1370. Sir Robert Knowles marched through France, and laid waste the country as far as the very gates of the capital. A knight was in his company, who had made a vow that he would ride to the walls or gates of Paris, and strike at the barriers* with a spear. And for the finishing of his vow he departed from his company, his spear in his hand, his shield suspended from his neck, armed at all points, and mounted on a good horse, his squire followed him on another, with his helmet. When he approached Paris he put on the glittering head-piece, and leaving his squire behind him, and dashing his spurs into his steed, he rode at full career to the barriers which were then open. The French lords, who were there, weened that he would have entered the town, but that was not his mind, for when he had struck the barriers according to his vow, he turned his reign and departed. Then the knights of France immediately divined his purpose, and cried, "Go your way; you have right well acquitted yourself."*

About the same time a band of English knights advanced to the French town of Noyon, and spread their banners abroad, as a defiance to the garrison. But the French made no sally; and a Scottish knight, named Sir John Swinton, impatient of rest, departed from his company, his spear in his hand, and mounted on a *cheval de lance*, his page behind him, and in that manner approached the barriers. He then alighted, and saying to his page, "Hold, keep my horse, and depart not hence," he went to the barriers. Within the pallisades were many good knights, who had great marvel what this said knight would do. Then Swinton said to them, "Sirs, I am come hither to see you; as you will not issue out of your barriers, I will enter them, and prove my knighthood against yours. Win me if you can!" He then fought with the French cavaliers, and so skilfully, that he wounded two or three of them; the people on the walls and the tops of the houses remaining still, for they had great pleasure to regard his valiantness, and the gallant knights of France charged them not to cast any missiles against him, but to let the battle go fairly and freely forward. So long they fought that at

* It may be as well to notice that the barriers of a town, or its outer fortification, are described by Froissart as being grated pallisades, the grates being about half a foot wide.

* The remainder of this knight's story should be told, although it does not relate to the matter of the text. "In the suburbs he had a sore encounter, for, as he passed on the pavement, he found before him a bocher, a big man, who had well seen this knight pass by, and he held in his hands a sharp heavy axe, with a long point; and as the knight returned, and took no heed, this bocher came on his side and gave him such a stroke between the neck and shoulders, that he fell upon his horse, and yet he recovered; and then the bocher struck him again, so that the axe entered into his body, so that, for pain, the knight fell to the earth, and his horse ran away, and came to the squire who abode for his master at the streets; and so the squire took the horse, and had great marvel what was become of his master, for he had seen him ride to the barriers, and strike thereat with his glaive, and return again. Then he rode a little forth thitherward, and anon he saw his master laying upon the earth between four men, who were striking him as they would strike an anvil. And then the squire was so affrighted he durst not go farther, for he saw he could not help his master. Therefore he returned as fast as he might; so there the said knight was slain. And the knights that were at the gate caused him to be buried in holy ground." Lord Berners's Froissart, c. 281.

last the page went to the barriers, and said to his master, "Sir, come away; it is time for you to depart, for your company are leaving the field." The knight heard him well, and then gave two or three strokes about him, and armed as he was he leaped over the barriers, and vaulting upon his horse behind his faithful page, he waved his hand to the Frenchmen, and cried, "Adieu, Sirs, I thank you." He then urged his noble horse to speed, and rode to his own company. This goodly feat of arms was praised by many folks.*

This love of causeless perils was often accompanied by curious circumstances. On the manners of the ancestors of the heroes of chivalry it has been said,

> "In the caverns of the west,
> By Odin's fierce embrace compress,
> A wond'rous boy shall Rinda bear,
> Who ne'er shall comb his raven hair,
> Nor wash his visage in the stream,
> Nor see the sun's departing beam,
> Till he on Hoder's corse shall smile
> Flaming on the fun'ral pile!"

And king Harold made a solemn vow never to clip or comb his hair till he should have extended his sway over the whole country. Tacitus informs us, that the youthful Germans, particularly those among the Catti, did not shave the hair from the head or chin until they had achieved renown in arms. The same feelings influenced the knight of chivalry. He was wont to wear a chain on his arm or leg until he had performed some distinguishing exploit; and when his merit became conspicuous, the mark of thraldom was removed with great solemnity.† A young knight would not at first assume his family arms, but wore plain armour and shield without any device till he had won renown. He would even fight blindfold, or pinion one of his hands to his body, or in some other manner partially disable himself from performing his deed of arms. Before the gate of Troyes there was an English squire, resolved to achieve some high and romantic feat. His companions were unable to judge whether or not he could see, but with his spear in his hand, and his targe suspended from his neck, he recklessly spurred his horse to the barriers, leaped over them, and careered to the gate of the town, where the Duke of Burgundy and other great lords of France were standing. He reigned round his foaming steed and urged him back towards the camp. The duke shouted applause at his boldness: but some surrounding men-at-arms had not the same generous sympathy for noble chivalry, and they hurled their lances like javelins at the brave squire, till they brought him and his horse dead to the ground, wherewith the Duke of Burgundy was right sore displeased.* Equally singular, and more fantastic, was the conduct of certain young knights of England during the French wars of Edward III., for each of them bound up one of his eyes with a silk ribbon, and swore before the ladies and the peacock, that he would not see with both eyes until he had accomplished certain deeds of arms in France.†

Nothing appears incredible in romances after reading these tales of a very faithful historian; but we should wrong chivalry were we to suppose that this wild, this phrenetic courage was its chief character. Perhaps it was in general the quality of young soldiers only; for discretion was certainly a part of cavaleresque valour. That a knight was sage is frequently said to his honour. Not, indeed, that his skill ever degener-

* Froissart, vol. i., c. 278.

† Froissart, c. 281; Gray's Descent of Odin; Herbert's Icelandic Translations, p. 39; Scott's Minstrelsy, vol. 1, p. 45.

* Froissart, c. 384.

† Froissart, c. 28. "Et si avoit entre eux plusieurs jounes bacheliers, qui avoient chacun un œil couvert de drap, à fin qu'ils n'en puissent veoir; et disoit on que ceux là avoient voué, entre dames de leur pais, que jamais ne verroient que d'un œil jusques à ce qu'ils auroient fait aucunes prouesses de leur corps en royaume de France." The disposition of knights to make vows was an excellent subject for Cervantes's raillery. "Tell her," continued I (Don Quixote), "when she least expects it, she will come to hear how I made an oath, as the Marquis of Mantua did, when he found his nephew Baldwin ready to expire on the mountains, never to eat upon a table-cloth, and several other particulars, which he swore to observe, till he had revenged his death. So in the like solemn manner will I swear, never to desist from traversing the habitable globe, and ranging through all the seven parts of the world, more indefatigably than ever was done by Prince Pedro of Portugal, till I have freed her from her enchantment." Don Quixote, part 2, c. 23.

ated into the subtlety of stratagem, for bold and open* battle was always preferred to the refinements of artifice, and he would have debased his order if he had profited by any mischance happening to his foe. But in the choice of ground, in the disposition of his squires and men-at-arms, he exerted his best skill, for to be adventurous was only one part of valour. The soldier in chivalry was also imaginative, a word constantly used by our old authors to show a mind full of resources, and to express military abilities.†

There was not so much ruthlessness in his heroism as distinguished those ages of the ancient world which fancy and poetry have sometimes painted as chivalrous. The prostrate and suppliant foe seldom sued for mercy in vain from the true knight. It was a maxim, that a warrior without pity was without worship.‡ Even the pride of knighthood often softened the fierce and rugged face of war, for inferior people were spared, because they were unworthy of the lance. A knight trained to warlike exercises cared little for a battle unless he could prove his skilful bearing; and what honour could he gain from slaying rude and unarmed peasantry? The simple peasant was often spared from motives of prudence. Richard Brembrow, an English knight, was ravaging Brittany, in the year 1350, but was reproached for his conduct by Beaumanoir, a partisan of the house of Blois, who was astonished that a valiant cavalier should make war, not only on men bearing arms, but on labourers and others. "In all wars guided by chivalric principles," continued the knight of Brittany, "true soldiers never injure the tillers of the ground; for if you were to do so, the world would be destroyed by famine."* More generous feelings, however, sometimes had their influence. The stern Du Guesclin, when on his death-bed, desired his old companions in arms to remember that "neither the clergy, nor women, nor children, nor poor people, were their enemies;" and the charge came with peculiar propriety from him, for his past life could furnish no instance of needless severity.

To show the reverse of such mildness was the unhappy fate of the Black Prince, who, by his massacre of three thousand people at Limoges,† tarnished the lustre of all his former glories. The narrative of this affair which Froissart has left us, shows that such barbarities were not so frequent in chivalric times as modern hatred of aristocratical power has represented. We may learn from our historian that the massacre at Limoges proceeded from the unhappy disposition to cruelty which at that time clouded the mind of the Prince of Wales, and not from the general principles of chivalry: for he tells us, that the knights prepared themselves to do evil, to slay men, women, and children, because they were so commanded; and he whose heart leaped for joy in describing a manly conflict, where banners and standards waved in the wind, with horses barded, and knights and squires richly armed, yet sighs over the massacre of Limoges, and says it was "great pity" to see the slaughter.‡ It was only when cities

* Every true knight said like him in the Morte d'Arthur. "Though the knight be never so false, I will never slay him sleeping; for I will never destroy the high order of knighthood." And again, "Well, I can deem that I shall give him a fall. For it is no mastery, for my horse and I be both fresh, and so are not his horse and he, and weet ye well that he will take it for great unkindness, for every one good is loth to take another at disadvantage."

† The true son of chivalry was like Banquo, of whom Macbeth says,

"'Tis much he dares;
And, to that dauntless temper of his mind,
He hath a wisdom that doth guide his valour
To act in safety."

Sir Philip Sidney excellently well describes the nature of chivalric courage. "Their courage was guided with skill, and their skill was armed with courage; neither did their hardiness darken their wit, nor their wit cool their hardiness: both valiant as men despising death, and both confident as unwonted to be overcome. Their feet steady, their hands diligent, their eyes watchful, and their hearts resolute." Arcadia, p. 28. Edit. 1590.

‡ Morte d'Arthur, l. 7.

* Argentré Histoire de la Bretagne, p. 391.

† Limoges had revolted on account of a tax which had been imposed upon the English dominions in France, to pay the expenses of the war, which had had for its object the restoration of Peter the Cruel.

‡ Froissart, liv. 1, c. 283. "Then the Prince, the Duke of Lancaster, the Earl of Cambridge, the Earl of Pembroke, Sir Guiscard Dangle, and all the others, with their companies, entered into

that belonged to the enemies of the church were taken, that the sword of the victorious Christian was imbrued in blood to the very hilt; for Pagans, Saracens, Jews, and heretics were not considered within the pale of the humane courtesies of chivalry.

Frequent pauses were made in the single encounters of knighthood, for generousness was thought an essential part of bravery, and the soldier would rather vanquish by his skill than by any accidental advantage. A giant of the first enormity requested of his antagonist, Sir Guy of Warwick, a momentary respite for the purpose of slacking his thirst in a neighbouring stream. The noble knight assented to this request, and the giant, perfectly recovered from his fatigue, renewed the combat with fresh vigour. Sir Guy, in his turn, was oppressed by heat and fatigue, and requested a similar favour; but the uncourteous giant refused.* In a battle between the celebrated Roland and a Saracen knight, named Sir Otuel, a stroke of the former's sword cut into the brain of his antagonist's horse. The paladin of Charlemagne, with true chivalric courtesy, reigned in his steed, and rested on his arms till Sir Otuel had disengaged himself from the equipments of his horse. The Saracen rallied him for want of skill in missing his gigantic frame; but on the renewal of the battle Otuel was guilty of a similar awkwardness, and conscious that his raillery might now be retorted with double force, he imitated the knightly courtesy of Roland, and waited till his foe was completely free from his fallen steed.* The preliminaries of a battle between the famous Oliver and a Saracen cavalier, hight Sir Ferumbras, was still more courteous, for the Christian knight assisted his foe to lace his helmet, and before they encountered, the combatants politely bowed to each other.†

Veracious chroniclers confirm the stories of romance writers. In a battle of honour between the English and French, when it was thought contrary to chivalry for either party to be more numerous than the other, the knights contended for several hours with intervals of repose. When any two of them had fought so long as to be fatigued, they fairly and easily departed, and set themselves down by the side of a stream, and took off their helmets. On being refreshed they donned their armour, and returned to the fight.‡

We commonly refer to the principles of honour in chivalry to account for the interesting fact, that a victorious knight permitted his prisoner to go to his own country or town, in order to fetch his ransom; and we know that his word of honour was considered a sufficient pledge for his return at the appointed season. The true reason of this general practice

the city, and all other footmen ready apparelled, to do evil, and to pillage and rob the city, and to slay men, women, and children; for so it was commanded them to do. It was a great pity to see the men, women, and children that kneeled down on their knees to the Prince for mercy, but he was so inflamed with ire, that he took no heed to them, so that none was heard; but all put to death as they were met withal, and such as were nothing culpable. There was no pity taken of the poor people who wrought never no manner of treason; yet they bought it dearer than the great personages, such as had done the evil and trespass. There was not so hard a heart within the city of Limoges, and if he had any remembrance of God, but that wept piteously for the great mischief that they saw before their eyes: for more than three thousand men, women and children were slain that day. God have mercy on their souls, for I trow they were martyrs." Lord Berners's Translation.

* Romance of Guy of Warwick.

* Romance of Sir Otuel. And in the Morte d'Arthur it is said, "and thus by assent of them both, they granted either other to rest, and so they set them down upon two mole hills there beside the fighting place, and either of them unlaced his helmet, and took the cold wind, for either of their pages was fast by them to come when they called to lace their harness, and to set them on again at their commandment. Morte d'Arthur, lib. 8, c. 17.

† Romance of Sir Ferumbras.

‡ Froissart, liv. 2, c. 24. This story of Froissart reminds one of Mortimer,

"When on the gentle Severn's sedgy bank,
In single opposition, hand to hand,
He did confound the best part of an hour
In changing hardiment with the great Glendower:
Three times they breath'd, and three times did they drink,
Upon agreement, of swift Severn's flood;
Who then, affrighted with their bloody looks,
Ran fearfully among the trembling reeds,
And hid his crisp head in the hollow bank,
Blood-stain'd with these valiant combatants."

Henry IV. Part 1, Act 1, Sc. iii.

of chivalry may be learned from a passage in Froissart. After describing a battle between the English and French in the year 1344, he says, that the English dealt like good companions with their prisoners; and suffered many to depart on their oaths and promises to return again at a certain day to Bergerac or to Bourdeaux.* The Scots were equally courteous to the English after the truly chivalric battle of Otterbourn. They set them to their ransom, and every man said to his prisoner, "Sir, go and unarm yourself, and take your ease;" and so made their prisoners as good cheer as if they had been brethren, without doing them any injury.† A short while after the battle Sir Matthew Redman yielded himself prisoner to Sir James Lindsay, rescue, or no rescue, so that he dealt with him like a good companion.‡ It was, therefore, because all the knights of Europe were united in one universal bond of brotherhood, that one knight showed courtesy to another. It was the principle of fraternity which the Christian religion inculcates, that created all the kindly consideration in war which distinguished chivalry; and base and barbarous as we may choose to call our ancestors, I know not whether the principles of Christian friendship were not as well understood in their days as in our own age of boasted light and improvement. There is truth as well as beauty in Froissart's observation, that "nobleness and gentleness ought to be aided by nobles and gentles." Not only were prisoners released on their parole of honour, but their ransom was never set so high that they could not pay it at their ease, and still maintain their degree.§

One curious particular, illustrative of knightly dignity, remains to be mentioned. It was beneath the bearing of chivalry for a cavalier to surrender himself prisoner to one of the raskall rout, and if he ever was reduced to such a sad necessity he would amuse his pride by raising his conqueror to the rank of chivalry. The Earl of Suffolk, during our wars in France, was taken prisoner by William Renaud; but he would not surrender to him until he had given him the accolade, bound a sword round him, and thus dignified him with knighthood. But there was no loss of chivalric dignity in a knight being taken prisoner by a squire, for a squire, though inferior in rank, was of the same quality as a knight. The renowned Du Guesclin, whom I so often mention as a pattern of chivalry, yielded to the prowess of a squire of England who fought under the standard of Sir John Chandos.

In the course of the fourteenth century the Duke of Gueldres was taken prisoner by a squire named Arnold, and was removed to a castle, where he promised to pay his ransom. The lords of Prussia, hearing that the duke had been captured in his course to their country, summoned a mighty force and marched to the place of the duke's confinement. The squire dreaded their power, and resolved to quit the castle: but before his departure he went to the Duke of Gueldres, and said to him, "Sir duke, you are my prisoner, and I am your master: you are a gentleman and a true knight; you have sworn and given me your faith, and whithersoever I go you ought to follow me. I cannot tell if you have sent for the great master of Prussia or not, but he is coming hither with a mighty power. I shall not remain: you may tarry if you list, and I will take with me your faith and promise." Gueldres made no answer. The squire soon afterwards mounted horse and departed, telling the Duke that he would always find him at such a place, naming a strong castle, in a remote situation. The Prussians soon arrived and liberated their friend: but he resolved to perform his promise to the squire whom he called his master, and neither absolution, nor dispensation, nor argument, nor raillery, could induce him to break his faith. His friends and relations then treated with the squire for his freedom, and by paying the customary ransom the Duke of Gueldres recovered that honourable liberty of mind which above all things was dear to the true knight.*

Certainly the virtues of a knight were not necessarily patriotic. They were rather calculated to weaken than to strengthen his tendencies to king and country. Al-

* Froissart, liv. 1, c. 107.
† Ibid., liv. 2, c. 145.
‡ Ibid., liv. 2, c. 146.
§ Froissart. liv. 1, c. 149, 233.

* Froissart, liv. 1, c. 235, 371, liv. 2, c. 152.

though as an individual he was bound to his native land, yet the character of his knighthood was perpetually pressing him to a course of conduct distinct from all national objects. He was the judge of right and wrong;* he referred to no external standard of equity; he was an independent agent. These qualities of chivalry gave birth to the knight errantry, that singular feature in the character of the middle ages.

"Long so they travell'd through wasteful ways,
Where dangers dwelt and perils most did wonne,
To hunt for glory and renowned praise:
Full many countries they did overrun,
From the uprising to the setting sun,
And many hard adventures did atchieve;
Of all the which they honour ever wonne,
Seeking the weak oppressed to relieve,
And to recover right for such as wrong did grieve."†

It was considered the first praise of knighthood to efface foul outrage, and the advantages arising to society from this disposition are confessed even by satirists,

——— "Knyghtes shoulde
Ryden and rappe adoune in remes aboute,
And to take trespassours and tye them faste.
* * * * *
Truly to take, and truly to fight,
Is the profession and the pure order that apendeth to knights."‡

The happy consequences to woman of this chivalric principle, and its tendencies to ameliorate manners, will best be seen in our delineation of the character of dames and damsels in the middle ages. With respect to the general interests of society it may be observed, that knight errantry was a very considerable means of correcting the state of violence and misrule in feudal times. The monks of St. Albans held a body of knights in pay who defended the abbey and preserved the roads free from robbers, whether of the baronial or the vulgar class.* Until the discipline of laws had tamed the world into order, force was the only measure of power; and it was by the sword alone that injuries committed by the sword could be avenged. The protection of the wronged being a great principle of chivalry, no oppressed person was at a loss for a mode of redress. Some gentle knight was ever to be found who would lay his lance in its rest to chastise the evil doer. While Edward the First was travelling in France, he heard that a lord of Burgundy was continually committing outrages on the persons and property of his neighbours. In the true spirit of chivalry Edward attacked the castle of this uncourteous baron. His prowess asserted the cause of justice; and he bestowed the domains which he had won upon a nobler and more deserving lord.†

When he was neither engaged in his country's wars, nor errant in quest of adventures, the knight fought among the chivalry of foreign princes. This was a matter of daily occurrence; the English knights obtaining licences from the king on their pledging the honour of their chivalry not to disclose the secrets of the court, nor to fight on the side of the nation's enemies. It is curious to observe that the service of France was always preferred by the English adventurers to that of Spain or Portugal. France, they said, was a good, sweet country, and temperate, possessing pleasant towns and fair rivers, but Castile was full of barren rocks and mountains, the air was unwholesome, the waters were troubled, and the people were poor and evil arrayed. The wines of Spain formed, however, the principal grievance. The English complained that they were so strong and fiery as to corrupt their heads, dry their bowels, and consume their very livers; and with what hot suns and hot wines Englishmen, who in their own country were sweetly nourished, were in Castile burnt without and within. There is another passage of Froissart which I shall lay before the reader in the

* Thus Don Quixote pleasantly says in his enumeration of chivalric qualities, "whoever possesses the science of knight errantry ought to be learned in the laws, and understand distributive and commutative justice, in order to right all mankind."

† Fairy Queen, book iii., canto 1, st. 3; and Tasso, with equal attention to truth, thus describes the duty of a knight.

Premer gli alteri, e sollevar gli imbelli,
Defender gli innocenti, e punir gli empi,
Fian l'arti lor.
La Ger., lib. 10, 76.

‡ Piers Ploughman, first vision.

* M. Paris, 45.

† Matthew of Westminster, p. 353.

right genuine and expressive old English of John Bourchier, knight, Lord Berners. "The Englishmen ate grapes (in Spain) when they might get them, and drank of the hot wines, and the more they drank the more they were set on fire, and thereby burnt their livers and lungs; for that diet was contrary to their nature. Englishmen are nourished with good meats and with ale, which keep their bodies in temper. In Spain the nights were hot because of the great heat of the day, and the mornings marvellously cold, which deceives them; for in the night they could suffer nothing on them, and so slept all naked, and in the morning cold took them ere they were aware, and that cast them into fevers and fluxes without remedy, and as well died great men as mean people."*

All this adventurousness proceeded from the principle, that the life of a knight was not to be regarded as a course of personal indulgence. His virtues were of an active, stirring nature, and he was not permitted to waste his days in dark obscurity, or to revel in ease. Like falcons that disdained confinement, he could not remain long at rest without wishing to roam abroad. "Why do we not array ourselves and go and see the bounds and ports of Normandy?" were the words of war by which our English knights and squires would rouse one another to arms. "There be knights and squires to awake us and to fight with us."† And Honour was always the quest of the true knight.

"In wood, in waves, in wars she wont to dwell,
And will be found with peril and with pain;
Nor can the man that moulders in idle cell,
Unto her happy mansion attain.
Before her gate high God did sweat ordain,
And wakeful watchers ever to abide:
But easy is the way and passage plain
To pleasure's palace: it may soon be spide,
And day and night her doors to all stand open wide."‡

It has often been supposed§ that the chivalric array must have been inconvenient to the feudal and national disposition of armies, and that knightly honours would be continually striving with other distinctions for pre-eminence. But this supposition has arisen from a want of attention to chivalric principles. Chivalry was not opposed to national institutions; it was a feeling of honour that pervaded without disturbing society; and knightly distinctions were altogether independent of ranks in the state. As every lord was educated in chivalry, he was of course a knight; but he led his troops into the field in consequence of his feudal possessions; and any that were attached to his knighthood, it would be in vain to inquire after. The array of an army was always formed agreeably to the sageness and imagination of the constable, or marshal, or whatever other officer of the nation was commander, without the slightest reference to chivalry. A squire frequently led knights, certainly not on account of his chivalric title, but by reason of favour or merit, or any other of the infinity of causes that occasion advancement.

The religion of the knight was generally the religion of the time; and it would be idle to expect to see religious reformers start from the bands of an unlettered soldiery, whose swords had been consecrated by the church. The warrior said many orisons every day; besides a nocturne of the Psalter, matins of our Lady, of the Holy Ghost, and of the cross, and also the dirige.* The service of the mass was usually performed by both armies in the presence of each other before a battle; and no warrior would fight without secretly breathing a prayer to God or a favourite saint. Brevity was an important feature in a soldier's devotion, as the following anec-

* Froissart, 1, c. 361; 2, 124, 202, 203.

† Froissart, 1, 46.

‡ Fairy Queen, book ii., canto c., st. 41.

§ Even so judicious a writer as Mr. Dunlop, says (Hist. of Fiction, vol. ii., p. 144), that vigour of discipline was broken by want of unity of command. St. Palaye, in whom want of acquaintance with the subject is less excusable, says, "Si le pouvoir absolu si l'unité du commandement est le seul moyen d'entretenir la vigueur de la discipline, jamais elle ne dut être moins solidement établie, et plus souvent ébranlée que du temps de nos chevaliers. Quelle confusion, en effet, ne devoient point apporter tant d'especes de chefs, dont les principes, les motifs et les interêts n'etoient pas toujours d'accord, et qui ne tiroient point d'une même source le droit de se faire obeir?" Memoires sur l'Ancienne Chevalerie, partie 5.

* Froissart, vol. ii., c. 26.

dote proves. When the French cavalier, Lahire, had just reached his army, he met a chaplain, from whom he demanded absolution. The priest required him to confess his sins. But the knight answered he had not time, for he wanted immediately to attack the enemy. He added, that a minute disclosure of his offences was not necessary, for he had only been guilty of sins common to cavaliers, and the chaplain well knew what those sins were. The priest thereupon absolved him, and Lahire raised his hands to heaven, and exclaimed, "God, I pray thee that thou wouldest do to-day for Lahire as much as thou wouldest Lahire should do for thee, if he were God and thou wert Lahire." He then dashed spurs into his horse, and his falchion was stained with foeman's blood before the good chaplain had recovered from his astonishment at this singular form of prayer. The union of religion and arms was displayed in a very remarkable manner at a joust which was held at Berwick, in the year 1338. The lance of an English knight pierced the helmet of his Scottish opponent, William de Ramsey, and nailed it to his head. It being instantly perceived that the wound was mortal, a priest was hastily sent for. The knight was shriven in his helm, and soon afterwards died, and the good Earl of Derby, who was present, was so much delighted at the religious and chivalric mode of the Scotsman's death, that he hoped God of his grace would vouchsafe to send him a similar end.*

The knight visited sacred places, and adopted all the superstitions, whether mild or terrible, and the full spirit of intolerant fierceness, of his time. The defence of the church formed part of his obligation.

"Chevaliers en ce monde cy
Ne peuvent vivre sans soucy:
Ils doivent le peuple défendre,
Et leur sang pour la foi espandre."

* "Then said the gud Earl of Derby,
Lo! here a fair sight sykkyrly.
A fairer sight how may man see,
Than knight or squire which ever he be,
In-til his helm him thus got schryive?
When I shall pass out of this life,
I would God of his grace would send
To me a like manner to end."
Wyntown's Cronykil of Scotland, book viii., c. 35.

The knight knew no other argument than the sword to gainsay the infidel, and he was ready at all times to "thrust it into the belly of a heretic as far as it would go." This was the feeling in all chivalric times; but St. Louis was the knight who had the merit of arraying it in the form of a maxim.

The wars of these soldiers of the church were not purely defensive. The cavalier fought openly and offensively against heretics. This was part of the spirit and essence of his character, encouraged by the crusades, and the principles of the military orders; and thus no knight's military reputation was perfect, unless it was adorned with laurels which had been won in Heathennesse as well as in Christendom; for it was the general opinion, that, as Heaven had chosen learned clerks to maintain the holy Catholic faith with Scripture and reason against the miscreants and unbelievers, so knights had also been chosen, in order that the miscreants might be vanquished by force of arms.*

The highest possible degree of virtue was required of a knight: it was a maxim in chivalry, that he who ordained another a knight must be virtuous himself; for it was argued if the knight who made a knight were not virtuous, how could he give that which he had not; and no man could be a true son of chivalry unless he were of unsullied life.† He was not only to be virtuous, but without reproach; for he considered his honourable fame as a polished mirror, whose beauty may be lost by an impure breath and an unwholesome air, as well as by being broken into pieces. But there was nothing so abstract and refined in the nature of knightly virtue as has been generally thought. It was the duty of the cavalier to peril himself in the cause of the afflicted and of the church; and his exertions and endeavours to perform the conditions of his oath of chivalry were to be rewarded, not by the mere gratification of any metaphysical fancies, but by the hope of joy in heaven. This was the leading principle of his duty, however often it might be abused or forgotten; and this was the feeling which his oath taught him to encourage. But

* Caxton Fayt of Armes and Chevalrie, fol. 40. † Ibid., c. 46.

it did not exclude from the conduct the operation of personal motives. Thus, in displaying his love of justice, he displayed his chivalric skill; and by the same action he gratified his laudable aspirations for fame, and soothed and satisfied his conscience.

Certes all knights were not religious, even in the sense in which religion was understood in chivalric times. One cavalier made it his heart's boast that he had burnt a church, with twenty-four monks, its contents.* The joyousness of youth often broke out in witty sentences, and the sallies of the buoyant spirits of the young cavalier were neither decent nor moral. When the imagination was inflamed by chivalry and love, he forgot his rosary, and said that paradise was only the habitation of dirty monks, priests, and hermits; and that, for his own part, he preferred the thoughts of going to the devil; and, in his fiery kingdom, he was sure of the society of kings, knights, squires, minstrels, and jugglers, and above all the rest, the mistress of his heart.†

Of his moral virtues perfect fidelity to a promise was very conspicuous, for his nobleness disdained any compromise with convenience or circumstances. However absurd the vow, still he was compelled to perform it in all the strictness of the letter. Notwithstanding the obvious inconveniences of such a course, a man frequently promised to grant whatever another should ask; and he would have lost the honour of his knighthood, if he had declined from his word when the wish of him to whom the promise had been made was stated. Sir Charles du Blois promised Sir Loyes of Spain whatever gift he might require for the service he had rendered him. "Then," said Sir Loyes, "I require you to cause the two knights that are in prison in Favet to be brought hither, and give them to me to do with them at my pleasure, for they have injured me, and slain my nephew. I will strike their heads off before the town, in sight of their companions." Sir Charles was obliged to comply and deliver up the knights; only remonstrating with Sir Loyes on the cruelty of putting two such valiant knights to death, and on the impolicy of such a measure, as giving occasion to their enemies of dealing in a similar manner with them when the fortune of war changed her face.*

There was a generousness about chivalry unknown to other warfare. If in these days of improved jurisprudence we revert our eyes with horror and contempt to times when every question was decided by the sword, still an air of graceful courtesy hung over them, which charms the imagination. A cavalier always granted safe-conduct through his territories to all who required it, even to those who asserted pretensions, which, if established, would deprive him of his

* Malmsbury, p. 186.

† Lai of Aucassin and Nicolette.

* Froissart, livre 1, c. 87. The romances of chivalry are full of tales expressive of this feature of the knightly character. As amusing a story as any is to be found in the Morte d'Arthur. "There came into the court a lady that hight the lady of the lake. And she came on horseback, richly bysede, and saluted King Arthur, and asked him a gift that he promised her when she gave him the sword. 'That is sooth,' said Arthur, 'a gift I promised you. Ask what ye will, and ye shall have it, an it be in my power to give it.'—'Well,' said the lady, 'I ask the head of the knight that hath wore the sword, or the damsel's head that brought it. I take no force though I have both their heads, for he slew my brother, a good knight and a true, and that gentlewoman was causer of my father's death.'—'Truly,' said King Arthur, 'I may not grant either of their heads with my worship, therefore ask what ye will else, and I shall fulfil your desire.'—'I will ask none other thing,' said the lady. When Balyn was ready to depart, he saw the lady of the lake, that by her means had slain Balyn's mother, and he had sought her three years; and when it was told him that she asked his head of King Arthur, he went to her streyte, and said, 'Evil be you found, you would have my head, and therefore shall lose yours,' and with his sword lightly he smote off her head before King Arthur. 'Alas! for shame,' said Arthur, why have you done so? you have ashamed me and all my court; for this was a lady that I was beholden to, and hither she came under my safe-conduct. I shall never forgive you that trespass.'—'Sir,' said Balyn, 'me forthinketh of your displeasure; for this same lady was the untruest lady living, and by enchantment and sorcery she hath been the destroyer of many good knights, and she was causer that my mother was burnt through her falsehood and treachery.'—'What cause soever ye had,' said Arthur, 'you should have forborne her in my presence; therefore, think not the contrary, you shall repent it, for such another despite had I never in my court, therefore withdraw you out of my court in all haste that you may.'" Morte d'Arthur, lib. ii., c. 3.

possessions. When Matilda landed near Arundel, to contend for the throne of England, Stephen gave her honourable conduct to the castle of his brother, the Earl of Gloucester.* This instance of chivalric generousness seems scarcely creditable to those who view ancient times by the light of modern prejudices. It was not the passive virtue that declined to profit by any mischance happening to an adversary, but it was one knight drawing the sword, and placing it in the hands of his foe.

More full in its circumstances, and equally romantic in its character, is the following tale. About the year 1338, Sir Peter Courtenay, an English knight of approved valiancy, went to France in order to joust with the renowned Sir Guy of Tremouille. They ran one course with spears, and the king then stopped the martial game, saying that each had done enough. He made the stranger knight fair presents, and set him on his way to Calais, under the care of the Lord of Clary, who is characterized by our old chivalric chronicler as a lusty and frisky knight. They rode together till they reached Lucen, where resided the Countess of St. Poule, sister of the King of England, and whose first husband had been a Lord of Courtenay. During the noble entertainment with which she greeted her guests, the Countess inquired of Sir Peter his opinion of France. He complimented the country in most of its forms, and praised the demeanour of the French chivalry, except in one thing, for he complained that none of their knights would do any deed of arms with him, although he had with great trouble and cost left England to encounter them. The Lord of Clary heard with pain the knights of his country reviled, in the presence of the sister of the King of England; but he restrained his feelings because Sir Peter was then under his protection.

The next day they took their leave of the Countess, who, like a noble lady, threw a chain of gold round the neck of each. They proceeded to Calais, and when they reached the frontier, and Sir Peter stepped on the English territory, the Lord of Clary reminded him of the language he had used at the board of the Countess St. Poule, regarding the French chivalry, and added, that such an opinion was not courteous nor honourable, and that simple knight as he was he would do his devoir to answer him, saying, however, that he was influenced not by any hatred to his person, but the desire of maintaining the honour of French knighthood.

Accordingly they jousted in the marshes of Calais, in the presence of noble cavaliers and squires of the two nations. In the second course the lance of Lord Clary pierced the shoulder of Sir Peter, and the wounded knight was led to the neighbouring town. The Lord of Clary returned to Paris, proud that he had vindicated the chivalric honour of his country, and expecting praise. But when it was reported that a strange knight travelling under the royal safeguard, had been required to do a deed of arms, the king and his council felt alarmed, lest the honour of their nation had received a stain. It was also thought that the joust had been intentionally a mortal one, a matter which aggravated the offence. The Lord of Clary was summoned before them, and interrogated how he had presumed to be so outrageous, as to hold a joust to the utterance with a knight-stranger that had come to the king's court for good love and to exalt his honour, to do feats of arms, and had departed thence with good love and joy, and to the intent that he should not be troubled in his return, he had been delivered to his charge.

The Lord of Clary, in reply, simply related his tale, and instead of deprecating the anger of his liege lord, he claimed reward for his vindication of the French chivalry. He said he would abide the judgment of the constable and the high marshal of France, the knights and squires of honour in every land; and so highly did he esteem the chivalry of that noble knight himself, Sir Peter Courtenay, that he would appeal to his voice and discretion.

Notwithstanding this defence, the Lord of Clary was committed to prison, nor was he delivered thence till after a long time, when the entreaties of the Countess of St. Poule, the Lord of Bourbon, the Lord of Coucy, and other no-

* Malmsbury, p. 184. Quem culibet, quamvis infestissimo inimico negare, laudabilium militum mos non est.

bles, prevailed with the king. He was dismissed with this reproof and exhortation: "Sir of Clary, you supposed that you had done right well, howbeit you acted shamefuly, when you offered to do arms with Sir Peter Courtenay, who was under the king's safeguard, and delivered to you to conduct to Calais. You did a great outrage when you renewed the words, which were spoken only in sport before the Countess of St. Poule. Before you had so renewed them, you ought to have returned to the king, and then what counsel the king had given, you should have followed; because you did not this, you have suffered pain. Beware better another time, and thank the Lord of Bourbon and the Lord of Coucy for your deliverance, for they earnestly solicited for you, and also thank the Lady of St. Poule."*

The virtue of liberality seems to have been a striking feature of the chivalric character. It proceeded from that loftiness of spirit which felt that avarice would have debased a heroism that should contend for crowns and kingdoms. The minstrels of the times, who kept alive the flame of chivalry, encouraged this virtue above all others, for upon it depended their own subsistence. But it often sprang from better motives than pride or vanity. The good Lord de Foix gave every day five florins, in small money, at his gate, to poor folks, for the love of God; and he was liberal and courteous in his gifts to others; for he had certain coffers in his chambers, out of which he would oft-times take money to give to lords, knights, and squires, such as came to him, and none departed from him without a gift.† A knight, indeed, was taught to consider nothing his own, save his horse and arms, which he ought to keep as his means of acquiring honour, by using them in the defence of his religion and country, and of those who were unable to defend themselves.‡

The valiancy of chivalry was beautifully chastened by humility:

"And of his port as meek as is a maid.
Every hero, as well as Chaucer's knight, demeaned himself in all things as if he had been in the hands of God, and in his name used his arms, without vaunting or praising himself; for praise was regarded as blame in the mouth of him who commended his own actions. It was thought that if the squire had vainglory of his arms, he was not worthy to be a knight, for vainglory was a vice which destroyed the merits and the claims of chivalry.

The heroes of the Round Table were the mirror of all Christian knights; and the generous modesty of Sir Lancelot was reflected in the conduct of many a true soldier of chivalry. In the lofty fancies of romantic Europe that valiant friend of Arthur was the prowest of all the heroes of Britain; yet he always gave place to Sir Tristram, and often retired from the field of tournament when that noble son of arms was performing his devoir. Even when he was entitled to the prize, Sir Lancelot would not receive it, maugre the offering of king, queen, and knights; but when the cry was great through the field, "Sir Lancelot hath won the field, this day!" that noble subject of praise cried, on the contrary, "Sir Tristram hath won the field; for he began first, and endured last, and so hath he done the first day, the second, and the third day."*

The catalogue of knightly virtues is not yet complete; and nothing can be more beautiful to the moral eye than some of the characteristics of the ancient chivalry. Kindness and gentleness of manner, which, when adopted by kings from knightly customs, were called courtesy, were peculiar to the soldier of the middle ages, and pleasingly distinguished him from the savage sternness of other warriors, whether Roman or barbarian. Courtesy was the appearance, in the ordinary circumstances of life, of that principle of protection which, in weightier matters, made the sword leap from its scabbard; and, like every other blessing of modern times, it had its origin in the Christian religion. The world thought that courtesy and chivalry accorded together, and that villanous and foul words were contrary to an order which was

* Froissart, vol. ii., c. 162.

† Froissart, ii. 26.

‡ This was part of the exhortation of a king of Portugal, on knighting his son, according to a Portuguese historian, cited in Lord Lyttleton's History of Henry II., vol. ii., p. 233, 4to.

* Morte d'Arthur; first book of Sir Tristram, c. 34.

founded on piety.* Whether historians or fabulists speak of a true knight, he is always called gentle and courteous. To be debonnaire was as necessary as to be bold;

"Preux chevalier n'en doutez pas,
Doit ferir hault et parler bas."†

The following anecdote curiously marks the manners of chivalric ages with relation to the quality of courtesy:—The wife and sister of Du Guesclin were once living in a castle which was attacked and taken by a force of Normans and Englishmen. The success was great and important; but public indignation was excited against the invaders, because they had transgressed the licence of war, and been guilty of the uncourteous action of surprising and disturbing ladies while they were asleep.‡

These military and moral qualities of knighthood were sustained and nourished by all the circumstances of chivalric life, even those of a peaceful nature. Hunting and falconry, the amusements of the cavalier, were images of war, and he threw over them a grace beyond the power of a mere baronial rank. Dames and maidens accompanied him to the sport of hawking, when the merry bugles sounded to field; and it was the pleasing care of every gallant knight to attend on his damsel, and on her bird which was so gallantly bedight; to let the falcon loose at the proper moment, to imitate it by his cries, to take from its talons the prey it had seized, to return with it triumphantly to his lady, and, placing the hood on its eyes, to set it again on her hand. Every true knight could say, like the cavalier in Spenser,

"Ne is there hawk which mantleth her on perch,
Whether high towering or accosting low,
But I the measure of her flight do search,
And all her prey and all her diet know."

These amusements of every-day life were always mingling themselves with the humanities of war. Edward III., when in France, in the year 1359, was attended by sixty couple of dogs, and by thirty falconers, on horseback, carrying birds. Various barons in the army had their dogs and birds with them, like the king. During the reign of Richard II., when the Duke of Lancaster was in France and Spain, many ladies accompanied the army, for the objects of the expedition were not altogether military; pleasure was as much the occupation as affairs of moment, and for the space of a month or more the Duke lay at Cologne, and removed not, except it were hunting or hawking; for the Duke and other lords of England had brought with them hawks and hounds for their own sport, and sparrow-hawks for the ladies.*

To play the game of chess, to hear the minstrel's lays, and read romances, were the principal amusements of the knight when the season and the weather did not permit hawking and hunting. A true knight was a chess-player, and the game was played in every country of chivalry; for as the chivalric states of midland Europe obtained a knowledge of it from

* Caxton, c. 66.

† The necessity of courtesy of manner was so important in the minds of the old poets that they ascribed it not only to every favourite hero, but even to animals, whether real or imaginary. Our moral poet Gower thus gravely sets forth the politeness of a dragon.

"With all the cheer that he may,
Toward the bed there as she lay,
Till he came to her the beddes side,
And she lay still and nothing cried;
For he did all his things fair,
And was courteous and debonair."
Confessio Amantis, lib. 6, fol. 138.

‡ Extrait de l'Histoire de Du Gueslin, par P. H. Du Chastelet, p. 39, &c.

* Froissart, vol. ii., c. 47. It is difficult to fancy the extravagant degree of estimation in which hawks were held during the chivalric ages. As Mr. Rose says in one of his notes to the Romance of Partenopex of Blois, they were considered as symbols of high estate, and as such were constantly carried about by the nobility of both sexes. Barclay, in his translation from Brandt, complains of the indecent usage of bringing them into places appropriated to public worship; a practice which, in the case of some individuals, appears to have been recognised as a right. The treasurer of the church of Auxerre enjoyed the distinction of assisting at divine service on solemn days, with a falcon on his fist; and the lord of Sassai held the privilege of perching his upon the altar. Nothing was thought more dishonourable to a man of rank, than to give up his hawks, and if he were taken prisoner, he would not resign them even as the price of liberty.

the Scandinavians, so the southern states acquired it from the Arabs.

> "When they had dined, as I you say,
> Lords and ladies went to play;
> Some to tables, and some to chess,
> With other games more and less."*

The fondness of our ancestors for the game of chess appears by the frequent mention of the amusement in the ancient romances. Sometimes a lover procured admittance to the place where his mistress was confined, by permitting the jailor to win from him a game at chess. Again, the minstrels in the baronial hall spread over their subject all the riches of their imagination. They were wont to fancy the enchanted castle of a beautiful fairy, who challenged a noble knight to play with her at chess. Flags of white and black marble formed the chequer, and the pieces consisted of massive statues of gold and silver, which moved at the touch of a magic wand held by the player. Such fables show the state of manners: but a curious story remains on historical record, which displays the practical consequences of chess-playing. During part of the reign of our Edward III. the town and castle of Evreux were French. A noble knight of the neighbourhood, named Sir William Graville, who was secretly attached to the English side, thought he could win the place, and he formed his scheme on his knowledge of the governor's character. He first gained some friends among the burgesses, who were not very strongly attached to the French cause. As he had not declared himself the friend of either party, he was permitted to walk in whatever quarters of the city he chose, and one day he loitered before the gate of the castle till he attracted the attention of the governor. They saluted each other, and conversed awhile on the topics of the season. Sir William found his auditor credulous to every tale, till, when he had told one of wondrous improbability, the governor demanded his authority. "Sir," replied the knight of Graville, "a cavalier of Flanders wrote this to me on the pledge of his honour, and sent with the letter the goodliest chess-men I ever saw."

The governor dropped all care for the story at the mention of chess-men, and he anxiously desired to see them.

"I will send for them," said Sir William, "on condition that you will play a game with me for the wine."

The governor assented, and Sir William desired his squire to fetch the chessmen and bring them to the gate.

The two knights then passed through two wickets into the castle yard; and while the stranger was viewing the edifice, his faithful squire ran at speed to the burgesses' houses, and summoned them to arms. They soon donned their harness and repaired with him to the castle gate, where, agreeably to a concerted scheme, he sounded a horn.

When Sir William heard it, he said to the governor, "Let us go out of the second gate, for the chess-men are arrived." Sir William passed the wicket, and remained without. In following him the governor stooped and put out his head. Sir William drew a small battle-axe from under his cloak, and therewith smote to death his defenceless foe. He then opened the first gate, the burgesses entered in numerous and gallant array, and incontinently the castle was taken.*

The minstrel's lay, the poetry of the troubadour, the romance of the learned clerk, all spoke of war and love, of the duties and sports of chivalry. Every baronial knight had his gay troop of minstrels that accompanied him to the field, and afterwards chanted in his hall, whether in their own or another's verse, the martial deeds which had renowned his house. A branch of the minstrelsy art consisted of reciting tales; and such persons as practised it were called jesters.

> "I warn you first at the beginning,
> That I will make no vain carping
> Of deeds of arms nor of amours
> As do minstrelles and jestours,
> That make carping in many a place
> Of Octoviane and Isembrase,
> And of many other jestes,
> And namely when they come to festes;
> Nor of the life of Bevis of Hampton,
> That was a knight of great renown;
> Nor of Sir Guy of Warwick,
> All if it might some men like."†

* Romance of Ipomydon.

* Froissart, vol. i., c. 177; and Sir Walter Scott's note to the Romance of Sir Tristrem, p. 274.

† This statement of the objects of the minstrelsy art, is taken from a manuscript cited by

Minstrels played on various musical instruments during dinner, and chanted or recited their verses and tales afterwards both in the hall and in the chamber to which the barons and knights retired for amusement.

"Before the king he set him down,
And took his harp of merry soun,
And, as he full well can,
Many merry notes he began.
The kind beheld, and sat full still,
To hear his harping he had good will.
When he left off his harping,
To him said that rich king,
Minstrel, me liketh well thy glee,
What thing that thou ask of me
Largely I will thee pay;
Therefore ask now and asay."*

A minstrel's lay generally accompanied the wine and spices which concluded the entertainment.† Kings and queens had their trains of songsters, and partly from humour and partly from contempt, the head of the band was called king of the minstrels.* But men of the first quality, particularly the younger sons and brothers of great houses, followed the profession of minstrelsy, and no wonder, if it be true that they gained the guerdon without having encountered the dangers of war; for many a doughty knight complained that the smiles for which he had perilled himself in the battle field were bestowed upon some idle son of peace at home. The person of a minstrel was sacred, and base and barbarian the man would have been accounted, who did not venerate him that sang the heroic and the tender lay, the magic strains of chivalry, and could shed a romantic lustre over fierce wars and faithful loves.

"In days of yore how fortunately fared
The minstrel! wandering on from hall to hall,
Baronial court or royal; cheered with gifts
Munificent, and love, and ladies' praise:
Now meeting on his road an armed knight,
Now resting with a pilgrim by the side
Of a clear brook: beneath an abbey's roof
One evening sumptuously lodg'd; the next

Tyrwhitt, Chaucer ii., 483. It is the railing of a sour fanatic, who wished to destroy all the harmless pleasures of life. But we may profit by his communication, while we despise his gloom.

I shall add another description of the various subjects of minstrelsy from the Lay le Fraine.

"Some beth of war and some of woe
And some of joy and mirth also;
And some of treachery and of guile,
Of old adventures that fell while;
And some of jests and ribaudy;
And many there beth of fairy;
Of all things that men see,
Most of love, forsooth, there be."

* Sir Orpheo.

† Froissart, vol. ii., c. 26, 52, 163. In Dr. Henderson's History of Wines, p. 283, it is stated that our ancestors mixed honey and spices with their wine, in order to correct its harshness and acidity, and to give it an agreeable flavour. True, but it should also have been remarked that the spices were not always mixed with the wine, but that they were served up on a plate by themselves. This custom is proved from an amusing passage in Froissart, which involves also another point of manners. Describing a dinner at the castle of Tholouse, at which the king of France was present, our chronicler says, "This was a great dinner and well stuffed of all things; and after dinner and grace said, they took other pastimes in a great chamber, and hearing of instruments, wherein the Earl of Foix greatly delighted. Then wine and spices were brought, the Earl of Harcourt served the king of his spice plate, and Sir Gerrard de la Pyen served the Duke of Bourbon, and Sir Monnaut of Nouailles served the Earl of Foix." Vol. ii., c. 264. Another passage is equally expressive: "The king alighted at his palace, which was ready apparelled for him. There the king drank and took spices, and his uncles also; and other prelates, lords, and knights." Thus too, at a celebration of the order of the Golden Fleece, at Ghent, in 1445, Olivier de la Marche, describing the dinner, says, "Longuement dura le disner et le service. Là jouerent et sonnerent menestries et trompettes; et herauts eurent grans dons, et crierent largesse; et tables levées furent les espices aportées, et furent les princes et les chevaliers servis d'espices et de vins, &c. Memoires, d' Olivier de la Marche, in the vol. ix., c. 15, of the great collection of French Memoirs; and in the Morte de Arthur it is said they went unto Sir Persauntes' pavilion, and drank the wine and ate the spices.

* He was a great personage, if wealth could confer dignity. The hospital and priory of St. Bartholomew in Smithfield, London, were founded by Royer or Raherus, the king's minstrel, in the third year of the reign of Henry I., A.D. 1102. Percy, Essay on the Ancient Minstrels, p. 32. The Serjeant of the minstrels was another title for the head of the royal minstrelsy. A circumstance that occurred in the reign of Edward IV. shows the confidential character of this officer, and his facility of access to the king at all hours and on all occasions.

"And as he (king Edward IV.) was in the north country in the month of September, as he lay in his bed, one, named Alexander Carlisle, that was *serjeant of the minstrels*, came to him in great haste, and bade him arise, for he had enemies coming." This fact is mentioned by Warton, on the authority of a historical fragment. ad calc. Sportti Chron. ed. Hearne, Oxon, 1729.

Humbly, in a religious hospital;
Or with some merry outlaws of the wood;
Or haply shrouded in a hermit's cell.
Him, sleeping or awake, the robber spared;
He walk'd — protected from the sword of war
By virtue of that sacred instrument
His harp, suspended at the traveller's side;
His dear companion wheresoe'er he went,
Opening from land to land an easy way
By melody, and by the charm of verse."*

Every page of early European history attests the sacred consideration of the minstrel, and the romances are full of stories, which at least our imagination can credit, of many a knight telling his soft tale in the dress of a love-singing poet. That dress had another claim to respect, for it was fashioned like a sacerdotal robe, as we learn from the story of two itinerant priests gaining admittance to a monastery, on the supposition of their being minstrels; but as soon as the fraud was discovered the poor ecclesiastics were beaten and driven from the monastery by their happier brethren.† The minstrel also was often arrayed in a dress of splendour, given to him by a baron in a moment of joyous generosity. The Earl of Foix, after a great festival, gave to heralds and minstrels the sum of five hundred franks; and he gave to the minstrels of his guest, the Duke of Tourrain, gowns of cloth of gold, furred with ermine, valued at two hundred franks.‡

There were other classes of poets in days of chivalry, who, under the names of troubadours, trouveurs, and minnesingers, were spread over all chivalric countries, and sang the qualities by which a knight could render himself agreeable to his mistress. The board of a baron was sometimes enlivened by a tenson, or dialogue in verse, on the comparative merits of love and war; and the argument was often supported by warmer feelings than those which could influence a hireling rhymer, for the harp of the troubadour was borne by kings, and lords, and knights. The romances, or poems longer than the minstrels' or troubadour lay, were also faithful ministers of chivalry. All their heroes were advocates of the church, and enemies of the Saracens and pagans. The perilous adventures of the Gothic knights, their high honour, tender gallantry, and solemn superstition were all recorded in romances,* and there was not a bay window in a baronial hall without its chivalric volume, with which knights and squires drove away the lazy hours of peace.

The fictitious tales of Arthur and Charlemagne were the study and amusement of the warrior in his moments of ease, and even the few relics of classical literature, which, after the Gothic storm, were cast on the shores of modern Europe, were fashioned anew by chivalry. The heroes of Troy were converted into knights, and Troilus and Cressida moved like a warrior and damsel of chivalric times. Indeed, as the tale of Troy Divine was occasioned by a lady, it blended very readily with the established fictions of the times. And the romancers, like the minstrels and troubadours, were highly favoured by the great, who knew that their actions, unless recorded by *clerc*, could have no duration, and therefore they often made handsome presents to authors in order to have their names recorded in never-dying histories.†

* Wordsworth's Excursion, book ii.

† Wood, Hist. Antiq. Un. Oxon. 1. 67, sub ann 1224; and Percy, Notes on his Essay on the Ancient Minstrels, p. 64.

‡ Froissart, vol. ii., c. 31. Writers on chivalry have too often affirmed, that the minstrels, besides singing, reciting, and playing on musical instruments, added the entertainments of vaulting over ropes, playing with the pendent sword, and practising various other feats of juggling and buffoonery. That this was sometimes the case during all the ages of the minstrelsy art, is probable enough, for the inferior minstrels were in a dreadful state of indigence. But the disgraceful union of poetry and juggling was not common in the best ages of chivalry. Chaucer expressly separates the minstrel from the juggler.

"There mightest thou karols seen,
And folk dance, and merry ben.
And made many a fair tourning
Upon the green grass springing.
There mightest thou see these flouters.
Minstrallis and eke jugelours."
Romaunt of the Rose, l. 759, &c.

Other passages to the same effect are collected in Anstis Order of the Garter, vol. i., p. 304; and Warton, History of English poetry, vol. ii., p. 55. As chivalry declined, minstrelsy was discountenanced, and its professors, fallen in public esteem, were obliged to cultivate other arts besides those of poetry and music.

* Dunlop, History of Fiction, vol. i., p. 142.

† Wace, a canon of Bayeux, and one of the most prolific rhymers that ever practised the art of poetry, continually reminded the great of the

The conversation of knights, like their lives and literature, related only to love and war.

"Then were the tables taken all away,
And every knight, and every gentle squire,
Gan choose his dame with *basciomani** gay,
With whom he meant to make his sport and play,
* * * * *
Some fell to dance; some fell to hazardry;
Some to make love; some to make merriment."

Every knight was welcome at another knight's castle, if it were only for the intelligence he could communicate regarding the deeds of arms that had been done in the countries which he had visited; and the great charm of the castle of the Earl of Foix, to the imagination of Froissart, was the goodly company of knights and squires of honour, pages and damsels, that he met in the hall, chamber, and court, going up and down, and talking of arms and amours.†

"After meat they went to play,
All the people, as I you say;
Some to chamber and some to bower,
And some to the high tower,
And some in the hall stode,
And spake what them thought gode;
Men that were of that cytè,
Inquired of men of other contrè."‡

Knights were wont, at these entertainments, to repose on couches, or sit on benches. The guests were placed two by two, and only one plate was allotted to each pair; for to eat on the same trencher to plate with any one was considered the strongest mark of friendship or love.* Peacocks and pheasants were the peculiar food of knights on great and festival occasions; they were said to be the nutriment of lovers, and the viand of worthies. The peacock was as much esteemed in chivalric as in classic times; and as Jupiter clothed himself with a robe made of that bird's feathers, so Pope Paul, sending to King Pepin a sword, in sign of true regard, accompanied it with a mantle ornamented with a peacock's plumes. The highest honours were conferred on these birds; for knights associated them with all their ideas of fame, and vowed by the peacock, as well as by the ladies, to perform their highest enterprises. A graceful splendour often characterised the circumstances in which the vow of the pheasant or peacock was made.

On a day of public festival, and between the courses of the repast, a troop of ladies brought into the assembly a peacock, or a pheasant, roasted in its feathers, in a golden or silver dish.†

benefits which accrued to themselves from patronizing poets.

"Bien entend conuis e sai
Que tuit morrunt, e clerc, e lai;
E que mult ad curte decrée,
En pres la mort lur renumee;
Si per clerc ne est mis en livre,
Ne poet par el dureement vivre.
* * * *
Suvent aveient des barruns,
E des nobles dames beaus duns,
Pur mettre lur nuns en estroire,
Que tuz tens mais fust de eus memoire."

MS. Bib. Reg. iv., c. 11, cited by Mr. Turner, History of England, vol. i., p. 422. 4to.

* This descripton (Spenser's) of chivalric manners, has sadly puzzled his commentators. They are quite agreed, however, on one point, namely, that to kiss the hand of a fair lady (which the word basciomani signified) was not a custom indigenous to England, but that it was imported hither from Italy or Spain. A preux chevalier of the olden time would have been indignant at this insult to the originality of his gallantry.

† Froissart, vol. ii., c. 26.

‡ The Life of Ipomydon, Fytte, 1.

* Thus in the Romance of Perceforest (cited by Ellis, Notes to Way's Fabliaux, vol. i., p. 220) it is said, "There were eight hundred knights all seated at table, and yet there was not one who had not a dame or damsel at his plate!"

In the tale of the Mule without a Bridle, it is said,

"Fill'd with these views the attendant dwarf she sends:
Before the knight the dwarf respectful bends;
Kind greetings bears as to his lady's guest,
And prays his presence to adorn her feast.
The knight delays not; on a bed design'd
With gay magnificence the fair reclin'd
High o'er her head, on silver columns rais'd
With broidering gems her proud pavilion blaz'd.
Herself, a paragon in every part,
Seem'd sovereign beauty deck'd with comeliest art.
With a sweet smile of condescending pride
She seats the courteous Gawaine by her side,
Scans with assiduous glance each rising wish,
Feeds from her food the partner of her dish!"

† M. Le Grand, in his valuable Histoire de la Vie Privée des Français, has given us some very curious information regarding the mode of dressing this distinguished bird. "It was generally," he says, "served up roasted. Instead of plucking the bird (observes the Complete Housekeeper

The hall was adorned with scenes, and wooden or other semblances of men, animals, or nature, all being expressive of the object for which the vow of the peacock was to be taken. If the promotion of religious wars was in view, a matron, clad in habiliments of wo, entered the room, and, approaching the dais, or lofty seat, which the chief lords and knights surrounded, she recited a long complaint, in verse, on the evils she suffered under the yoke of infidels, and complained of the tardiness of Europe in attempting her deliverance. Some knights then advanced, to the sound of solemn minstrelsy, to the lord of the castle, and presented two ladies, who bore between them the noble bird, in its splendid dish. In a brief speech the ladies recommended themselves to his protection. The lord promised to make war upon the infidels, and sanctioned his resolution by appealing to God and the Virgin Mary, the ladies and the peacock. All the knights who were in the hall drew their swords and repeated the vow; and, while bright falchions and ladies' eyes illumined the scene, each knight, inflamed by thoughts of war and love, added some new difficulty to the enterprise, or bound himself, by grievous penalties, to achieve it. Sometimes a knight vowed that he would be the first to enter the enemy's territory. Others vowed that they would not sleep in beds, nor eat off a cloth, nor drink wine, till they had been delivered of their emprise. The dish was then placed upon the table, and the lord of the festival deputed some renowned knight to carve it in such a manner that every guest might taste the bird. While he was exercising his talents of carving and subdivision, a lady, dressed in white, came to thank the assembly, presenting twelve damsels, each conducted by a cavalier. These twelve represented, by emblematical dresses, Faith, Charity, Justice, Reason, Prudence, Temperance, Strength, Generosity, Mercy, Diligence, Hope, and Courage. This bevy of bright damsels trooped round the hall, amidst the applauses of the assembly, and then the repast proceeded.*

These were the military, the religious, and the social qualities of a preux chevalier. The gentler feelings of his heart will be best delineated in the next chapter; and, as we have seen him adventurous and imaginative, so we shall find him amorous and true.†

CHAPTER V.

DAMES AND DAMSELS, AND LADY-LOVE.

Courtesy.—Education.—Music.—Graver Sciences.—Dress.—Knowledge of Medicine.—Every-day life of the Maiden.—Chivalric Love.—The Idolatry of the Knight's Passion—Bravery inspired by Love.—Character of Woman in the Eyes of a Knight.—Peculiar Nature of his Love.—Qualities of Knights admired by Women.—A tale of chivalric Love.—Constancy.—Absence of Jealousy.—Knights asserted by Arms their Mistress' Beauty.—Penitents of Love.—Other Peculiarities of chivalric Love.—The Passion universal.—Story of Aristotle.—Chivalric Love the Foe to feudal Distinctions.—But preserved Religion.—When Attachments were formed.—Societies of Knights for the Defence of Ladies.—Knights of the Lady in the Green Field.—Customs in England.—Unchivalric to take Women Prisoners.—Morals of chivalric Times.—Heroines of Chivalry.—Queen Philippa.—The Countess of March.—Tales of Jane of Mountfort and of Marzia degl' Ubaldini.—Nobleness of the chivalric Female Character.

If we fancy the knight of chivalry as valiant, noble-minded, and gentle, our

of former times) skin it carefully so as not to damage the feathers; then cut off the feet, stuff the body with spices and sweet herbs; roll a cloth round the head, and then spit your bird. Sprinkle the cloth, all the time it is roasting, to preserve its crest. When it is roasted enough, tie the feet on again; remove the cloth; set up the crest; replace the skin; spread out the tail, and so serve it up. Some people, instead of serving up the bird in the feathers, carry their magnificence so far as to cover their peacock with leaf gold; others have a very pleasant way of regaling their guests. Just before they serve up, they cram the beak of their peacock with wool, rubbed with camphor: then, when the dish is placed upon the table, they set fire to the wool, and the bird instantly vomits out flames like a little volcano."

* Du Chesne, House of Montmorenci, liv. i., p. 29, &c. M. de Couci (c. 7), 664, &c. Olivier de la Marche, p. 412. Hist. de Boucicaut, ed. de Godefroi.

† Like Sir Guiscard Dangle, Earl of Huntingdon, who, according to Froissart, possessed all the noble virtues that a knight ought to have, for "he was merry, true, amorous, sage, sweet,

imagination pictures to our minds the lady of his love in colours equally fair and pleasing. But we must not lose her individuality in general expressions of admiration, for she had a distinct and peculiar character, which from the circumstances of her life can be accurately traced. The maiden of gentle birth was, like her brother, educated in the castle of some knight or baron, her father's friend, and many of her duties were those of personal attendance. As the young candidate for chivalric honours carved at table, handed the wines, and made the beds of his lord, so his sister's care was to dress her lady, to contribute by music and conversation to her amusement, and to form a part of her state retinue:* and while there was no loss of dignity in this description of service, the practice being universal and of immemorial antiquity, feelings of humility insensibly entered the mind, and a kind consideration for those of harder fortunes softened the severity of feudal pride. Thus a condescending deportment to inferiors was a duty which their moral instructors enforced. It was represented to them by the pleasing image of the sparrow-hawk, which, when called in gentle accents, would come and settle on her hand, but if, instead of being courteous, she were rude and cruel, he would remain on the rock's pinnacle heedless of her calls. Courtesy from persons of superior consideration was the fair right of people of gentle birth though of small estate, for gentility was always to be respected, and to the poor man or woman it ought to be shown, because it gives pleasure to them, and reflects honour on those who bestowed it. A lady once in company of knights and ladies took off her hood and humbled herself courteously unto a mechanic. One of her friends exclaimed in astonishment, "Why, noble dame, you have taken off your hood to a tailor."—"Yes," she replied, "and I would rather have doffed it to him than to a gentleman:" and her courteous friends reputed that she had done right well.†

The mental education of women of those days was not of a very high polish. To repeat the prayers of the church, to sing the brief piece of poetry called the lai, or the longer romaunt were the only tasks on the intellect.

"The king had a daughter dear,
That maiden Ysonde hight;
That glee was left to hear
And romance to read aright."*

The ladies also played upon the harp,

"They were wont to harp and syng,
And be the merriest in chamber comyng."†

The same particular of ancient manners is recorded by another poet.

"The lady that was so fair and bright,
Upon the bed she set down right,
The harpers notes sweet and fine,
Her maids filled a price of wine.
And Sir Degore sat him down,
For to hear the harper's sown."‡

But sometimes the graver sciences were introduced into female education, and Felice, the daughter of Rohand, Earl of Warwick, was not without parallels.

"Gentle she was, and as demure
As ger-fauk, or falcon to lure,
That out of mew were y-drawe,
So fair was none, in sooth sawe.
She was thereto courteous, and free and wise,
And in the seven arts learned withouten miss.
Her masters were thither come
Out of Thoulouse all and some,
White and hoar all they were;
Busy they were that maiden to lere;
And they her lered of astronomy,
Of armsmetrick, and of Geometry;
Of sophistry she was also witty,
Of rhetorick, and of other clergy:
Learned she was in musick;
Of clergy was her none like."§

Maidens were taught that a mild dignity of demeanor beseemed them, and moralising their duty into a thousand similes, their teachers declared that they ought not to resemble the tortoise or the crane, which turn the visage and the head above their shoulders, and wind their head like

liberal, preux, hardy, adventurous, and chivalrous." vol. i., c. 384.

* See the verses of Des Escas, a Troubadour at the court of the King of Arragon.

† Knight of the Tower, chap. "How goodly women ought to maintain themselves courteously."

* Sir Tristram, Fytte Second, st. 13, and Scott's note.

† Squire of Low Degree.

‡ Sir Degore.

§ Romance of Guy of Warwick.

a vane ; but their regard and manner ought to be steadfast, in imitation of the beautiful hare, which always looks right on. If an occasion required a damsel to look aside, she ought to turn the visage and body together, and so her estate would be more firm and sure ; for it was unmaidenly lightly to cast about her sight and head, and turn her face here and there.*

Simplicity of dress was another part of instruction ; but there was to be no lack of jewels of price and other splendid ornaments on festive occasions, and, consistently with the general magnificence of religious worship of the age, maidens were commanded to wear their gorgeous robes at church, and not merely at court festivals. There was a gravity about chivalry which accorded well with the recommendation for women not quickly to adopt new dresses introduced from strange countries. Modesty of attire was the theme of many a wise discourse, and every castle had its story of the daughter of a knight who lost her marriage by displaying too conspicuously the graces of her figure, and that the cavalier who was her intended suitor preferred her sister who had modesty, though not beauty, for her dower.†

All the domestic œconomy of the baronial mansion was arranged by these young maidens : and the consideration which this power gave them was not a little heightened by their sharing with the monks in the knowledge which the age possessed of vulnerary medicaments. This attribute of skill over the powers of nature was a clear deduction from that sublime, prophetic, and mysterious character of women in the ages which preceded the times both of feudalism and chivalry. The healing art was not reduced to an elaborate system of principles and rules, for memory to store and talent to apply, but it was thought that the professors of medicine enjoyed a holy intercourse with worlds unknown to common minds. The possession of more than mortal knowledge was readily ascribed to a pure, unearthly being like woman, and the knight who felt to his heart of hearts the charm of her beauty was not slow in believing that she could fascinate the very elements of nature to aid him. There are innumerable passages in the various works which reflect the manners of chivalric times on the medicinal practice of dames and damsels. A pleasing passage of Spenser illustrates their affectionate tendance of the sick.

" Where many grooms and squires ready were
To take him from his steed full tenderly ;
And eke the fairest Alma met him there
With balm and wine and costly spicery,
To comfort him in his infirmity,
Eftesoones she caus'd him up to be conveyed,
And of his arms despoiled easily :
In sumptuous bed she made him to be laid,
And, all the while his wounds were dressing,
by him stay'd."*

Chirurgical knowledge was also a necessary feminine accomplishment, and we will accept the reason of the cavalier with " high thoughts, seated in a heart of courtesy," for such a remarkable feature in their character. " The art of surgery," says Sir Philip Sidney, " was much esteemed, because it served to virtuous courage, which even ladies would, even with the contempt of cowards, seem to cherish."† A fair maiden could perform as many wonderful cures as the most renowned and skilful leech. The gentle Nicolette successfully treated an accident which her knight Aucassin met with.

" So prosper'd the sweet lass, her strength alone
Thrust deftly back the dislocated bone ;
Then, culling curious herbs of virtue tried,
While her white smock the needful bands supplied ;
With many a coil the limb she swath'd around,
And nature's strength return'd, nor knew its former wound."

Spenser favours us with the ladies' method of treating a wound.

* Knight of the Tower, chap. " How young maidens ought not lightly to turn their heads here and there."

† Knight of the Tower, chap. entitled, "Of them that will not wear their good clothes on high feasts and holy-days," and, " How the daughter of a knight lost her marriage." Memoires de Louis de la Tremouille, cap. xii., p. 169, &c., in the 14th vol. of the great collection of French Memoires.

* Fairy Queen, book ii., canto 11, st. 49.

† The manners of his times might, perhaps, have been the origin of this picture, for even so late as the reign of Elizabeth, it is mentioned among the accomplishments of the ladies of her court, that the eldest of them are skilful surgeons. Harrison's Description of England, prefixed to Holinshed.

"Mekely she bowed down, to weete if life
Yet in his frozen members did remain;
And, feeling by his pulses beating rife
That the weak soul her seat did yet retain,
She cast to comfort him with busy pain:
His double-folded neck she reared upright,
And rubb'd his temples and each trembling vein;
His mailed haberieon she did undight,
And from his head his heavy burganet did light.

Into the woods thenceforth in haste she went,
To seek for herbs that mote him remedy;
For she of herbes had great intendiment,
Taught of the nymph from whom her infancy
Her nourced had in true nobility.
* * * * *
The soveraine weede betwixt two marbles plain,
She powder'd small, and in pieces bruize;
And then atweene her lily handes twain
Into his wound ye juice therefore did scruze;
And round about, as she could well it use,
The flesh therewith she suppled and did steepe
T'abate all spasm and soke the swelling bruise;
And after having search't the intuse deep,
She with her scarf did bind the wound, from cold to keep."*

The every-day life of a young maiden in chivalric times is described with a great deal of spirit in the fine old English tale of the Squire of Low Degree. I am not acquainted with any other passage of the metrical romances which contains so vivid a picture of the usages of our ancestors. To dissipate his daughter's melancholy for the loss of her lover, the King of Hungary says,

"To-morrow ye shall on hunting fare,
And ride, my daughter, in a chair,†
It shall be covered with velvet red,
And cloths of fine gold all about your head;
With damask white and azure blue
Well diapered with lilies new
Your pomelles shall be ended with gold,
Your chains enameled many a fold;
Your mantle of rich degree
Purple pall and ermine fre.

Jennets of Spain that be so white
Trapped to the ground with velvet bright
Ye shall have harp, sawtry, and song,
And other myrthes you among;
Ye shall have Rumney and Malmesyne,
Both ypocrass and vernage wine,
Mount rose and wine of Greek,
Both algrade and despice eke,
Antioch and bastard,
Piment also and gamarde;
Wine of Greek and muscadell,
Both clare piment and rochell,*
The red your stomach to defy,
And pots of osey set you by.
You shall have venison ybake.†
The best wild fowl that may be take.
A lese of greyhounds with you to strike,
And hart and hind and other lyke,
Ye shall be at such a tryst‡
That hart and hind shall come to your fist.
Your disease to drive you fro,
To hear the bugles there yblowe.
Homeward thus shall ye ride,
On hawking by the river's side,
With goss hawk and with gentle falcon,
With eagle-horn, and merlyon.§
When you come home your men among,
Ye shall have revel dance and song,
Little children great and small
Shall sing as doth the nightingale.

Then shall ye go to your even song,
With tenors and trebles among,
Threescore of ropes of damask bright
Full of pearls they shall be pight,‖
Your censers shall be of gold
Indent with azure many a fold:
Your choir nor organ song shall want
With counter note and discant.
The other half on organs playing,
With young children full fair singing.
Then shall ye go to your supper,
And sit in tents in green arbour,
With cloth of arras pight to the ground,
With saphires set and diamond.
The nightingale sitting on a thorn
Shall sing you notes both even and morn.
An hundred knights truly told,
Shall play with bowls in alleys cold,

* Fairy Queen, book iii., canto 5, st. 31, 33.

† Before the year 1680, when coaches were first used in England, as Percy observes, ladies rode chiefly on horseback, either single on their palfreys, or double behind some person on a pillion. Not but in case of sickness, or bad weather, they had horse-litters, and even vehicles called chairs, and carrs or charres. Note on the Northumberland Household Book.

* It is evident that the good King of Hungary was a boon companion, and we will fancy that it was from a very common and natural feeling, that he supposed his daughter's inclinations similar to his own. Of the formidable list of wines which he gives, some names declare their growths very clearly; of the rest, I believe, that Rumney wine means the wine from La Romanée, a vineyard of Burgundy. Dr. Henderson, however, suggests that it was an Andalusian growth. Malmesyne was a Greek wine, from Malvagia in the Morea, the original seat of the Malmsey grape. Vernage was perhaps a Tuscan wine. Osey was Alsatian wine. Respice (vin rapé), was the produce of unbruised grapes, and Bastard was a sweet Spanish wine.

† Baked meats were the usual food of our ancestors. Thus, Chaucer says of his Frankelein (the modern country squire),
"Withoutin *bake-mete* never was his house."

‡ Station. § Two species of hawks

‖ Sewed or quilted.

Your disease to drive away,
To see the fishes in pools play.
And then walk in arbour up and down,
To see the flowers of great renown.
To a draw-bridge then shall ye,
The one half of stone, the other of tree;
A barge shall meet you, full right,
With twenty-four oars full bright,
With trúmpets and with clarion,
The fresh water to row up and down.

* * * * *

Into your chamber they shall you bring
With much mirth and more liking.
Your blankets shall be of fustain,
Your sheets shall be of cloths of Rayne;*
Your head sheet shall be of pery pight,†
With diamonds set and ruby bright.
When you are laid in bed so soft,
A cage of gold shall hang aloft,
With long pepper fair burning,
And cloves that be sweet smelling,
Frankincense and olibanum,‡
That when you sleep the taste may come,
And if ye no rest can make,
All night minstrels for you shall wake."

In that singular system of manners which we call chivalric, religion was a chief influential principle of action; but scarcely less consequence ought in truth to be given to another feeling apparently incompatible with it; and if Venus, in the Greek mythology, was called the universal cause, her empire seems not to have been less extensive in days of knighthood. A Latin poet, of no mean authority in such subjects, has described love as the sole employment of women's life, and of man's only a part;* and Boccacio says, that he composed his tales for the solace of fair and noble ladies in love, who, confined within their melancholy chambers, had no other occupation, but perpetually to revolve in their minds the same consuming thoughts rendered intolerable by shame and concealment: while man might hunt, hawk, fish, and had a thousand channels for his thoughts.

But the state of society at Rome was not similar to that in the days of knighthood, and though Boccacio lived in those days, he describes the manners of commercial cities rather than of chivalric courts, of fair Florence and not of a frowning baronial castle. The ideas of God and of love were always blended in the heart of the true knight, and to be loving was as necessary as to be devout. Cervantes expresses the feelings of chivalry in the declaration of Don Quixote, that "a knight without a mistress was like a tree without either fruit or leaves, or a body without a soul." A ship without a rudder, a horse without a bridle, were other illustrations of the prevailing sentiment, and more expressive of the characteristic of chivalric love, which assigned superiority to woman, which made her the directress of the thoughts, and inspirer of the courage of her chosen cavalier. "A knight may never be of prowess, but if he be a lover," was the sentiment of Sir Tristram, a valiant peer of Arthur, and it was echoed by every gentle son of chivalry.† Not,

* Rennes in Brittany was highly famous for its manufacture of linen.

† Inlaid with jewels.

‡ A modern princess, as Mr. Ellis says (Specimens of the early English Poets, vol. i., p. 344), might possibly object to breathe the smoke of pepper, cloves, and frankincense during her sleep; but the fondness of our ancestors for those, and indeed for perfumes of all kinds was excessive. Mr. Ellis adds, that in the foregoing description of diversions, the good King of Hungary has forgotten one, which seems to have been as great a favourite with the English and French as ever it was with the Turkish ladies; this is the bath. It was considered, and with great reason, as the best of all cosmetics; and Mr. Strutt has extracted from an old M.S. of prognostications, written in the time of Richard II., a medical caution, to the women against 'going to the bath *for beauty*' during the months of March and November. Women also often bathed together for purposes of conversation. The reader knows that the public baths were not always used for such healthful and innocent purposes.

* "Vos, modo venando, modo rus geniale colendo
Ponitis in varia tempora longa mora.
Aut fora vos retinent, aut unctæ dona palæstræ;
Flectitis aut fræno colla sequaris equi.
Nunc volucrem laqueo, nunc piscem ducitis hamo.
Diluitur posito serior hora mero.
His mihi submotæ, vel si minus acriter utar,
Quod faciam, superest, præter amare, nihil.
Quod superest, facio; teque, o mi sola voluptas,
Plus quoque, quam reddi quod mihi possit, amo."
Ovid. Ep. Hero Leandro.

† Don Quixote affirmed, that no history ever made mention of any knight errant that was not a lover; for were any knight free from the impulses of that generous passion, he would not be allowed to be a lawful knight, but a misborn intruder, and one who was not admitted within

indeed, that every knight felt this strength and purity of passion. Spenser has described four cavaliers, and each represents a large class.

"Druon's delight was all for single life,
And unto ladie's love would lend no leisure;
The more was Claribell engaged rife
With fervent flames, and loved out of measure:
So eke lov'd Blandamour, but yet at pleasure
Would change his liking and new lemans prove:
But Paridell of love did make no threasure,
But lusted after all that did him move:
So diversely these four disposed were to love."*

The true knight, he whose mind was formed in the best mould of chivalric principles, was a more perfect personification of love than poets and romancers had ever dreamed. The fair object of his passion was truly and emphatically the mistress of his heart. She reigned there with absolute dominion. His love was,

"All adoration, duty, and observance."

Our old English poet, Gower, whose soul was filled with romantic tenderness and gallantry, says,

"In every place, in every stead,
What so my lady hath me bid,
With all my heart obedient,
I have thereto been diligent."

And every gallant spirit of Gower's days, the reign of Edward III., said of his mistress,

"What thing she bid me do, I do,
And where she bid me go, I go.
And when she likes to call, I come,
I serve, I bow, I look, I lowte,
My eye followeth her about.
What so she will, so will I,
When she would set, I kneel by,
And when she stands then will I stand,
And when she taketh her work in hand,
Of wevying or of embroidrie,
Then can I not but muse and prie,
Upon her fingers long and small."

Gower, in describing the knight's mode of tendance on his mistress, has drawn a pleasing picture of the domestic life of chivalry.

"And if she list to riden out,
On pilgrimage, or other stead,
I come, though I be not bid,
And take her in my arms aloft,
And set her in her saddle soft,
And so forth lead her by the bridle,
For that I would not be idle.
And if she list to ride in chare,
And that I may thereof beware,
Anon, I shape me to ride,
Right even by the chares side,
And as I may, I speak among,
And other while, I sing a song."*

These quotations shows that the expression in ancient times of knights being servants of the ladies was not a mere figure of the imagination. The instances from Gower, however, which prove the propriety of the title, may not be thought exclusively chivalric. A story in Froissart will fully supply the want. A Bourbon knight, named Sir John Bonnelance, a valiant soldier, gracious and amorous, was once at Montferrand, in Auvergne, sporting among the ladies and damsels of the town. While commending his chivalry, they urged him to undertake an enterprise against the English, and she who, as his lady-love was ruler

the pale of knighthood at the door, but leaped the fence, and stole in like a thief and a robber. Vivaldo, who was talking with the Don, asserted in opposition to this opinion and statement, that Don Galaor, the brother of Amadis de Gaul, never had any mistress in particular to recommend himself to, and yet for all that he was not the less esteemed. Don Quixote, after borrowing one of Sancho's proverbs, that one swallow never makes a summer, replied that he knew Don Galaor was privately very much in love; and as for his paying his addresses wherever he met with beauty, this was an effect of his natural inclination, which he could not easily restrain. It was an undeniable truth, concluded the Don, that Galaor had a favourite lady whom he had crowned empress of his will; and to her he frequently recommended himself in private, for he did not a little value himself upon his discretion and secrecy in love. This defence of Galaor is very amusing, and Vivaldo submitted to it. But he ought to have adduced the opinions of that mad knight and merry talker of the Round Table, Sir Dynadan, who marvelled what could ail Sir Tristram and many others of his companions, that they were always sighing after women. 'Why,' said la belle Isaud, 'are you a knight and no lover? you cannot be called a good knight, except you make a quarrel for a lady.' 'God defend me!' replied Dynadan, 'for the joy of love is so short, and the sorrow thereof and what cometh thereof endureth so long."

Morte d'Arthur, lib. i., c. 56.

* Fairy Queen, book iv., canto 9, st. 21.

* Gower's Confessio Amantis, book iv., p. 103, &c.

of his actions, told him that she would fain see an Englishman, for she had heard much of the valiancy of the knights of England. Bonnelance replied, "that if it should ever be his good fortune to take one, he would bring him into her presence." Soon afterwards he was able to perform his word. He took to Montferrand some English prisoners, and addressing her who fancied the wish of seeing an Englishman, he said "that for her love he had brought them to the town." The ladies and damsels laughed, and turned the matter to a great sport. They thanked him for his courtesy, and entertained him right sweetly during his three days abode at Montferrand.*

The knight, whose heart was warmed with the true light of chivalry, never wished that the dominion of his mistress should be less than absolute, and the confession of her perfect virtue, which this feeling implied, made him preserve his own faith pure and without a stain. Love was as marked a feature in the chivalric character as valour; and, in the phrase of the time, he who understood how to break a lance, and did not understand how to win a lady, was but half a man. He fought to gain her smiles, for love in brave and gentle knights kindled aspirations for high desert and honour. "Oh! that my lady saw me," was the exclamation of a knight in the pride of successful valour as he mounted the city's wall, and with his good sword was proving the worth of his chivalry.† He wore her colours, and the favour of his lady bright was the chief ornament of his harness. She judged the prize at the tournament, assisted him to arm, and was the first and the most joyous to hail his return from the perils of war.

"A damisel came unto me,
The seemliest that ever I se,
Luffumer* lifed never in land,
Hendly she take me by the hand;
And soon that gentle creature
Al unlaced mine armure
Into a chamber she me led,
And with a mantle she me cled;
It was a purper fair and fine,
And the pane of rich ermine;
Al the folk war went us fra,
And there was none than both we twa;
She served me hendely to hend,
Her manners might no man amend;
Of tong she was true and renable,
And of her semblant soft and stabile.
Fullfain I would, if that I might,
Have woned† with that sweet wight
And when we sold go to sopere
That lady with a lufforn chere,
Led me down into the hall,
That war we served wele at all."‡

A soldier of chivalry would go to battle, proud of the title, a pursuivant of love§ and in the contests of chivalric skill, which, like the battles of Homer's heroes, gave brilliancy and splendour to war, a knight challenged another to joust with a lance for love of the ladies; and he commended himself to the mistress of his heart for protection and assistance. In his mind woman was a being of mystic power; in the forests of Germany her voice had been listened to like that of the spirit of the woods, melodious, solemn, and oracular; and when chivalry was formed into a system, the same idea of something supernaturally powerful in her character threw a shadowy and serious interest over softer feelings, and she was revered as well as loved. While this devotedness of soul to woman's charms appeared in his general intercourse with the sex, in a demeanor of homage, in a grave and stately politeness, his lady-love he regarded with religious constancy. Fickleness would have been a species of impiety, for she was not a toy that he played with, but a divinity whom he worshipped. This adoration of her sustained him through all the perils that lay before his reaching his heart's desire; and loyalty (a word that has lost its pristine and noble meaning) was the

* Froissart, vol. ii., c. 117 and 118.

† Essais Histor. sur Paris, by St. Foix, vol. iii., p. 263, cited by Strutt. Sports and Pastimes, &c. "As it happened, Sir Palomydis looked up towards her (la belle Isaud) where she lay in the window, and he espied how she laughed, and therewith he took such a rejoicing that he smote down what with his spear and with his sword all that ever he met, for through the sight of her he was so enamoured of her love, that he seemed at that time, that had Sir Tristrem and Sir Launcelot been both against him, they would have won no worship of him."—Morte d'Arthur, book x., c. 70.

* Lovelier. † Lived.

‡ Romance of Ywaine and Gawin.

§ Froissart, c. 249. "Le duc de Lancastre avoit de son heritage en Champaigne: c'estassavoir un chastel entre Troye et Chalons, qui s'appelait Beaufort, et duquel un escuyer Anglais (qui se nommoit le poursuivant d'amour) estait capitaine."

choicest quality in the character of the preux chevalier.

It was supported, too, by the state of the world he lived in. He fought the battles of his country and his church, and he travelled to foreign lands as a pilgrim, or a crusader, for such were the calls of his chivalry. To be the first in the charge and the last in the retreat was the counsel which one knight gave to another, on being asked the surest means of winning a lady-fair. Love was the crowning grace, the guerdon of his toils, and its gentle influence aided him in discharging the duties of his gallant and solemn profession. The lady Isabella, daughter of the Earl of Jullyers, loved the lord Eustace Damberticourt for the great nobleness of arms that she had heard reported of him; and her messengers often carried to him letters of love; whereby her noble paramour was the more hardy in his deeds of arms.* "I should have loved him better dead than alive," another damsel exclaimed, on hearing that her knight had survived his honour.

No wonder that in those ages of violence bravery was the manly quality, dear, above all others, in woman's eyes. Its possession atoned for want of every personal grace; and the damsel who, on being reproached for loving an ugly man, replied, "he is so valiant I have never looked in his face," apologized for her passion in a manner that every woman of her time could sympathize with. As proficiency in chivalric exercises was the only distinction of the age, it would have been contrary to its spirit and laws for a gentle maiden to have loved any other than a knight who had achieved high deeds of arms. The advancement of his fame was, therefore among the dearest wishes of her heart, and she fanned his love of noble enterprise in order to speed the hour of their union. The poets and romance-writers of the days of chivalry bear ample testimony to the existence of this state of feeling, and to the perils which brave men underwent to gain fair ladies' smiles; but all their tales must yield in pathos to the following simple historical fact: — When the Scots were endeavouring to throw off the yoke which Edward I. had imposed on them, the recovery of the castle of Douglas was the unceasing effort of the good Lord James. It was often lost and won; for if the vigilance of the English garrison relaxed for a moment, the Scots, who lived in the neighbourhood, and was ever on the watch, aided their feudal lord in regaining the fortress, which, however, he could not maintain long against the numerous chivalry of England. The possession of this castle seemed to be held by so perilous a tenure, that it excited the noblest aspirations for fame in the breasts of the English; and a fair maiden, perplexed by the number of knights who were in suit of her, vowed she would bestow her hand upon him who preserved the adventurous or hazardous castle of Douglas for a year and a day. Sir John Walton boldly and gladly undertook the emprise, and right gallantly he held possession of the fortress for some months. At length he was slain in a sally which Douglas provoked him to make. On his person was found a letter which he had lately received from his lady-love, commending his noble chevisance, declaring that her heart was now his, and praying him to return to her forthwith, without exposing himself to further peril. The good Lord James of Douglas grieved when he read this letter, and it was generous and gallant of him to lament that a brother knight should be slain when his fairest hopes of happiness seemed on the point of being realized.*

The loves of chivalric times must often have been shaded with gloom, and so convulsed was the state of Europe, so distant were its parts often thrown from each other, that the course of true love seldom ran smoothly, and affianced knights and damsels more frequently breathed the wish of annihilating time and space than is necessary in the happier monotony of modern times. In almost every case of attachment absence was unavoidable, and constancy, therefore, became a necessary virtue of love in chivalry.

"Young knight whatever, thou dost arms profess,
And through long labours huntest after fame,
Beware of fraud, beware of fickleness,

* Froissart, liv. i., c. 197.

* Barbour's Bruce, book vi. Hume's (of Godscroft) History of the House of Douglas, p. 29, &c.

The description of the good Lord James of Douglas, in Barbour's Bruce, is not uninteresting.

In choice; and change, of thy dear loved dame;
Lest thou of her believe too lightly blame,
And rash misweening do thy heart remove
For unto knight there is no greater shame
Than lightness and inconstancy in love."*

His mistress was ever present to his imagination, and he felt there would be a witness to his disloyality. Even if he could dismiss her picture from his mind, his own sense of honour preserved his virtue, and the reply of a knight to a beautiful temptress, that though his sovereign-lady might never know of his conduct, yet his heart, which was constantly near her, could not be ignorant, was conceived in the purest spirit of chivalry.

The troubadours, who were the teachers of the art of love, refined upon this respectful passion of the knight in a very amusing manner. They were wont to affirm, that though a knight saw cause for jealousy, yet if his lady-love were to deny the circumstances, he was to reply that he was convinced of the verity of her assertions; but he really did believe he had witnessed such and such matters.†

"In visage was he some deal gray,
And had black hair, as I heard say.
But then he was of limbs well made,
With bones great and shoulders braid.
His body well made and lenzie,
As they that saw him said to me,
When he was blyth he was lovely
And meek and sweet in company.
But who in battle might him see
Another countenance had he.
And in his speech he lisp some deal,
But that set him right wonder well."
The Bruce, p. 13.

* Spenser's Fairy Queen, book i., canto 4, st. 1.

† "E se la us fa gelos
E us en dona razo,
E us ditz c'ancre no fo
De so que dels huelhs vis,
Diguatz Don. En suy fiz
Que vos disetz vertat,
Mas yeu vay simiat."

The name of the gentleman who thus consented to distrust the evidence of his senses was Amanieu des Escas, a favourite troubadour in Spain during the thirteenth century. One of the "statutes" in the Court of Love is, according to Chaucer's report of it, pretty much in the same strain:

"But think that she, so bounteous and fair,
Could not be false, imagine this algate,
And think that tongues wicked would her appair,
Slandering her name, and worshipful estate,
And lovers true to settin at debate,
And though thou seest a fault, right at thine eye,
Excuse it blith, and gloss it prettily."
Chaucer's, Urry's edit. fol. 563.

Chivalric love had, indeed, its absurdities as well as its impieties. It was a pleasing caricature of chivalry, when the knight of La Mancha stationed himself in the middle of a high road, and calling to the merchants of Toledo, who were bound to the silk fairs at Murcia, forbad them to pass, unless they acknowledged that there was not in the universe a more beautiful damsel than the empress of La Mancha, the peerless Dulcinea del Toboso. For the knights of chivalry were not satisfied to fight in defence of the ladies, and to joust in their honour, but from the extravagancy of their love, each knight maintained, at the point of his lance, that his mistress surpassed all other ladies in beauty.* The knight Jehan de Saintré (whose education in chivalry has been already described by me) vowed to wear a helmet of a particular shape, and to visit, during three years, the courts of Europe, maintaining against all their chi-

* Mr. Skottowe, in his Essays on Shakspeare (essays which have done more for the right understanding of the great dramatist than all the works of his commentators from Theobald to Malone), observes that, in the play of Troilus and Cressida, a courtly knight of chivalry is often seen under the name of a Trojan hero. The following challenge of Hector is conceived and excuted in the true chivalric spirit.

"Kings, princes, lords,
If there be one, among the fair'st of Greece,
That holds his honour higher than his ease;
That seeks his praise more than he fears his peril;
That knows his valour, and knows not his fear;
That loves his mistress more than in confession,
(With truant vows to her own lips he loves.)
And dare avow her beauty and her worth
In other arms than hers, — to him this challenge.
Hector, in view of Trojans and of Greeks,
Shall make it good, or do his best to do it.
He hath a lady, wiser, fairer, truer,
Than ever Greek did compass in his arms;
And will to-morrow with his trumpet call,
Midway between yon tents and walls of Troy,
To rouse a Grecian that is true in love:
If any come, Hector shall honour him;
If none, he'll say in Troy, when he retires,
The Grecian dames are sun-burn'd, and not worth
The splinter of a lance."
Troilus and Cressida, act i, sc. 3.

valry, the beauty of his mistress. Four knights and five squires, who had made a similar vow, were his companions. At a tournament held by the emperor of Germany, the noble undertaking was held to be accomplished, and the emblems of the emprise were unchained from the left shoulder of the gallant knights and squires.* Indeed, wherever a knight went, to court or to camp, he asserted the superiority of his lady and his love, but he hurled his defiances not against simple merchants, as our right worshipful knight Don Quixote did, but against persons of his own rank, who were in amours as well as himself. Instances of this chivalric disposition occur frequently in chivalric history: but Cervantes caricatured the romances, and not the sober chronicles of chivalry, when in reply to the natural inquiry of one of the merchants regarding the beauty of the lady, he made his hero exclaim, "Had I once shown you that beauty, what wonder would it be to acknowledge so notorious a truth? the importance of the thing lies in obliging you to believe it, confess it, affirm it, swear it, and maintain it, without seeing her." But the display of chivalric bravery in avowal of woman's beauty proceeded from so noble a feeling, that it must not be censured or satirised too severely, for

> "Who is the owner of a treasure
> Above all value, but without offence,
> May glory in the glad possession of it?"

As history, however, should be a record, and not a panegyric, I proceed to observe, that the most marked display of the extravagancies of our knights took place in the courts of love; but as I have dilated on that topic in another work, I am precluded of treating the subject here, and it is the tritest of all the subjects of chivalry. Equally ridiculous among the amatory phrenzies of the middle ages was the society of the penitents of love, formed by some ladies and gentlemen in Poictou, at the beginning of the fourteenth century. They opposed themselves to nature in every thing, on the principle that love can effect the strangest metamorphoses. During the hottest months of summer, they covered themselves with mantles lined with fur, and in their houses they sat before large fires. When winter came they affected to be burning with the fires of love, and a dress of the slightest texture wrapt their limbs. This society did not endure long, nor was its example pernicious. A few enthusiasts perished, and reason then resumed her empire.*

The knight was as zealous in the gentle as in the more solemn affections of the soul. He believed that both God and love hated hard and hypocritical hearts. In a bolder strain of irreverence he thought that both God and love could be softened by prayer, and that he who served both with fidelity would secure to himself happiness in this life and the joys of Paradise hereafter. On other occasions the gallant spirit of chivalry spoke more rationally. Love, according to one renowned knight, is the chaste union of two hearts, which, attached by virtue, live for the promotion of happiness, having only one soul and one will in common.

> "Liege lady mine! (Gruélan thus return'd,)
> With love's bright fires this bosom ne'er hath burn'd.
> Love's sovereign lore, mysterious and refined,
> Is the pure confluence of immortal mind;
> Chaste union of two hearts by virtue wrought,
> Where each seems either in word, deed, and thought,
> Each singly to itself no more remains,
> But one will guides, one common soul sustains."†

So prevailing was amatory enthusiasm, that not only did poets fancy themselves inspired by love, but learned clerks were its subjects, and in spite of its supposed divinity some natural satire fell upon the scholar who yielded to its fascination. In Gower's Confessio Amantis, the omnipotence of love is strikingly displayed; for besides those whom we might expect to see at the feet of the goddess, we are presented with Plato and Socrates, and even him who was the object of veneration bordering on idolatry in the ages which we in courtesy to ourselves call dark. Gower, the moral Gower, says with some humour,

* Cronique de Saintré, vol. iii., c. 65.

* This society of the penitents of Love is mentioned by the Chevalier of the Tower, whose book I have so often quoted in illustration of the chivalric character.

† The Lai of Sir Gruélan.

"I saw there Aristotle also,
Whom that the queen of Greece also
Hath bridled, that in thilke time
She made him such a syllogisme
That he forgot all his logike."

The story whereon this sentence was founded was among the most popular of the times. The delights of love had made Alexander pause in the career of ambition. His host of knights and barons were discontented at the change, and Aristotle, as the tutor and guardian of his youthful course, endeavoured to rouse anew the spirit of the hero. The prince attempted no lengthened reply to this appeal to his chivalry;

"Sighing, alone he cried, as inly mov'd,
Alas! these men, meseems, have never lov'd."

The grave saws of the sage took root, however, in Alexander's heart, and he absented himself from his mistress. She wailed her fate for some time in solitude, but at length assured that it was not the mere capriciousness of passion which kept him from her, she forced herself into the presence of her lord. Her beauty smiled away all dreams of glory from his mind, and in the fondness of his love he accused Aristotle of breaking in upon his joy. But the dominion of his passion was only momentary, and recovering the martial tone of his soul, he declared the sad necessity of their parting. She then requested a brief delay, promising to convince the king that his tutor's counsel derived no additional recommendation from his practice, for that he stood in need of as much instruction as Alexander himself. Accordingly, when the first appearance of the next morning, the damsel repaired to the lawn before the chamber where Aristotle lay. As she approached the casement, she broke the stillness of the air by chanting a love ditty, and the sweetness of her wild notes charmed the philosopher from his studious page. He softly stole to the window, and beheld a form far fairer than any image of truth which his fancy had just previously been conceiving. Her face was not shrouded by vail or wimple, her long flaxen tresses strayed negligently down her neck, and her dress, like drapery on an ancient statue, displayed the beauty of a well-turned limb. She loitered about the place on pretence of gathering a branch of a myrtle-tree, and winding it round her forehead. When her confidence in her beauty assured her that Aristotle was mad for her love, she stole underneath the casement, and, in a voice checked by sighs, she sang that love detained her there. Aristotle drank the delicious sounds, and gazing again, her charms appeared more resplendent than before. Reason faintly whispered that he was not born to be loved, and that his hair was now white with age, his forehead wrinkled with study; but passion and vanity drove away these faint remonstrances, and Aristotle was a sage no more. The damsel carelessly passed his window, and in the delirium of his love he caught the floating folds of her robe. She affected anger, and he avowed his passion. She listened to his confession with a surprise of manner that fanned his flame, and she answered him by complaining of the late coldness of Alexander. The greybeard, not caring for a return of love, so that she accepted his suit, promised to bring his pupil to her feet, if she would but confer some sign of favour upon himself. She feigned an intention of compliance, but declared that, before she yielded, she must be indulged in a foolish whim which long had distracted her fancy. Aristotle then renewed his professions of devoted love, and she in sentences, broken by exclamations of apparent shame at her folly, vowed that she was dying to mount and ride upon the back of a wise man. He was now so passionately in love, that the fancies of his mistress appeared divinest wisdom to his mind, and he immediately threw himself along the ground in a crawling attitude. She seated herself in a gorgeous saddle which she placed on his back, and, throwing a rein round his neck, she urged him to proceed. In a few moments they reached the terrace under the royal apartments, and the king beheld the singular spectacle. A peal of laughter from the windows awoke the philosopher to a sense of his state, and when he saw his pupil he owned that youth might well yield to love, as it had power to break even the frost of age.

Such was the lay of Aristotle which the wandering minstrel chanted in the baronial hall, and the damsel in her lady's

bower, and the pleasing moral of the fable was not more sincerely echoed by the shouts of the gallant knights and squires than by the broken sighs of beauty.

"Mark ye, who hear me, that no blameful shade
Be thrown henceforth on gallant or on maid.
For here, by grave example taught, we find
That mighty love is master of mankind.
Love conquers all, and love shall conquer still,
Last the round world how long soe'er it will."*

It is singular to observe that in the north and in the south, in Germany and in Languedoc, the love of the cavalier bore the same character, the same blending of tender and devotional feelings. The troubadour burned tapers, and caused masses to be said for the success of his love, and when the fervour of his passion for his mistress was crossed by religious awe, he declared that the part of his heart which God held was still under the superior dominion of his lady-love. The German knight wrote poems to the honour of the Virgin Mary and the damsel of his heart, and it is not always easy to distinguish to which of these persons his vows are addressed.† He adored the shadow, nay, the very neighbourhood of his mistress, and declared that nothing could induce him to violate his vow of fidelity. Here, however, the resemblance ceases, for the knights of France, England, and Spain were not more highly distinguished for chivalric courtesy, than the Germans were remarkable for ferocity and savageness.‡ Once, and once only, were their courts of love in Germany. They were established by Frederic Barbarossa, and they did not long survive their founder.

Chivalric love took delight in reconciling and joining the opposites of the world.§ It was no cold and calculating principle; it abrogated the distinctions of wealth and rank, and many a knight, whose whole fortune lay in his prowess, gained the hand of high-born beauty. "How can I hope," observed a young candidate for chivalry to a lady of high estate, "how can I hope to find a damsel of noble birth, who will return the affection of a knight that, ungraced by rank, has only his good sword to trust to?"—"And why should you not find her?" replied the lady; "are you not gently born? are you not a handsome youth? have you not eyes to gaze on her, ears to hear her, feet to move at her will, body and heart to accomplish loyally her commands? and, possessed of these qualities, can you doubt to adventure yourself in the service of a lady, however exalted her rank?"*

A squire of low degree often aspired to the hand of a king's daughter:

"And I have seen that many a page
Have become men by marriage."

The intenseness of passion, and the generousness of soul implied in this state of manners, were sternly opposed by feudal pride and tyranny; but chivalry could not always beat down the absurd distinctions of society. When the Countess of Vergy returned the passion of Sir Agolane, she was obliged to love in secret, lest the dignity of the court of Burgundy should be offended.† The maidens themselves sometimes sanctioned the prejudices of feudalism, in opposition to the generous feelings of chivalry and nature. Felice, daughter of Rahand, Earl of Warwick, disdained to return the passion of Guy, her father's steward, till an angel in a dream commanded her to love him.‡

Agreement in religious opinion was as necessary as sympathy of souls in the loves of chivalry; and many a story is related of a knight reposing in a lady's chamber, where, instead of adoring the divinity of the place, he assailed her with a fierce invective against her religious creed.§ On such occasions he forgot even his courtesy, and shamed his knighthood by calling her a heathen hound:

* Way's Fabliaux, vol. ii., p. 170. The *moral* of the Lay of Aristotle brings to mind Voltaire's two celebrated lines under a statue of Cupid:—

"Qui que tu sois, tu vois ton maître,
Il l'est, le fut, ou le doit être."

† Illustrations of Northern Antiquities, p. 8, &c.
‡ Ibid. p. 41.
§ Lai of the Canonesses and the Gray Nuns.

* L'Histoire et plaisante Cronicque de petit Jehan de Saintré, vol. i., c. 7.
† Lai of the Countess of Vergy.
‡ Romance of Guy of Warwick.
§ Illustrations of Northern Antiquities, p. 104.

"I will not go one foot on ground
For to speak with an heathen hound;
Unchristen hounds I rede ye flee,
Or I your heart's blood will see."

But

"'Mercy,' she cried, 'my lemman sweet!'—
(She fell down and 'gan to weep) —
'Forgive me that I have mis-said,
I will that ye be well assayed!
My false gods I will forsake,
And Christendom for thy love take.'
'On that covenant,' said Sir Bevis than,
'I will thee love, fair Josyan!'"*

The occasions which kindled the flame of love in the heart of the knight and the maiden of chivalry were various, and many of them well calculated to give rise to romantic and enthusiastic attachments. Sometimes the parties had been educated in the same castle, and passion insensibly succeeded childish amusements. The masque and the ball were often the theatre of love; but, above all other scenes, it spread its light over the brilliant tournament. Performed in honour and in view of the ladies, it was there that loved exerted its mightiest power. She who gave the prize bestowed almost universally her heart upon the brave and skilful vanquisher, and many were the tears she shed, if she found that the knight had been proving his puissance only to win the heart of some other fair one. It often happened that the circumstances of life carried a young cavalier to a baronial castle, where he found more peril in the daughter's fair looks than in the frowning battlements of her father. At the feast which welcomed the stranger, eyes mingled in love, and the suddenness of passion was always considered as the strongest proof of its purity and strength. The damsel might then avow her affection without any violation of maidenly shame; for generous, confiding love, reading another's heart in its own, dreaded no petty triumphs of vanity from confessing its fondness. It often occurred that a knight, weary and wounded, was confided to the ministrations of woman's tenderness; and Spenser, who has read the history as well as the romance of chivalry, tells us,

"O foolish physick, and unfruitful pain
That heals up one, and makes another wound."

The rude state of society, which it was the noble object of chivalry to soften, presented many occasions for the display of generous affections, and love was the grateful return of protection. A cavalier called the Knight of the Swan reinstated a lady in the possessions of which the Duke of Saxony had deprived her. Indignant that the throne, and not chivalry, should be regarded as the fountain of justice, knights sometimes formed themselves into associations for the express object of defending the rights of all ladies that required their aid. At one period (during the reign of Charles VI.) of great violence in France, the ladies and gentlewomen of the country laid before the king grievous complaints of their sufferings from powerful lords, and lamented that gallantry was so much degenerated, that no knights and squires had attempted to defend them. They appealed, therefore, to the king, as the fountain of justice, to afford them protection. This appeal roused the dormant chivalry of France; and the valiant knight and marshal, Boucicaut,* whose skill as a jouster will be described anon, gathered round him twelve preux chevaliers, and the fraternity avowed themselves champions of oppressed dames and damsels. The gallantry of their object was proclaimed to the world by the device on their shields of a fair lady in a green field, and their letters of arms, circulated throughout France, promised that they would assist all ladies and gentlewomen who were injured in their honours or fortunes.†

* Romance of Sir Bevis. In Ariosto, the heroine Bradamante wishes Rugiero to be baptized; and he replies, with great gallantry, that he would put his head not only into water, but into fire, for the sake of her love.

Non che nell' acqua, disse, ma nel foco
Per tuo amor porre il capo mi fia poco.
Orlando Furioso, canto xxii., st. 36.

* Don Quixote himself was not a greater idolater of the ladies, than was the valiant Marshal Boucicaut, who, however, carried his fear of impertinent intrusion to a more romantic pitch than perhaps the ladies liked, for he would not even permit the knights of his banner to look a second time at a window where a handsome woman was seated. Mémoires, partie 3, c. 7.

† Boucicaut, Mémoires, partie i., c. 38, 39. The commencement of the letters of those knights of the lady in the green field is worthy of insertion on account of its chivalric tone. "A toutes haultes et nobles dames and damoiselles, et à

The same generous feeling warmed the hearts of the English chivalry. We become acquainted with this feature of our ancient national character, not in dry monkish chronicles, but in the living page of one of our earliest and greatest poets. Chaucer makes all the persons of his dramatic tale speak agreeably to their rank and station in the world; and he puts into the mouth of his very perfect and gentle knight the following spirited description of the gallant feelings of English nobles and gentles in the time of Edward III.

"For every knight that loved chivalry.
And would his thanks have a passant name,
Hath prayed that he might be of that game,
And well was him that thereto chosen was!
For if there to-morrow such a case,
Ye know well that every lusty knight
That loveth *par amour*, and hath his might,
Were it in Engleland, or elsewhere,
They would, hir thanks, willen to be there
To fight for a lady, a! benedicite,
It were a lusty sight for to see!"*

And thus it continued in every age of chivalric history. Noble knights of prowess were ever periling themselves in the cause of woman. So late as the year 1425, when the title to certain territories in Hainault was contested between the English Duke of Gloucester and John of Brabant on behalf of the lady Jacquiline, those gallant cavaliers, the bastard of St. Pol, and André de Humieres appeared at Hesden with silver rings on their right arms, proclaiming the superior title of Jacquiline.†

These are a few of the historical facts, which show that the ancient romancers did not paint from their imagination when they described gallant cavaliers wandering over the gloomy waste of feudal Europe, in order to redress wrongs and injuries, to relieve widows, and defend the honour of damsels. Sometimes a knight rode alone, and like the valorous Don Quixote, left it to his horse's direction to go which way he pleased. In other cases they went in parties of three or four in quest of adventures. That they might surprise the enemy they sought for, they changed or disguised their armorial distinctions. A year and a day was the general term for enterprises of this nature; and at the conclusion they rendered to their sovereign mistresses an account of their adventures, and ingenuously confessed their faults and misfortunes. — But I find myself stepping into the regions of romance, which are not the province of this work. I return therefore, to the realities of chivalry, which are no less pleasing than its fictions.

The protection of widows and orphans, and all ladies of virtuous repute, was indeed the serious duty ever present to the imagination of a preux chevalier. The praise-worthy soldier was he who chose to fight for dames and damsels in preference

tous seigneurs, chevaliers, et escuyers, apres tous recommendations, font âsçavoir les treize chevaliers compagnons, portans en leur devise l'escu verd à la dame blanche. Premièrement pour ce que tout chevalier est tenu de droict de vouloir garder et deffendre l'honneur, l'estat, les biens, la renommée, et la louange de toutes dames et damoiselles de noble lignée, et que iceulx entre les autres sont tres desirans de le vouloir faire, les prient et requierent que il leur plaise que si aulcune ou aulcunes est ou sont par oultraige, ou force, contre raison diminuées ou amoindries des choses dessus dictes, que celle ou celles à qui le tort ou force en sera faicte veuille ou veuillent venir ou envoyer requerir l'un des dicts chevaliers, tous ou partie d'iceulx, selon ce que le cas le requerra, et le requis do par la dicte dame ou damoiselle, soit un, tous ou partie, sont et veulent estre tenus de mettre leurs corps pour leur droict garder et deffendre encontre tout autre seigneur, chevalier, ou escuyer, en tout ce que chevalier se peut et doibt employer au mestier d'armes, de tout leur pouvoir, de personne à personne, jusques au nombre dessus dicts et au dessoutes, tant pour tant. Et en breifs jours après la requeste à l'un, tous ou partie d'iceulx faicte de par les dictes dames ou damoiselles, ils veulent presentement eulx mettre en tout debovir d'accomplir les choses dessus dictes, et si brief que faire se pourra. Et s'il advenoit, que Dieu ne veuille que celuy au ceulx qui par les dictes dames ou damoiselles seroient requis, eussent essoine raisonnable; a fin que leur service et besongne ne se quisse en rien retarder qu'il ne prist conclusion, le requis ou les requis seront tenus de bailler prestement de leurs compaignons, par qui le dict faict seroit et pouvoit estre mené à chef et accomply.

* The Knight's Tale, l. 2108, &c. The following is Dryden's version of the above lines. The spirit of the last two lines of Chaucer is entirely lost.

" Beside the champions, all of high degree,
Who knighthood lov'd and deeds of chivalry,
Throng'd to the lists, and envy'd to behold
The names of others, not their own, enroll'd.
Nor seems it strange, for every noble knight
Who loves the fair, and is endu'd with might,
In such a quarrel would be proud to fight."

† Monstrelet, vol. vi., p. 167. Boucicaut, Memoirs, c. 382.

to contending in vain-glorious frays, and with equal spirit it was thought that death was too slight a punishment for the man who could offer scathe or dishonour to, or deceive or wrong, a gentle lady. From this generous consideration for woman proceeded the honourable maxim in chivalry, of its not being just or courteous to take ladies in war.* When a town was captured, the heralds of the conqueror proclaimed his will, that no violence nor displeasure should be done to any lady or gentlewoman. In the reign of Edward III. Caen fell into the hands of the English, and Sir Thomas Holland preserved many ladies, damsels, and nuns, from outrage worse than death. About the same time the castle of Poys was taken by the English, and two noble knights (one was the renowned Sir John Chandos) saved from violation two fair damsels, daughters of the Lord of Poys. The ladies were conducted into the presence of Edward, who, for his honour, made them good cheer, and caused them to be carried in safety to a town friendly to their family.† And the generous feelings of cavaliers for ladies were nobly requited. In the wars of the Guelphs and the Ghibellines, the Emperor Conrad, as an offended sovereign, had refused all terms of capitulation to the garrison of Winnisberg; but as a courteous knight, he permitted the women to depart with such of their precious effects as they themselves could transport. The gates of the town were thrown open, and a long procession of matrons, each bearing a husband, or a father, or brother, on her shoulders, passed in safety through the applauding camp.‡

Some writers have severely censured the morals of the chivalric æra, and according to them every species of licentiousness was practised by its dames and damsels. This opinion is as erroneous as the one which it superseded, that in the times we speak of every knight was brave, and every woman was chaste; an assertion bearing more liberality than truth on its face, considering that it refers to a period of seven or eight centuries, and that the objects of the panegyric were the largest part of the European world. For my part, I shall not, like the knight of La Mancha, challenge to a *joust à l'outrance* any discourteous cavalier who has the audacity to declare that Queen Madasima was scandalously familiar with a barber-surgeon; but I think that our imaginations do not altogether deceive us in painting the days of chivalry as days of feminine virtue.

If we regard the times in reference only to their baronial and feudal features, the view is deeply dyed with turpitude, and the romances, whence the denunciations against the ladies of forepast ages have been drawn, are not sparing in their pictures of licentiousness. But chivalry was the golden thread that ran through the middle ages, the corrective of vice, the personification of virtue. That it did not altogether succeed in colouring with its brightness the surrounding gloom is sufficiently true, and the times warranted the assertion of a character of Amadis de Gaul, that our country yields, as others do, both good and bad. The romances present us with instances of the profligacy of women, and so they also do of the baseness of knights: but as no one will contend that chivalry did not in general inspire its professors with sentiments of honour, so its virtuous influence cannot in fairness be denied to the maidens of its age. Let us not, as Spenser says, blame the whole sex for the fault of one.

"Fair ladies that to love captivated are
And chaste desires do nourish in your mind,
Let not her fault your sweet affections mar;
No blot the bounty of all womankind,
'Mongst thousands good, one wanton dame to find:

* Froissart, liv. i., c. 389.

† Froissart, liv. ii., c. 6.; liv. i., c. 124, 125. "Puis passerent oultre destruisans le pais d'entour et vindrent ainsi jusques au chastel de Poys: ou il y avoit bonne ville, et deux beaux chasteaux: mais nul des seigneurs n'y estait, fors deux belles damoiselles, filles au Seigneur de Poys: qui tost eussent este violees, si n'eussent esté deux chevaliers d'Angleterre: messire Jehan Chandos, et le sire de Basset: qui les deffendirent: et pour les garder les menerent au roy: qui pour honneur leur fit bonne chere, et leur demanda ou elles voudroyent estre, si disent à Corbie. Là les fit le roi conduire sans pareil.

‡ I have taken this story from Gibbon, Antiquities of the House of Brunswick, Miscellaneous Works, vol. iii., p. 530,) who says it is told (if he is not mistaken) by the Spectator, and may certainly be supported by ancient evidence.

Amongst the roses grow some wicked weeds;
For this was not to love, but lust, inclin'd;
For love doth always bring forth bounteous deeds,
And in each gentle heart desire of honour breeds."*

The romance writers were satirists, but they had more humour than malignity. Every one of them introduces a magical test of feminine virtue, a drinking cup, a mantle or a girdle. This is harmless; and their general censure of women is without point; for they were for the most part men of profligate habits, and judged the other sex by the standard of their own vices.

"Safe her, I never any woman found
That chastity did for itself embrace
But were for other causes firm and sound;
Either for want of handsome time and place,
Or else for fear of shame and foul disgrace."†

This is the burthen of all their declamations against women;‡ and Spenser has shown how little credit he gave to it, for he does not let it proceed from the mouth of any of his preux chevaliers, but from a wretched profligate, misnamed the squire of dames.

However highly some enthusiastic minds may have coloured the manners of the chivalric ages, still it is unquestionable that the love of the knight was not the mere impulse of passion, but that the feeling was raised and refined by respect. Now, as nature is ever true to herself, as certain causes have had certain operations in all ages and in all countries, so this purity of love must have been followed by a corresponding correctness of morals. Women had every reason to retain and support the virtues of their nature; for it was only in behalf of those of fair reputation and honour, that the knight was compelled by his principles to draw his sword; all others were without the pale of chivalry; and although many instances can be found in the romances of feminine indiscretion, yet the princes in the celebrated romance of Tirante the White accurately describes the general feeling when she submits to lose all her claims on the noble chevisance of knights, if she failed in observing a promise of marriage which she had given to a gallant cavalier that loved her.

The knights, though courteous to the highest polish of refinement, were rigid and inflexible censors; and in those days as well as in these, each sex formed the character of the other.* The cavalier in travelling would write on the door of a castle where a dame of tarnished reputation resided, some sentence of infamy; and on the contrary, he would pause at the door of a lady of pure honour, and salute her courteously. Even on solemn and public occasions distinctions were made between women in matters of ceremony. If any lady of sullied fame took precedence of a dame of bright virtue, a cavalier would advance and reverse the order, saying to her who was displaced, "Lady, be not offended that this lady precedes you, for although she is not so rich or well allied as you are, yet her fame has never been impeached."† Here, therefore, chivalry vindicated its purity, and showed itself as the moral guide of the world. Its tendencies were beneficent; for Christianity was deeply infused into all its institutions and principles, and it not only spread abroad order and grace, but strung the tone of morals to actions of virtue.

All ladies were not of the opinion of Amadis de Gaul, that their best weapons were sighs and tears. What they admired they imitated; and a high-spirited damsel would, in private, divest herself of her robe, gird round her a belt, and drawing

* Fairy Queen, book iii., canto 1, st. 49.

† Ibid. Book iii., canto 7, st. 60.

‡ Another writer says,

"Ah! well was he that he forbore to blame;
Misfortune be his lot and worldly shame,
Nor, dying, let him taste of heavenly bliss,
Whoe'er of dame or damsel speaks amiss;
And sure no gentle clerk did ever vex
With foul discourtesy the gentle sex,
But churl or villain of degenerate mind,
Brutal and base, the scandal of his kind."

S. Rose's Partenopex of Blois, canto ii.

And in a similar strain of courtesy is the beginning of the Fabliau of Constant du Hamel, as translated by M. Le Grand. "Je ne pardonne pas qu'on se moque des dames. On doit toute sa vie les honorer et les servir et ne leur parler jamais que pour leur dire choses courtoises. Qui agit autrement est un vilain."

* As the romance of the Rose says,

"Les chevaliers mieux en valoient,
Les dames meilleures etoient
Et plus chastement en vivoient."

† Caxton's Chevalier of the Tower, cap. "How every good woman ought to keep her renommée."

its sword from the scabbard, fight with the air till she was wearied. The gallant youths of chivalry called a lady of this martial temperament — le bel cavalier. Were we to meet in romances with dames engaged in mortal combat, we should say that the writers had not faithfully represented the manners of the times; but such facts are recorded by sober chroniclers. Two ladies decided some fierce disputes by the sword. Each summoned to her aid a band of cavaliers, and the stoutest lances of Normandy felt no loss of dignity in being commanded by a woman. The lady Eloisa and the lady Isabella rode through their respective ranks with the address of experienced leaders, and their contest, like that of nations, was only terminated by burning and plundering each other's states. In the crusades, parties of fair and noble women accompanied the chivalry of Europe to the Holy Land, charming the seas 'to give them gentle pass,' and binding up the wounds of husbands and brothers after a well foughten field with the bold Musselman. Sometimes they wielded the flaming brand themselves, and the second crusade in particular was distinguished by a troop of ladies harnessed in armour of price, and mounted on goodly steeds. A lady often wore a sword even in times of peace, and every great landed proprietress sat *gladio cincta* among the justices at sessions and assizes. In England, particularly, was this martial spirit recognised, for in the time of Edward the first a lady held a manor by sarjeanty to conduct the vanguard of the king's army as often as he should march into Wales with one; and on its return it was her duty to array the rear-guard.*

The victory of the English over the Scots at Neville Cross is mainly attributable to the spirited demeanor of Philippa, wife of Edward the Third. At her father's court in Hainault, she had witnessed war in its splendid image, the tournament; and now, in a perilous moment, when the king her husband was far away, and the fate of England was in her hands, she showed that she was not unworthy of her race or her alliance. She rode among the battles or divisions of her host, exhorting them to perform their *devoir*, to defend the honour of her lord the king of England, and in the name of God she implored every man to bear a good heart and courage, promising them that she would reward them better than if her lord the king were personally in the field. She then quitted the ranks, recommending her soldiers to the protection of God, and of St. George, that special defender of the realm of England. This exhortation of the queen nerved the hearts of the English yeomen, and they shot their arrows so fiercely and so wholly together, that the Scottish battle-axe failed of its wonted might.*

For the heroism of women, the page of Scottish history furnishes a remarkable instance. In the beginning of the year 1338, William de Montague, Earl of Salisbury, by command of the Earl of Arundel, the leader of the army of Edward III., laid siege to the castle of Dunbar, the chief post which the Scots possessed on the eastern coast of their country. The castle stood upon a reef of rocks which were almost girdled by the sea, and such parts of it as could be attacked were fortified with great skill. The Earl of March, its lord, was absent when Salisbury commenced the siege, but the defence lacked not his presence. His wife was there, and while to the vulgar spirits of the time, she was known, from the unwonted darkness of her eyes and hair, as Black Agnes, the chivalric sons of Scotland joyfully beheld a leader in the person of the high-spirited daughter of the illustrious Thomas Randulph, Earl of Moray. The Countess of March performed all the duties of a skilful and vigilant commander. She animated her little band by her exhortations and munificence; she roused the brave into heroism, and shamed the timid into courage by the firmness of her bearing. When the warlike engines of the besiegers hurled stones against the battlements, she, as in

* Harleian M.S. No. 166, 2087, p. 23, cited in Retrospective Review, No. 19, p. 95.

* Froissart, liv. i., c. 138. Lord Hailes is not pleased that the queen should have shared in the honour of the battle, and wishes to doubt her presence, because Froissart is the *only* writer who states it. Upon which Mr. Turner (History of England, vol. 2, p. 204, 8vo.) very judiciously observes, that, if we disbelieve all the facts of this reign, for which we have *only* Froissart's authority, our skepticism must take a large sweep.

scorn, ordered one of her female attendants to wipe off the dust with a handkerchief, and when the Earl of Salisbury commanded the enormous machine called the *sow*, to be advanced to the foot of the walls, she scoffingly cried out, 'Beware, Montague, thy sow is about to farrow,' and instantly by her command a huge fragment of rock was discharged from the battlements, and it dashed the engine to pieces. Many of the men who were about it were killed, and those who crawled from the ruin on their hands and knees were deridingly called by the Scots, Montague's pigs. Foiled in his attempts, he endeavoured to gain the castle by treachery: he bribed the person who had the care of the gates to leave them open; but the man, faithful to his duty as well as to his pecuniary interest, disclosed the whole transaction to the Countess. Salisbury himself headed the party who were to enter; finding the gates open, he was advancing, when John Copeland, one of his attendants, hastily passing before him, the portcullis was let down, and Copeland, mistaken for his lord, remained a prisoner. The Countess, who from a high tower was observing the event, cried out to Salisbury with her wonted humour, 'Farewell, Montague; I intended that you should have supped with us, and assisted in defending this fortress against the English.'

The English turned the siege into a blockade, but still without success. The gallantry of the Countess was supported by some favourable circumstances, and finally, in June, the Earl of Salisbury consented to a cessation of hostilities and he abandoned the place.*

But the most interesting of all the heroines of chivalry was Jane, Countess of Mountfort, who, as Froissart says, had the courage of a man and the heart of a lion. She was a worthy descendant of those German women whom Tacitus describes as mixing with the warriors, administering refreshment, and exhorting them to valour. About the year 1341, the right to the duchy of Bretagne was disputed between the Earl of Mountfort and Charles of Blois. The questions turned on certain points of inheritance which the earl dreaded the court of Paris would decide in favour of his rival, who was a relation of the French king. He, therefore, sought another alliance, and repairing to England, he performed homage for the duchy to Edward III.* His next steps were directed to Paris, but his journeys were not so secretly taken as he expected; for on presenting himself before King Philip he was charged with having acknowledged the sovereignty of the English monarch. The earl pretended that his journey to England had only related to his private affairs, but the king did not credit his story, and in distrust of his purposes he ordered him to remain in Paris. Mountfort, equally suspicious of his sovereign's honour, effected his escape from the city in the guise of a merchant. He went to Brittany, and took his station in the castle of Nantes. The decision of the court at Paris was adverse to his claims; and the successful candidate, Charles of Blois, levied an army, and pursued his former rival, who was taken in his retreat, conveyed to Paris, and lodged in the Louvre.

To those who did not know the noble spirit of his countess the cause of the Mountfort family seemed hopeless. She was at Rennes when he was taken prisoner, and although she had great sorrow in her heart, yet she valiantly recomforted her friends and soldiers, and showing them her little son John, she said, 'Sirs, be not too sore abashed of the earl my lord, whom you have lost (he was but a man): behold my little child, who shall be by the grace of God his restorer, and he shall advance you all, and I have riches enough: you shall not lack; and I trust I shall prosper in such wise that you shall be all recomforted.'† All her friends and soldiers

* Wyntown's Cronykil of Scotland, book viii., c. 32. Lord Hailes, vol. 2, p. 218, 221. Border Antiquities, vol. ii., p. 170.

* Avesbury, p. 97. Froissart, liv. i., c. 69.

† La Comtesse de Montfort avoit courage d'homme et cœur de lion. Elle estoit en la cité de Rénes, quand elle entendit que son seigneur fut prins; et, combien qu'elle eust grand dueil au cœur, elle reconfortoit tous ses amis vaillamment, et tous ses soudoyers: et leur monstroit un petit fils (qu'elle avoit appelé Jehan, comme son pere) et leur disoit, Haa, seigneurs, ne vous ébahissez mie de monseigneur, que nous avons perdu. Ce n'estoit qu'un homme. Veez cy mon petit enfant, qui sera (si Dieu plaist) son restorier, et vous sera des biens assez et j'ai de savoir à planté; si vous en donneraz assez, et

vowed to die in her service; and she then went on to her other fortresses and towns, replenishing them with warlike stores and provisions, and exhibiting her little son to the people, in order to rouse the allegiance of the friends of her family. She stationed herself in Hennebon, a town seated near the shores of Brittany.*

In the following summer Charles of Blois was aided by the whole puissance of France in his attempt to make himself complete master of Brittany; but so able were the dispositions of the countess, that, instead of sweeping over the whole country as they expected, they were detained before Rennes, and it was not till after much labour that they won it. The countess, in the meanwhile, had sent one of her knights, Sir Amery of Clysson, into England, desiring royal succour, on condition that the Earl of Mountfort's son and heir should marry a daughter of the king, who was to be adorned with the highly splendid title, the Duchess of Brittany. Edward III., always anxious to strengthen his power in France, accepted the alliance, and ordered one of his noblest knights of prowess, Sir Walter Manny, to join the valiant countess with three thousand archers. Charles of Blois, after the capture of Rennes, was counselled to lay siege to Hennebon; but before he reached that town Jane de Mountfort was apprised of his purpose, and she commanded the watch-bell to be sounded, and every man to be armed, and standing at his post. When Sir Charles and the Frenchmen came near the town, they pitched their tents; but many of their gay and valorous spirits went skirmishing to the barriers. Some of the cavaliers of Hennebon did not suffer them to brandish their swords in the air; and it was only the shades of night that separated those preluders of battle. The next day the Frenchmen spent in council, and it was resolved that a general assault should be made on the barriers. Accordingly, on the third morning they fiercely pressed to the outward works of the town, and continued the assault till noon, when they retired with diminished forces. The lords of France rallied their soldiers, and urged the assault anew; but they that were within defended themselves right valiantly. The countess herself, clad in mail, and mounted on a goodly courser, rode from street to street, exhorting her people to defend their posts; and if in the din of battle her woman's voice was sometimes drowned, nothing could mar her cheering smiles, which lighted the flame of noble chevisance in every gallant breast. She caused damsels and other women to cut short their kirtels, and carry stones and pots full of lime to the walls, to be cast upon the enemy. She then mounted a tower, and espied that the Frenchman's camp was deserted. Her resolution was immediately taken: she drew around her three hundred of her best knights, and, grasping a targe and spear, and mounting again her good steed, she quitted the town by a gate which the enemy had overlooked. At the head of her gallant troop she made a short circuit, and then dashed into the Frenchmen's lodgings. When the assailants, reverting their eyes, saw their tents on fire, and heards cries of terror from a few boys and varlets in the camp, they quickly returned to their lodgings to stop the conflagration. The countess and her noble band could not cope with so vast a force, and her retreat to the city being cut off, she took the road to the castle of Brest, where she was received with great joy. For five days the good soldiers of Hennebon wist not of the fate of their right valiant lady; but on the sixth morning they saw her golden banners glittering in the rising sun, and a hill in the distance crowned by a noble troop of five hundred lances, which her beauty and her just cause had drawn to her side at Brest. With the gay curvetting pace of gallant cavaliers progressing to a tournament, they gallantly held on their way to the town, smiling defiance to the martial front of the French, and entered Hennebon amidst the flourishes of their own trumpets, and the exulting cries of the people.

vous pourchaceray tel capitaine, parquoy vous serez tous reconfortes. Froissart, liv. i., c. 73.

* Mrs. Charles Stothard, in her interesting Tour through Normandy and Brittany, observes (p. 231), that the massive walls which once surrounded the town of Hennebon, remain in many places entire, and must have been impregnable in their strength and construction.

But the siege was advanced by the French with such courage, and their engines so dreadfully injured the walls, that the soldiers of Hennebon were in time discomfited. All except the countess were anxious to yield the town upon honourable terms; but she hoped for succour from Edward; and while her knights and men-at-arms sullenly guarded the walls which fronted the enemy, a solitary warder paced the ramparts that looked towards England. One day the members of her council were on the point of compelling her to submit, when, casting her eyes on the sea, whereon she had so often gazed in vain, she saw a dark mass rising out of the horizon. Her smile of fearful joy, before she discovered that it was the English fleet, excited the attention of her friends. They all rushed to the window, but her sight was the most piercing, for her heart was the most deeply anxious, and she was the first to exclaim, "I see the succours of England coming!" The joyful news quickly spread, the walls of Hennebon were crowded with the townsfolk, and the English fleet entered the harbour. When the soldiers landed, she went to them with great reverence, and feasted them right hospitably. She lodged the knights and others in the castle and in the town, where she dressed up halls and chambers for them; and the next day she made them a great feast at dinner. The exploits of Sir Walter Manny and his archers will be more appropriately related in another place. The siege of Hennebon was raised, and it is not unworthy of notice as a trait of manners, that on one occasion of valiancy on the part of the English, the countess descended from the castle with a glad cheer, and went and kissed Sir Walter Manny and his companions, one after another, two or three times, like a valiant lady.*

After some time a truce was concluded between Sir Charles of Blois and the Countess of Mountfort, their aiders and assisters; and the countess, on the invitation of Edward III., took ship for England, accompanied by the Earls of Richmond, Pembroke, Salisbury, Suffolk, Oxford, the barons Stamford, Spenser, Bourchier, and divers other knights of England, and their companies. When they were off Guernsey they were approached by Sir Loyes of Spain and his fleet. At first the countess supposed it was a friendly purpose, for Sir Loyes, as the ally of Sir Charles of Blois, was virtually bound by the treaty: but she was soon assured of his unchivalric purpose. The mariners cried to the knights, "Sirs, arm yourselves quickly, for these Genoese and Spaniards will soon attack you." All in a moment the Englishmen sounded their trumpets, and reared their standards with the great banner of St. George, and marshalled themselves on the decks of the ships, the archers, as on land, being in front.

"Looking far forth into the ocean wide,
A goodly ship with banners bravely dight,
And flag in her top-gallant I espied,
Through the main sea making her merry flight;
Fair blew the wind into her bosom right,
And the heavens look'd lovely all the while,
That she did seem to dance as in delight,
And at her own felicity did smile."*

And in this gallant trim the English fleet bore down upon the superior force of their ungenerous foe. The arrows of the one side, and the cross-bows of the other, did murderous execution; and when the lords, knights, and squires came together, the battle was so dreadful that it furnished matter of song to the minstrels of England and France for years afterwards. The countess that day was worth the bravest knight: she had the heart of a lion, and, with a sharp glaive in her hand, she fought fiercely. They contended till it became so dark that one could scarcely know another. The fleets then separated, the men remaining in their harness, intending to renew the battle next morning. But at midnight a tempest arose so horrible that every one thought the end of the world was approaching; and those very cavaliers who, a few hours before had gallantly courted death, would now have abandoned their chivalry and their cause, if a safe landing could have been effected.†

* Froissart, c. 82. Lors descendit la Comtesse du Chastel, à joyeuse chere, et vint baiser messiu Gautier de Manny et ses compaignons, les uns apres les autre, deux fois ou trois, comme vaillante Dame.

* Spenser, Vision of the World's Vanity, st. 9.

† Like Gonzalo in the Tempest. "Now I would give a thousand furlongs of sea for an

The battle was not renewed the next day; the English fleet sailed to Brittany; the troops landed near Vannes, which they immediately besieged, the countess being always foremost in the press. Soon afterwards Edward III. went to France, in the contest for whose throne the affairs of Brittany were lost, and the noble Countess of Mountfort disappeared from the scene,* while her husband escaped from prison only to die of a fever at Hennebon.†

A few years after this beautiful display of the chivalric character of woman in France, the gloom of war in Italy was illuminated by a noble trait of female heroism. Marzia, a lady of the family of the Ubaldini, so celebrated for its virtue and noble gestes, was the wife of Francesco d'Ordelaffi, lord of Forli, the only prince in Romagna who maintained his independence against the tyranny of the papal power. Knowing her firmness and spirit, he entrusted the defence of the town of Cesena to his wife, while he himself maintained the more important position of Forli. In the beginning of the year 1357, Marzia tore herself from her husband, and, throwing aside the gorgeous robe of peaceful power, donned the casque and the cuirass. She stationed herself in Cesena with two hundred soldiers, equipped like knights, and the same number of ordinary troops. She was accompanied also by her son and daughter, and that sage councellor of the Ordelaffi family, Sgariglino de Pétragudula. An army ten times more numerous than all the defenders of Cesena soon beleaguered the place. At the end of April some of the terrified burgesses opened the gates of the lower part of the town to the enemy; but in that moment of peril Marzia remembered that her husband had declared that, unless the pope would treat with him on honourable terms, he would sustain a siege in every one of his castles, and when he had lost them he would defend the walls of Forli, and then its streets, its squares, his palace, and the last tower of his palace, rather than give his consent to surrender that which was his own. Marzia retreated into the upper part of the town with such of the soldiers and citizens who continued faithful to her. She now discovered that Sgariglino had been a traitor. Justice then had her due, and the head of him whom no feelings of honour or gallantry could preserve in the path of virtue was rolled from the battlements among the besieging army. Marzia relied entirely on her own wisdom and courage; she took on herself all the duties of governor and captain, and, wearing her cuirass both by night and day, she braved all those hardships which in former moments of happiness and ease, she would have thought herself incapable of supporting. But the besiegers smiled with indifference at her courage, for their miners were slowly and surely effecting her ruin. She was compelled to retreat to the citadel with four hundred soldiers and citizens, who vowed to be faithful to death. The miners persevered, and at length the citadel almost hung in air. The father of Marzia at that moment reached Cesena, and his passage had been facilitated by the legate. He entreated his heroic daughter to surrender, as bravery had accomplished its utmost, and still the besiegers were gradually prevailing. Her reply was simple and firm, — that her husband had given her a duty to perform, and that she must obey, without forming any opinion on the nature of his command. Her heroism was not supported by the people, for they unanimously declared the folly of further resistance. Compelled, then, to surrender, she herself opened the negotiations; and so skilfully did she act, so much dreaded was the despair to which she might be tempted, that she obtained from the legate a treaty, whereby it was agreed that all the soldiers who had bravely supported her might return home with their arms and equipments. On the 21st of June she opened the gate of the citadel: she disdained to ask any favour for herself; and the legate, untouched by any chivalric sympathy for female heroism, cast her and her children into prison.*

acre of barren ground, long heath, brown furze, any thing. The wills above be done; but I would fain die a dry death." Act i., sc. 1.

* The principal facts in the heroic life of the Countess of Mountfort are recorded by Froissart, c. 68, 72, 80, 91, &c. Lobineau, Histoire de Bretagne, vol. i., p. 320, &c. Argentré, Histoire de Bretagne, liv. vii., c. 9, 10.

† Hist. Gen. de la France, l. 452.

* See the chronicle of M. Villani in the 14th

The honorary titles of ladies in days of chivalry favoured this martial spirit in women. The wife of a knight was often called equitissa, or militissa, or chevaliére. In France, too, ladies, as ruling over fiefs, having the right of war, judicature, and coining money, could confer the honour of knighthood. But in general the feudal law opposed the chivalry of women, for a woman alone could not hold a fief, it not being supposed that she could head her vassals or accompany her liege lord into the field. The instances, therefore, that are scattered over the middle ages of the brave gestes of women sprang from the spirit of chivalry and not from any other principle of society. They were always praised, and joyfully remembered; and when the direction of war was entirely usurped by men, the world reverted with a melancholy pleasure to the chivalry of womankind.

"Where is the antique glory now become,
That whilome wont in women to appeare?
Where be the brave atchievements done by some?
Where be the battles, where the shield and spear,
And all the conquests which them high did rear,
That matter made for famous poets verse,
And boastful men so oft abasht to hear?
Be they all dead, and laid in doleful hearse?
Or do they all sleep, and shall again reverse?"*

Though 'meek-eyed women' were 'without fear,' yet this martial disposition was never displayed at the sacrifice of the sex's milder qualities. The same lady who placed a lance in rest was in her castle gentle and courteous, dispensing hospitality, tending the sick, or reading romance in hall and bower. Her heart was as tender as her's who was rocked in pleasure's wanton lap. Spenser's picture of his martial maid, Britomart, in love, represents the whole class of chivalric heroines:

"Thenceforth the father in her lofty crest,
Ruffed of love, gan lowly to availe;
And her proud portance and her princely gest,
With which she erst triumphed, now did quail,
Sad, solemn, sour, and full of fancies frail,
She woxe yet wist she neither how, nor why
She wist not, silly maid, what she did ail,
Yet wist she was not well at ease perdy,
Yet thought it was not love, but some melancholy."*

There were other points in the character of women in days of chivalry hardly necessary to be noticed as not being peculiar to the times. The artifices and sleights of some of them would beseem more refined ages. To repress the presumption of lovers when circumstances did not favour an avowal of passion, they would reprove the sighs and glances which they pretended to see interchanged between the young squires and maidens of the table; but the admirer of the dames sometimes mistook this demeanour for the sign of a coquettish spirit, and left the lady to lament his dulness.†

vol. of Muratori, Rerum Scrip. Ital.; and Sismondi, Histoire des Rep. Ital., tom. vi., c. 45. Italy has not many romantic associations, and there are now no remains of Cesena to awaken the admiration of the traveller to the heroism of Marzia. Forsyth, Remarks on Italy, vol. ii., p. 266.

* Fairy Queen, book ii., canto 4, st. 1.

* Ibid. Book iii., canto 2, st. 27.

† "The lady's heart was on him cast,
And she beheld him wonder fast;
Ever on him she cast her eye,
Ipomodon full well it seye;[a]
Anon it gave him in his thought,
To loke again let would be not.
Nor no more coward thought he to be
Of his looking than was she.
The lady perceived it full well,
Of all his looking every dell,
And therewith began to shame,
For she might lightly fall in blame,
If men perceived it any thing,
Betwixt them two such looking,
Then would they say all bydene,[b]
That some love were them between;
Then should she fall in slander,
And lose much of her honour.
She thought to warn him privily,
By her cousin that set him by.
'Jason,' she said, 'thou art to blame,
And therewith the ought to shame,
To behold my maid in vain;
Every man to other will sayne,
That betwixt you is some sin,
Of thy looking, I rede,[c] thou blynne.'[d]
Ipomydon him bethought anon,
Then that she blamed Jason,
Without deserving every dell:
But the encheson[e] he perceived wéll.
Down he looked and thought great shame,
That Jason bore for him the blame.
Still he sat, and said no more,
He thought to dwell no longer there."
Romance of Sir Ipomydon.

[a] Saw. [b] Together. [c] Council. [d] Cease. [e] Occasion.

The spirit of chivalry, which disposed the heart to all noble feelings, was not universal in its influence, and we accordingly read of ladies who were deformed by the mood of envy and detraction.

> "Then was the lady of the house
> A proud dame and malicious,
> *Hokerfull iche mis-segging**
> Squeamous and eke scorning."†

But the subject need not be pursued further; for it is woman, as formed by chivalric principles, and not as uninfluenced by that noble spirit whose lineaments it is my purpose to portray. That lofty consideration in which she was held had, as we have seen, a remoter origin than the days of chivalry, and to that elevation much of her moral dignity may be ascribed. But chivalry saved her from being altogether oppressed into slavery and degradation under the tyranny of feudalism. That odious system endeavoured to bring under its sway even the very affections of the heart; for not only no woman of rank and estate could marry without the consent of her sovereign, but in some countries she was obliged to accept a husband at his nomination, unless for a large pecuniary payment he restored her to the privileges of her sex. By preserving woman in her noble state of moral dignity, chivalry prevented the harsh exercise of feudal rights. A sovereign who prided himself on his knighthood could never offend the inclinations of one of that sex which by his principles he was bound to protect and cherish. Chivalry hung out the heart-stirring hope that beauty was the reward of bravery. A valiant, but landless knight was often hailed by the whole martial fraternity of his country as worthy the hand of a noble heiress, and the king could not in every case bestow her on some minion of his court. Woman was sustained in her proud elevation by the virtues which chivalry required of her; and man paid homage to her mind as well as to her beauty. She was not the mere subject of pleasure, taken up or thrown aside as passion or caprice suggested; but being the fountain of honour, her image was always blended with the fairest visions of his fancy, and the respectful consideration which she, therefore, met with, showed she was not an unworthy awarder of fame. Fixed by the gallant warriors of chivalry in a nobler station than that which had been assigned to her by the polite nations of antiquity, all the graceful qualities of her nature blossomed into beauty, and the chastening influence of feminine gentleness and tenderness was, for the first time in his history, experienced by man.

* Full of frowardness, each mis-saying or reviling, as Ellis renders the passage.

† Lai le Fraine.

CHAPTER VI.

TOURNAMENTS AND JOUSTS.

Beauty of Chivalric Sports.—Their Superiority to those of Greece and Rome.—Origin of Tournaments.—Reasons for holding them.—Practice in Arms.—Courtesy.—By whom they were held.—Qualifications for Tourneying.—Ceremonies of the Tournament.—Arrival of the Knights.—Publication of their names.—Reasons for it.—Disguised Knights.—The Lists.—Ladies the Judges of the Tournaments.—Delicate Courtesy at Tournaments.—Morning of the Sports.—Knights led by Ladies, who imitated the Dress of Knights.—Nature of Tourneying Weapons.—Knights wore Ladies' Favours.—The Preparation.—The Encounter.—What Lance Strokes won the Prize.—Conclusion of the Sports.—The Festival.—Delivery of the Prize.—Knights thanked by Ladies.—The Ball.—Liberality.—Tournaments opposed by the Popes.—The Opposition unjust.—The Joust.—Description of the Joust to the Utterance.—Joust between a Scotch and an English Knight.—Jousting for love of the Ladies.—A singular instance of it.—Joust between a French and an English Squire.—Admirable skill of Jousters.—Singular questions regarding Jousts.—An Earl of Warwick.—Celebrated Joust at St. Inglebertes'.—Joust between Lord Scales and the Bastard of Burgundy.—The Romance of Jousts.—The Passage of Arms.—Use of Tournaments and Jousts.

ALL our most delightful imaginings of chivalry are associated with the tournament. We see in fancy's mirror the gay and graceful knight displaying on his plumed steed the nobleness of his bearing, and the lady of his affections smiling upon his gallant skill, while the admiring people in rude and hearty joy

shout their loud acclaims. Those who were illustrious for ancestral or newly acquired renown met in the listed plain. The fierceness of war was mellowed into elegance, and even feudalism abated something of its sternness, when called on to perform tendance on the ladies and damsels who graced the scene. Baronial pomp, knightly gallantry, woman's beauty, gay caparisons, rich attire, and feudal pageantry, throng the mind in wild and splendid confusion, when we hear the herald's trumpet-clang summoning the knights to achievement. It was in the tournament especially that the chivalric nations of Europe asserted their superior claims to gracefulness and humanity; for though the Greeks might vaunt their Olympic games, yet in them woman's favour did not bestow the garland, and though matrons mingled with senators in the Coliseum, and a virgin gave the signal for the commencement of the sports, yet the tortures and death of their fellow-creatures constituted the amusement.

Our ancestors were so proud of the Trojan descent which their historians deduced for them, that they even regarded the games which Æneas celebrated to the honour of his dead father, Anchises, as the origin of their own knightly joust and tournament. But in those games there was no encounter of two lances as in the joust, and no courteous battle between two parties of warriors, as was the case in the tournament. This learned enthusiasm was needless and absurd; for the knights might have discovered in the nature and tendency of circumstances, and in the practice of their known and immediate forefathers, sufficient matter of originality. The Romans were wont to exercise themselves in mock combats, and so were the Goths;* but it would be difficult to prove any chain of connexion between these people. War was an art in the middle ages, and a long and painful education preceded the practice of it. It was the delight as well as the occupation of the world; for fame,† fortune, and woman's love,* could only be obtained by gallant bearing. Hence we find that thoughts of war were not abandoned in times of peace, and that some softened images of battle formed the grace of festive solemnities.

The martial spirit of the world was nourished by such customs, for kings were always eager to hold tourneys for the better training up of soldiers in feats of arms.† It was the beneficial nature of tournaments to shed the amenities and courtesies of peace over the horrid front of war. Thus there were rules for conducting these images of battle which no knight could violate without forfeiting his title to chivalry. The display of address, with as little danger as possible to life and limb, was the chief character of these encounters, and skill, therefore, in real war, became more esteemed than bruteviolence. To profit by the mischance of an adversary would, in the tournament, have been considered unknightly; and it followed that even in the most deadly encounters of nations no cavalier would avail himself of any accident happening to his foe.

Military exercises, when performed by two parties of cavaliers with hurtless weapons, were called tournaments. If the occasion were high and solemn, heralds repaired to different courts, announcing their sovereign's purpose of holding martial exercises at a particular time, and inviting all those who valued their knighthood, and respected dames and maidens, to repair to the appointed city, and prove their chivalry.‡

* Du Cange gravely quotes Saint Isidore for this truth; and it is credible even upon less solemn authority.

† Thus Holingshed, speaking of a royal joust and martial tournament, held at Smithfield in 1389, says. "And so many a noble course and other martial feats were achieved in those four days, to the great contentation and pleasure of many a young bachelor desirous to win fame." P. 474, edit. 1587.

* The objects and tendencies of tournaments are extremely well expressed by Jeffry of Monmouth: — "Many knights famous for feats of chivalry were present, with apparel and arms of the same colour and fashion. They formed a species of diversion, in imitation of a fight on horseback; and the ladies being placed on the walls of the castles, darted amorous glances on the combatants. None of these ladies esteemed any knight worthy of her love but such as had given proof of his gallantry in three several encounters. Thus the valour of the men encouraged chastity in the women, and the attention of the women proved an incentive to the soldier's bravery." Lib. ix., c. 12.

† Holingshed, vol. ii., p. 252, reprint.

‡ Froissart, vol. ii., c. 175.

In Germany matters were somewhat different, and should be stated. Except in Saxony (which had its own tournaments), the Germans who were entitled to appear in the tourneying lists were divided into four companies; namely, that of the Rhine — of Bavaria — of Swabia — and of Franconia. The assembled cavaliers were called the chivalry of the four countries. Each country by rotation held the tournament, and chose its leader or judge of the sports, who appointed three ladies to give the arms to the knights, and three others to distribute the prizes. It was usual for one of the ladies to be a wife, another a widow, and the third a maiden.*

Originally, in most countries, no person could tourney unless he proved himself to be maternally a knight of gentle birth, by four descents, and displayed a legitimate coat-armour: but this regulation was every where relaxed in favour of hardy knights who could not boast of ancestral honours.† In early times, knights, whether bannerets or bachelors, contended in the listed plain; but, subsequently, the squire (both the follower of the knight and the soldier of the third class of chivalry) was permitted to joust or tourney with knights.

Safe-conduct through hostile lands was always allowed to those who wished to tourney; and the silence and solitude of the country in those dark times were pleasingly relieved by bands of jolly and amorous cavaliers, with trains of squires and pages, riding apace to court to the tune of a merry roundelay. It was particularly the custom of newly-made knights to attend a tournament in order to show that they deserved their spurs, and to establish their prowess.‡

Nor did simple knights alone thus progress to the tournament. Kings and princes pricked over the plain in gallant and graceful array; for though their rank excused them from performing many knightly observances, yet their chivalric spirit disdained the pride of their station, and their souls were inflamed with the noble desire of illustrating their royalty by deeds of high knighthood.

The knights were wont to arrive at the respective hostels or tents assigned them by the kings-at-arms and the heralds somewhile before the day of tournament; and they affixed their armorial ensigns over the entrances, and raised their banners and pennons in front of their parades. The tourneying knights were known by their heraldry, and this publication of their names was made for a very noble purpose. If any one of them had been guilty of unchivalric deportment, the matter might be proved before the ladies or other judges of the tournament, and they would strike down his banner. None could tourney who had blasphemed God, or offended the ladies: he who had been false to gratitude and honour; he who had violated his word, or deserted his brother in arms in battle, was unworthy of appearing at the splendid show; and the high courtesy of chivalry was maintained by the law, that no one could tourney who had without warning assailed his enemy, or by indirect means had despoiled his territory.*

These rules, however, were not always observed; for cavaliers were often permitted to partake of chivalric sports, though they declined to name themselves to the heralds. If they were novices in arms, and not very confident in their prowess, they would conceal their names till they had won renown; and if the chance of the game were against them, the spectators knew not who had failed to acquire honour. The baron who held the tournament might be the enemy of a gallant knight, who, from prudence, would not wish to make himself known, unless he could appear with the bold front of a conqueror. Sometimes the persons of the knights were not concealed by common armour,

* Ritterzeit und Ritterwesen, vol. i., p. 311, 323.

† The German nation, as it may be easily supposed, were more strict than other people regarding the nature of the birth-right which authorized a man to tourney. If any person be curious enough to inquire into the fantastic subtleties of German heraldy about this matter, I refer him to the Ritterzeit und Ritterwesen, vol. i., p. 293, 300.

‡ M. Westm. p. 300.

* Segar of Honor, lib. ii., c. 26. Ritterzeit und Ritterwesen, vol. i., p. 302. There was a singular law in Germany, prohibiting from the tournament those who had been the cause of imposing taxes or duties, or had used their endeavours to get them imposed. Ritterzeit und Ritterwesen, vol. i., p. 304.

but by the guise which fancy had thrown over the fabled knights of yore. A troop of cavaliers calling themselves King Arthur and the Knights of the Round Table often dashed into the lists; and their trumpet's defiance was answered by that of another band meeting them at speed from the other end, and calling themselves Charlemagne and his Paladins. This was a beautiful mode of realising the romances of chivalry. Other disguises were not equally praiseworthy; and, I can only state as a historical fact, without attempting to apologise for its madness and impiety, that at a tournament held at Valladolid in the year 1428, the King of Castille was accompanied by twelve knights, who personated the twelve Apostles.*

The place of combat was the lists, a large space surrounded by ropes or railing in single or double rows. Sometimes there was a wooden division in the lists or area to prevent the horses of the adverse knights from careering against each other.† The lists were decorated with the splendid richness of feudal power. Besides the gorgeous array of heraldic insignia near the champions' tents, the galleries, which were made to contain the proud and joyous spectators, were covered with tapestry, representing chivalry both in its warlike and amorous guise: on one side the knight with his bright faulchion smiting away hosts of foes, and on the other kneeling at the feet of beauty.

The ladies were the supreme judges of tournaments; and if any complaint was raised against a knight, they adjudged the cause without appeal.‡ Generally, however, they deputed their power to a knight, who, on account of this distinction, was called the *Knight of Honour*. He bore at the end of his lance a ribbon or some other sign of woman's favour; and with this badge of power he waved the fiercest knights into order and obedience.

The heralds read to the knights the regulations of the sport, and announced the nature of the prize they were to contend for. The dames and maidens sometimes proposed jewels of price, a diamond, a ruby, and a sapphire, as rewards of valour. But the meed of renown was often more military; and the reader of Italian history remembers that at a tournament celebrated at Florence in the year 1468, Lorenzo de' Medici bore away the prize of a helmet of silver with a figure of Mars as the crest. It was the general wont of tournaments for a vanquished knight to forfeit his armour and horse to his victor.

Nothing was more beautiful than the courtesy of chivalric times. At a martial game held in Smithfield, during the reign of Richard II., the Queen proposed a crown of gold as the reward of the best jouster, were he a stranger; but if an English knight had the praise, then a rich bracelet was to be his reward. The same polite preference of strangers influenced the chivalry of England, and they promised to give to the lord of best desert, if he were a foreign knight, a fair horse, with his trappings; but if he were one of their own land, then only a falcon should reward him.

On the morning of the tournament,

> "When the day 'gan spring,
> Of horse and harneis, noise and clattering,
> Ther was in the hostelries all about."*

The knights then trooped to the listed plain, with lords, ladies and damsels, the chivalry and beauty of the country, mounted on gaily-caparisoned steeds and palfreys, whose housings swept the ground. Sometimes a lady fair led the horse of her chosen knight, and in the song of the minstrel the bridle became a golden chain of love. At the day appointed for a merry tournament, in the reign of Richard II., there issued out of the Tower of London, first, threescore coursers, apparelled for the lists, and on every one a squire of honour riding a soft pace. Then appeared threescore ladies of honour, mounted on fair palfreys, each lady leading by a chain of silver a knight sheathed in jousting har-

* Croneca del Conde D. Pero Nino, p. 203' cited in the notes to the preface to the reprint of the Morte d'Arthur, p. 61.

† Montrelet, vol. vi, p. 333.

‡ Ritterzeit und Ritterwesen, vol. i., p. 323.

* Chaucer, Knight's Tale, l. 2493, &c. So Froissart says, "On the next day you might have seen in divers places of the city of London squires and varlettes going about with harness, and doing other business of their masters." Vol. ii., page 273.

ness. The fair and gallant troop, with the sound of clarions, trumpets, and other minstrelsy, rode along the streets of London,* the fronts of the housting shining with martial glory in the rich banners and tapestries which hung from the windows. They reached Smithfield,† where the Queen of England and many matrons and damsels were already seated in richly adorned galleries. The ladies that led the knights joined them; the squires of honour alighted from their coursers, and the knights in good order vaulted upon them.

This mode of conducting knights to the tournament was not the only pleasing prelude of the sports. As it was in perfect harmony with the general tone of chivalric feeling for knights to array themselves in weeds, which woman's taste had chosen or approved of, so dames and maidens, with equal courtesy, imitated in their attire the semblance of knights. They often rode to the tournament with their girdles ornamented with gold and silver, to resemble military belts, and, sportively, wielding short and light swords, embossed with emblems of love and war.

When the knights reached the lists, their arms were examined by the constable; and such as were of a frame and fabric contrary to good chivalry, were rejected. The lances were hurtless, the points being either removed altogether, or covered with broad pieces of wood, called *rockets*. The gallant manners of the age gave such lances the title of *Glaives Courtois*. The swords were blunted and rebated. Instances are on record of knights encountering with swords made of whalebone, covered with parchment, the helmet and hauberk being made of leather.

There existed very often, however, a disposition to convert tournaments into real battles. National rivalry broke through the restraints of knightly gentleness; envy of martial prowess, or of woman's love, had found an occasion of venting its passion; and, in spite of the authority of the king-at-arms and heralds to reject weapons of violence, bribery and power appear often to have introduced them. As the nature of offensive armour may be judged from the defensive harness, so in the laws of a country we may read the state of manners. The practice of converting the elegant tournament into a deadly fray occasioned an oath to be imposed on all knights that they would frequent tournaments solely to learn military exercises;* and, by a law of England made towards the close of the thirteenth century, a broad sword for tourneying was the only weapon that was allowed to the knight and squire; and there was a stern prohibition of a sword pointed, a dagger pointed, or a staff or mace. Knight-banneret and barons might be armed with mufflers, and cuishes, and shoulder plates, and a scull-cap, without more. Spectators were forbidden from wearing any armour at all, and the king-at-arms and heralds, and the minstrels, were allowed to carry only their accustomed swords without points.

The tilting armour in which knights were sheathed was generally of a light fabric, and splendid. Its ornaments came under a gentler authority than that of royal constable and marshals. If the iron front of a line of cavaliers in the battle-field was frequently gemmed with the variously coloured signs of ladies' favours, those graceful additions to armour yet more beseemed the tournament. Damsels were wont to surmount the helmets of their knights with chaplets, or to affix streamers to their spears,† and a cavalier who was thus honoured smiled with self-complacency on the highly emblazoned surcoat of his rival in chivalry.

The desire to please ladies fair formed the very soul of the tournament.‡ Every

* Froissart, vol. ii., c. 173.

† Smithfield was famous many years earlier, both as the place of sports and the horse-market of London. Fitzstephen, who wrote in the time of Henry II., says, "Without one of the gates is a certain field,[a] a plain (or smooth) both in name and situation. Every Friday, except some greater festival come in the way, there is a brave sight of gallant horses to be sold: many come out of the city to buy or look on, to wit, earls, barons, knights, citizens, all resorting thither."

[a] Smethfield, as it were Smoothfield.

* Du Cange, Dissertation 6, on Joinville.

† Memoires d'Olivier de la Marche, liv. i., c. 14.

‡ This feeling is exceedingly well expressed in a challenge given by some foreign knights in England to the English chivalry. "Ever in courts of great kings are wont to come knights of divers nations, and more to this court of England,

young and gallant knight wore the device of his mistress, while, indeed, the hardier sons of chivalry carried fiercer signs of their own achievements: but they were unmarked by the bright judges of the tourney, for their eyes could only follow through the press their own emblems of love.

Nothing was now to be heard but the noise and clattering of horse armour.

"Ther mayst thou see devising of harneis
So uncouth,* and so rich, and wrought so welle
Of goldsmithey, of brouding,† and of stele,
The sheldes bright, testeres,‡ and trappures;
Gold hewn helms, hauberks, cote-armures;
Lords in paramentes,§ on hir courseres,
Knights of retinue, and eke squires,
Nailing the speres, and helmes buckling,
Gniding‖ of sheldes, with lainers¶ lacing;
Ther as need is they were nothing idle:
The fomy steeds on the golden bridle
Gnawing, and fast the armourers also
With file and hammer pricking to and fro;
Yeomen on foot, and communes many on,
With short staves, thick as they may gone;
Pipes, trompes, nakeres,** and clariounes,
That in the bataile blowen blody sounes."††

After the arms had been examined, "*à l'ostelle, à l'ostelle*, to achievement, knights and squires to achievement," was cried by the well-voiced heralds from side to side, and the cavaliers, making their obeisances to the ladies, retired within their tents to don their harness. At the cry, "Come forth, knights, come forth," they left their pavilions, and mounting their good steeds, stationed themselves by the side of their banners. The officers-at-arms then examined their saddles; for though they might grow unto their seats, yet it could only lawfully be done by noble horsemanship, and not by thongs attaching the man and horse together.*

The ladies and gallant spectators being fairly ranged round the lists, and the crowds of plebeian gazers being disciplined into silence and order, the heralds watched the gestures of the knight of honour, and, catching his sign that the sports might begin, they cried, "*Laissez aller.*" The cords which divided the two parties were immediately slackened, and the cavaliers dressing their spears to their rests, and commending themselves to their mistresses, dashed to the encounter, while the trumpets sounded the beautiful point of chivalry, for every man to do his devoir.†

Each knight was followed by his squires, whose number was, in England, by the ancient statute of tournaments already alluded to, limited to three. They furnished their lord with arms, arranged his harness, and raised him from the ground, if his foe had dismounted him. These squires performed also the more pleasing task of being pages of dames and damsels. They carried words of love to re-animate the courage and strength of the exhausted cavalier, and a ribbon drawn from a maiden's bosom was often sent to her chosen knight, when in the shock of spears her first favour had been torn from the place where her fair hand had fixed it.‡

where are maintained knighthood and feats of arms valiantly for the service of ladies in higher degrees and estates than in any realm of the world: it beseemeth well to Don Francisco de Mendoza, and Carflast De la Vega, that here, better than in any place, they may show their great desire that they have to serve their ladies." Antiquarian Repertory, vol. i., p. 148.

* Elegant. † Embroidery.
‡ Head-pieces. § Ornamented dresses.
‖ Rubbing. ¶ Straps. ** Brazen drums.
†† Chaucer, The Knight's Tale, line 2498, &c. Chaucer must have had in his imagination one of the splendid tournaments of the days of Edward III. when he wrote these spirited lines; for there is much more circumstance in his description than could have belonged to a simple joust between the two knights, Palamon and Arcite.

* Du Cange (Diss. 6), on the authority of an ancient MS. regarding tournaments; and Ritterzeit und Ritterwesen, vol. i., p. 325.

† Harleian MSS. No. 69.

‡ His. de Charles VI., vol. ii., p. 120, fol. 1663. As every thing regarding the ladies of chivalric as well as of other times is interesting, no apology will be required for my hazarding a conjecture that the colour of the ribbon mentioned in the text was blue, the emblem of constancy.

"Lo, yonder folk, quoth she, that kneel in blue!
They wear the colour ay and ever shall,
In sign they were and ever will be true,
Withouten change."

Chaucer's Court of Love, l. 248, &c.

The author of the Romance of Perceforest has made a strange exaggeration of the custom of ladies sending favours to knights during the heat of a tournament. He says, that at the end of one of those martial games, "Les dames étoient si

The chivalric bands were so well poised, that one encounter seldom terminated the sport. Lances were broken, horses and knights overthrown, and the tide of victory flowed to either end of the lists. The air was rent with names of ladies. War-cries were changed for gentler invocations. Each noble knight called upon his mistress to assist him, thinking that there was a magic in beauty to sustain his strength and courage. "On, valiant knights, fair eyes behold you!" was the spirit-stirring cry of those older warriors who could now only gaze at and direct the amusements of chivalry. The poursuivants-at-arms cried at every noble achievement, "Honour to the sons of the brave!"* The minstrels echoed it in the loudest notes of their martial music, and the chivalric spectators replied by the cry, "Loyauté aux dames!"

The keen and well-practised eyes of the heralds noted the circumstances of the contest. To break a spear between the saddle and the helmet was accounted one point or degree of honour. The higher on the body the lance was attainted or broken, the greater was the consideration; and the difficulty of breaking it on the helmet was regarded as so considerable, that the knight who performed this feat was thought to be worthy of ten points. Either to strike one of the opposite party out of his saddle, or to disable him so that he could not join the next course, was an achievement that merited three points. A curious question once arose at a tournament held in Naples. A knight struck his antagonist with such violence as to disarm him of his shield, cuirass, and helmet, and in turn, he was unhorsed. The judges had some difficulty in determining who merited least reproach; and it was at length decided, quite in consonance with chivalric principles, that he who fell from his horse was most dishonoured, for good horsemanship was the first quality of a knight. Hence it was thought less dishonourable for a tourneying cavalier to fall with his horse than to fall alone. He who carried his lance comelily and firmly was more worthy of praise, although he broke not, than he who misgoverned his horse, and broke. He who ran high and sat steadily, accompanying his horse evenly and gently, was worthy of all commendation. To take away the rest of his adversary's lance merited more honour than to carry away any other part of his harness. To break his lance against the bow or pommel of the saddle was accounted greater shame than to bear a lance without breaking. It was equally dishonourable to break a lance traverse, or across the breast of an opponent, without striking him with the point; for as it could only occur from the horse swerving on one side, it showed unskilful riding.* The courtesies of chivalry were

dénues de leur atours, que la plus grande partie étoit en pur chef (mie tête) car elles s'en alloient les cheveux sur leurs epaules gisans, plus jaunes que fin or, en plus cottes sans manches, car tous avoient donné aux chevaliers pour eux parer et guimples et chaperons, manteaux et camises, manches et habits: mais quand elles se virent à tel point, elles en furent ainsi comme toutes honteuses; mais sitost qu'elles veirent que chacune étoit en tel point, elles se prirent toutes a rire de leur adventure, car elles avoient donné leurs joyaux et leurs habits de si grand cœur aux chevaliers, qu'elles ne s'appercevoient de leur dénuement et devestemens."

* The reader may wonder at this form of expression; but it proceeded from the very noble principle of teaching young knights to emulate the glories of their ancestors, and from the peculiar refinement and delicacy of chivalry which argued that there was no knight so perfect, but who might commit a fault, and so great a one as to efface the merit of all his former good deeds. Heralds, therefore, observes Monstrelet, do not at jousts and battles cry out, "Honour to the brave!" but they exclaim, "Honour to the sons of the brave!" No knight can be deemed perfect, until death has removed the possibility of his committing an offence against his knighthood. "Il n'est nul si bon chevalier au monde qu'il ne puisse bien faire une faute, voire si grande que tous les biens qu'il aura faits devant seront adnihillez; et pour ce on ne crie aux joustes ne aux batailles, aux preux, mais on crie bien aux fils des preux après la mort de leur pere car nul chevalier ne peut estre jugé preux se ce n'est après le trépassement." Monstrelet, vol. i., p. 29.

* "To break across," the phrase for bad chivalry, did not die with the lance. It was used by the writers of the Elizabethian age to express any failure of wit or argument. To the same purpose, Celia, in "As You Like It," says of Orlando, tauntingly, "O that's a brave man. He writes brave verses, speaks brave words, swears brave oaths, and breaks them bravely, quite traverse, athwart the heart of his lover, as a puny tilter, that spurs his horse but on one side, breaks his staff like a noble goose."

maintained by the laws that he who struck a horse, or a man, when his back was turned, or when he was unarmed, deserved no honour. Any combatant might unhelm himself, and until his helmet was replaced, none could assail him.*

When all the knights had proved their valiancy, the lord of the tournament dropped his ward,* or otherwise signed to the heralds, who cried "*Ployer vos bannieres.*" The banners were accordingly folded, and the amusements ended. The fair and noble spectators then descended from their galleries, and repaired to the place of festival. The knights who had tourneyed clad themselves in gay weeds of peace, and entering the hall amidst long and high flourishes of trumpets, sat under the silken banners whose emblazonings recorded the antique glory of their families. Favourite falcons were seated on perches above their heads, and the old and faithful dogs of the chace were allowed to be present at this joyous celebration of their master's honour. Sometimes the knights encircled, in generous equality, a round table. On other occasions the feudal long table with its dais, or raised upper end, was used; and to the bravest knights were allotted the seats which were wont to belong to proud and powerful barons.† Every preux cavalier had by his side a lady bright. The minstrels tuned their harps to the praise of courtesy and prowess; and when the merriment was most joyous, the heralds‡ presented to

* The old English ordinances, fortunately, have been preserved, and are exceedingly curious.

The ordinances, statutes, and rules, made and enacted by John Earl of Worcester, constable of England, by the kinge's commandement, at Windsor, the 14th day of May, in the seventh year of his noble reign (Edward IV.), to be observed and kept in all manner of justes of peace royal, within this realm of England, before his highness or lieutenant, by his commandement or license, had from this time forth, reserving always to the queen's highness and to the ladies there present, the attribution and gift of the price, after the manner and form accustomed, the merits and demerits attribute according to the articles following: —

First, whoso breaketh most spears as they ought to be broken, shall have the price.

Item, whoso hitteth three times in the helm shall have the price.

Item, whoso meteth two times coronel to coronel, shall have the price.

Item, whoso beareth a man down with stroke of spear shall have the price.

How the Price should be lost.

First, whoso striketh a horse shall have no price.

Item, whoso striketh a man, his back turned, or disarmed of his spear, shall have no price.

Item, whoso hitteth the toil or tilt thrice shall have no price.

Item, whoso unhelms himself twice shall have no price without his horse fail him.

How Spears broken shall be allowed.

First, whoso breaketh a spear between the saddle and the charnel of the helm shall be allowed for one.

Item, whoso breaketh a spear from the charnel upwards shall be allowed for two.

Item, whoso breaketh a spear so as he strike him down or put him out of his saddle, or disarm him in such wise as he may not run the next course, shall be allowed for three spears broken.

How Spears broken shall be disallowed.

First, whoso breaketh on the saddle shall be disallowed for a spear breaking.

Item, whoso hits the toil or tilt over shall be disallowed for two.

Item, whoso hitteth the toil twice, for the second time shall be abased three.

Item, whoso breaketh a spear within a foot of the coronall, shall be judged as no spear broken, but a good attempt.

For the Price.

First, whoso beareth a man down out of the saddle, or putteth him to the earth, horse and man, shall have the price before him that striketh coronall to coronall two times.

Item, he that striketh coronall to coronall two times shall have the price before him that striketh the sight three times.

Item, he that striketh the sight three times shall have the price before him that breaketh the most spears.

Item, if there be any man that fortunately in this wise shall be deemed he bode longest in the field helmed, and ran the fairest course, and gave the greatest strokes, helping himself best with his spear. — Antiquarian Repertory, i. 145, &c.

* Olivier de la Marche, a hero of Burgundy in the fifteenth century, thus describes a warder: — "Et tenoit le Duc de Bourgogne un petit blanc baton en sa main pour jetter et faire séparer les champions, leurs armes achivees, comme il est de coustume en tel cas." Memoires, p. 71.

† Walsingham, p. 8. In early times, in England, those tournament festivals were held about a round table, and therefore the tournament themselves were often called round tables. Walter Hemingford, vol. i., p. 7, ed. Hearne.

‡ This was the address of the heralds after a tournament in the days of Edward IV.: —

"Oyez, oyez, oyez, we let to understand to

the ladies the knights who had worthily demeaned themselves.* She, who by the consent of her fair companions was called *La Royne de la Beaulte et des Amours*, delivered the prizes to the kneeling knights.† This queen of beauty and love addressed each of them with a speech of courtesy, thanking him for the disport and labour which he had taken that day, presenting to him the prize as the ladies' award for his skill, and concluding with the wish that such a valorous cavalier would have much joy and worship with his lady.* "The victory was entirely owing to the favour of my mistress, which I wore in my helmet," was the gallant reply of the knight; for he was always solicitous to exalt the honour of his lady-love. As tournaments were scenes of pleasure, the knight who appeared in the most handsome guise was praised; and, to complete the courtesies of chivalry, thanks were rendered to those who had travelled to the lists from far countries.†

Dancing then succeeded, the knights taking precedence agreeably to their feats of arms in the morning. And now, when every one's heart was exalted by the rich glow of chivalry, the heralds called for their rewards. Liberality was a virtue of every true knight, and the officers-at-arms were more particular in tracing the lines of his pedigree, than in checking him from overleaping the bounds of a prudent and rational generosity.

One day's amusement did not always close the tournament: but on the second morning the knights resigned the lists to their esquires, who mounted upon the horses, and wore the armour and cognisances of their lords. They also were conducted by young maidens, who possessed authority to adjudge and give the prize to the worthiest esquire. At the close of the day the festival was renewed, and the honours were awarded. On the third morning there was a melée of knights and esquires in the lists, and the judgment of the ladies was again referred to, and considered decisive.‡

Such were the general circumstances and laws of tournaments during the days of chivalry. These warlike exercises even survived their chief purpose, for they formed the delight of nations§ after

all princes and princesses, lords, ladies, and gentlewomen of this noble court, and to all others to whom it appertaineth, that the nobles that this day have exercised the feats of arms at the tilt, tourney, and barriers, have every one behaved themselves most valiantly, in showing their prowess and valour worthy of great praise.

"And to begin, as touching the brave entry of the Lord ———, made by him very gallantry, the King's Majesty more brave than he, and above all, the Earl ———, unto whom the price of a very rich ring is given by the Queen's Majesty, by the advice of other princesses, ladies and gentlewomen of this noble court.

"And as touching the valiantness of the piques, the Duke of M. hath very valiantly behaved himself, the Earl of P. better than he, and above all others, the Earl of D., unto whom the price of a ring of gold with a ruby is given by the most high and mighty Princess the Queen of England, by the advice aforesaid.

"And as touching the valiantness of the sword, ——— knight, hath very well behaved himself, the Earl of N. better than he, and Sir J. P., knight above all the rest, unto whom is given the price of a ring of gold with a diamond, by the Queen's most excellent Majesty, by the advice of other princesses, ladies, and gentlewomen.

"And as touching the valiantness of the sword at the foil, Sir W. R., knight, hath very valiantly behaved himself, the Marquis of C. better than he, and above all others, the King's Majesty, unto whom was given the price of a ring of gold with a diamond, by the Queen's Majesty, by the advice of other princesses, ladies, and gentlewomen.

"Finally, touching the valiancy of the pique, the point abated, Thomas P. hath well and valiantly behaved himself, Charles C. better than he, and above all others, Z. S., unto whom was given by the Queen's Majesty a ring of gold, by the advice of other princesses, ladies, and gentlewomen.

* Knights are always mentioned as good or unskilful tilters, according to the judgment of the ladies. Froissart, vol. ii., c. 234. Monstrelet, vol. i., c. 10; and see the last note.

† The account of every tournament in our grave old chronicles warrants the sentence in the Romance of Perceforest, "Pris ne doit ne peult estre donne sans les *dames*; car pour elles sont toutes les prouesses faites."

* This form of thanks prevailed also at the joust, as we learn from an account of one in the days of Edward IV. See Lansdowne MSS., British Museum, No. 285, art. 7.

† Ritterzeit und Ritterwesen, vol. i., p. 346.

‡ A tournament of the threefold description took place at St. Denys, in the year 1389.

§ The love of our ancestors for tournaments is evident in a curious passage of an ancient satirical poem, which Strutt has thus rendered:

"If wealth, Sir Knight, perchance be thine,
In tournaments you're bound to shine;
Refuse—and all the world will swear,
You die not worth a rotten pear."

the use of artillery had driven the graceful and personal prowess of chivalry from the battle-field.* In all the time of their existence they were powerfully opposed by the papal see, avowedly on the ground of humanity. There was some little excuse for this interference; for though the lances were headless, and the sword rebated, yet the shock of the career sometimes overthrew men and horses, and bruises were as deadly as the lances' wounds. The historians of the middle ages, who generally echoed the wishes of the Vatican, carefully record every instance where a life was lost in a tournament; and, perhaps, a dozen such unfortunate events are mentioned by the chroniclers of all European nations during the fourteenth century: a number exceedingly small when we reflect upon the nature of the conflict; that the time now spoken of was the very noonday of chivalry; and that not a circumstance of public joy, not a marriage among the nobles and high gentry of the land, but was celebrated by a tournament. The Vatican might thunder its denial of Christian sepulture to those who fell in a tilting ground; but still the knights would don their gorgeous harness to win the meed of noble chevisance. While learned casuists were declaring from the pulpits that they who were killed at tournaments were most assuredly damned,† heralds' trumpets in every baronial court were summoning knights and squires to gentle exercise and proof of arms; and though fanatical monks might imagine visions where knights were perishing in hell flames,‡ yet gallant cavaliers, warm and joyous with aspirations for fame and woman's love, could not be scared by such idle phantasms.

It was not, however, from any sincere considerations for humanity that the popes opposed themselves to the graceful exercises of the age; for, at the celebrated council held at Lyons in 1245, it was openly and for the first time declared, that tournaments were iniquitous, because they prevented the chivalry of Europe from joining the holy wars in Palestine. The shores of Syria might drink torrents of Christian blood, and the popes would bless the soil; but if in the course of several centuries a few unfortunate accidents happened in the lists of peace and courtesy, all the graceful amusements of Europe were to be interdicted, and the world was to be plunged into the state of barbarism from which chivalry had redeemed it. Tournaments were also interdicted on account of their expensiveness. Wealth poured forth its treasures, and art exercised its ingenuity in apparelling the barons, knights, and ladies; and even the housings of the horses were so rich as to rival the caparisons of Asiatic steeds: but the popes could see no advantage to the social state in all this gay and prodigal magnificence, and they wished that all the treasures of the West should be poured into the Holy Land.*

The joust was the other chief description of military exercises. It was so far inferior to the tournament, that he who had tourneyed, and had given largess to the heralds, might joust without further cost; but the joust did not give freedom to the tournament, nor was it the most favourite amusement, for baronial pomp was not necessary to its display, and many a joust was held without a store of ladies bright distributing the prize. There were two sorts of jousts, the *joute à l' outrance*, or the joust to the utterance, and the *joute à l'plaisance*, or joust of peace.

* Mr. Sharon Turner (History of England, vol. i., p. 144. 4to. edit.) says, that nothing could break the custom (of holding tournaments) but the increased civilization of the age. This is a mstake, for the tournaments increased in number as the world became more civilized. There were more tournaments in the fourteenth century than in the thirteenth, and even so late as the reign of Henry VIII. the whole of England seems to have been parcelled out into tilting grounds.

† "De his vero qui in torneamentis cadunt, nulla quæstion est, quin vadant ad inferos, si non fuerint adjuti beneficio contritionis." Du Cange on Joinville, Dissert. 6.

‡ Still more absurd is the story of Matthew Paris, that Roger de Toeny, a valiant knight, appeared after death to his brother Raoul, and thus addressed him: "Jam et pœnas vidi malorum, et gaudio beatorum; nec non supplicia magna, quibus miser deputatus sum, oculis meis conspexi. Væ, væ mihi, quare unquam torneamenta exercui, et ea tanto studio dilexi?"

* Thus, Lambert d'Ardres writes; "Cum omnino tunc temporis propter Dominici sepulchri peregrinationem in toto orbe, interdicta fuissent torneamenta." Du Cange, Diss. 6, on Joinville.

And, first, of the serious joust. The joust to the utterance expressed a single combat between two knights, who were generally of different nations. In strictness of speech, the judicial combat was a joust *à l'outrance*, and so was every duel, whether lawful or unlawful; but with such jousts chivalry has no concern.*

In a time of peace, during the year 1398, there were sundry jousts and combats between Scots and Englishmen, for proof of their valiant activity in feats of arms, and to win fame and honour. The most remarkable encounter was that which took place between Sir David de Lindsay, first Earl of Crawford, and the Lord Wells, in the presence of Richard II. and his court. They agreed† to run certain courses on horseback, with spears sharply ground, for life or death. The place appointed for these jousts was London Bridge; the day was the feast of St. George. The doughty knights appeared sheathed in armour of proof, and mounted on mighty war-horses. They ran together with all the fierceness of mortal hate; and though they attainted. yet both kept their saddles. Lord Crawford retained his seat with such remarkable firmness that the people cried out that assuredly he was locked in his saddle. Incontinently that right noble knight leaped from his steed, and again, armed as he was, vaulted on his back, and amazed the beholders by his perfect horsemanship. The battle was renewed on foot; the skill of the Scotsman prevailed, and the life of the Lord Wells was in his power. De Lindsay now displayed the grace and courtesy of his chivalry, for he raised his foe from the ground, and presented him as a gift to the queen, wishing, like a true knight, that mercy should proceed from woman. The queen thanked the valiant and courteous Scot, and then gave liberty to the Lord Wells.*

Woman's love was as frequent a cause for a joust to the utterance as national rivalry. Many a knight would sally from a besieged town during a suspension of general hostilities, and demand whether there was any cavalier of the opposite host who, for love of his lady bright, would do any deed of arms. "Now let us see if there be any amorous among you,"† was the usual conclusion of such a challenger, as he reined in his fiery steed, and laid his spear in its rest. Such an invitation was generally accepted; but if it passed unheeded, he was permitted to return to the gates of his town; for it would not have been thought chivalric to surround and capture a cavalier who offered to peril himself in so noble a manner.

Two parties of French and English met by adventure near Cherbourg, and, like valiant knights, each desired to fight with the other. They all alighted, except Sir Launcelot of Lorrys, who sat firm and erect upon his horse, his spear in his hand, and his shield hanging from his neck. He demanded a course of jousting for his lady's sake. There were many present who right well understood him; for there were knights and squires of the English part in love as well as he was. All was bustle, and every man ran to his horse, anxious to prove his gallantry against the noble Frenchman. Sir John Copeland was the first who advanced from the press, and in a moment his well-pointed ashen lance pierced through the side of Lorrys, and wounded him to death. Every one lamented his fate, for

* Du Cange calls any combat between two knights preliminary to a general battle, a joust to the utterance. He might as well have called the battle itself a joust.

† The agreement was made in legal form, as we learn from Wynton. Sir David de Lindsay had a safe-conduct for his purpose, and came to London with a retinue of twenty-eight persons, —

"Where he and all his company
Was well arrayed, and daintily,
And all purveyed at device.
There was his purpose to win prize:
With the Lord of the Wellis he
Thought til have done there a *journée* (day's battle),
For both they were by *certane taillé*
Obliged to do there that deed, *sauf faillie* (without fail)."

Macpherson says, that challenges of this sort were called taillés indentures, because they were bonds of which duplicates were made having indentures taillés answering to each other.

* Holingshed, History of Scotland, p. 252, ed. 1587. Wynton's Cronykil of Scotland, book ix., c. 11. The Sir David de Lindsay, mentioned above, is the knight of whom Sir Walter Scott tells an amusing story in his notes to Marmion, canto i., note 8.

† "Or verra l'on s'il y a nul d'entre vous Anglois, qui soit amoureux." Froissart, vol. ii., c. 55. Lyons's edit.

he was a hardy knight, young, jolly, and right amorous;* and the death of a gallant cavalier was always lamented by his brethren in arms; for the good companionship of chivalry was superior to national distinctions.

This noble feeling of knighthood was very pleasingly displayed in a circumstance that happened in France, during the year 1380. The Duke of Brittany profited by the weakness and confusion consequent on the death of King John, and easily made his peace with the court of the new monarch. The Duke of Buckingham, uncle of Richard II. of England, had been acting as the ally of the Duke of Brittany; but now, as the war was over, he prepared to conduct most of his army home. He had been joined by some knights from Cherbourg, then an English town, and in the new martial arrangements it was agreed that they should return to their garrison; but they were not allowed to wear their harness during their march. The Constable of France, who was then at the castle of Josselyn, gave them safe-conduct. After embracing their good companions at Vannes, they mounted their palfreys, and commenced their course. An hour's riding brought them to Josselyn, and they rested awhile in the town, without the castle, intending merely to dine there, and then depart. While they were at their lodging, certain companions of the castle, knights and squires, came to see them, as was the wont of men of war, and particularly Englishmen and Frenchmen.

A French squire, named John Boucmell, discovered among the stranger band a squire called Nicholas Clifford, with whom, on former occasions, he had often exchanged looks and words of defiance. Thinking that a very fair opportunity for chevisance had presented itself, he exclaimed, "Nicholas, divers times we have wished and devised to do deeds of arms together, and now we have found each other in place and time where we may accomplish it. Let us now, in presence of the Constable of France, and other lords, have three courses on foot with sharp spears, each of us against the other."

* Froissart, i., 345.

Nicholas replied, "John, you know right well that we are now going on our way by the safe-conduct of my lord your constable. What you require of me therefore, cannot now be done, for I am not the chief of this safe-conduct, for I am but under those other knights who are here. I would willingly abide, but they will not."

The French squire replied, "You shall not excuse yourself by this means: let your company depart, if they list, for I promise you, by covenant, that when the arms are performed between you and me, I will bring you to Cherbourg without peril. Make you no doubt of that."

Nicholas answered, that he did not mean to gainsay his courtesy, but that he could not fight, as he and the rest of the English were journeying without their armour."

This objection was readily answered by the Frenchman, who proffered his own stores of harness; and Nicholas, though exceedingly indisposed to a joust, was obliged to say, that if the lords whom he accompanied would not permit the encounter there, he promised him, as soon as he arrived at Cherbourg, and was apprized of John's arrival at Boulogne, he would come to him, and deliver him of his challenge.

"Nay, nay," quoth John, "seek no respite: I have offered, and continue to offer, so many things so honourable, that you cannot depart and preserve your good name, without doing deeds of arms with me."

The Frenchmen then retired to the castle, leaving the Englishmen to dine in their lodging.

After dinner the travelling knights repaired to the castle, to require from the Constable a troop of cavaliers to conduct them through Brittany and Normandy to Cherbourg. The subject of the challenger had been much discussed by the Frenchmen, and as the execution of it appeared to be within their own power, they earnestly requested their leader to forbid the further journey of the Englishmen, while the deed of arms remained unaccomplished. The Constable received the strangers sweetly, and then, softening the harshness of his words by the chivalric courtesy of his manner, he said to them, "Sirs, I arrest you all, so

that ye shall not depart this day; and to-morrow, after mass, you shall see deeds of arms done between our squire and yours; and you shall dine with me, and after dinner you shall depart with your guides to Cherbourg."

The English were right glad to be summoned to a chivalric sport, and, after drinking of the Constable's wine, they took their leave, and returned to their lodging.

On the next morning each squire heard mass, and was confessed. They then leaped on their horses, and, with the lords of France on one part, and the Englishmen on the other, they rode all together to a fair plain, near the castle of Josselyn.

John Boucmell had prepared, according to his promise, two suits of harness, fair and good, and offered the choice to Nicholas; but the Englishman not only waved his choice, but, with still further courtesy, assisted John to arm. The Frenchman, in return, helped him to don the other suit of harness.

When they were armed they took their spears, and advanced against each other on foot, from the opposite ends of the lists. On approaching they couched their spears, and the weapon of Nicholas struck John on the breast, and, sliding under the gorget of mail, it entered his throat. The spear broke, and the iron truncheon remained in the neck. The English squire passed onwards, and sat down in his chair. The Frenchman appeared transfixed to the spot, and his companions advanced to him in alarm. They took off his helmet, and, drawing out the truncheon, the poor squire fell down dead. Grief at this event was general, but the saddest and sincerest mourners were Nicholas and the Earl of March, the former for having slain a valiant man of arms, and the other because John Boucmell had been his squire. The Constable spoke all the words of comfort to his noble friend which his kindness could prompt, and then made the knightly spectators repair to the castle, in whose hospitable hall every disposition to jealousy and revenge was discarded. After dinner the English troop bade farewell to the noble Constable, and, under the conduct of the gentle knight, the Barrois of Barres, they resumed their course to Cherbourg.*

I come to describe the joust *à plaisance*. Jousts of this friendly description often took place at the conclusion of a tournament; for a knight who had shown himself worthy of the tourneying prize caracoled his prancing steed about the lists; and, animated by the applauding smiles of dames and damsels, he called on the surrounding cavaliers by their valiancy, and for love of the ladies, to encounter him in three strokes with the lance.

More frequently jousts were held at places appointed expressly for the occasion. When they were jousts of peace, the mode of combat was always specifically described. A knight would often challenge another for love of his lady to joust three courses with a spear, three strokes with a sword, three with a dagger, and three with an axe.† It was the rule for knights to strike at each other only on the body, or within the four quarters, as the time phrased their meaning. The loss of his good name and the forfeiture of his horse and arms were the penalties of violating this usage. Sometimes the weapons were similar to those used in tournaments; but more frequently they were weapons of war;‡ and though the lances were sharp, and the bright swords were not rebated, seldom was blood shed in these jousts, so truly admirable was the military skill of the soldiers in chivalry. The tournaments are interesting in the general circumstances of their splendour and knightly gallantry; but the jousts give us a far more more curious knowledge of ancient manners.

But before I describe these martial amusements, let me call my reader's attention for a few moments to the subtlety of intellect with which questions

* Berners's Froissart, vol. i., c. 374.

† Froissart, vol. ii., c. 78.

‡ Some writers, confounding the joust with the duel, have said that bearded darts, poisoned needles, razors, and similar weapons, were lawful in the jousts. The instance to support this assertion is the challenge of the Duke of Orleans to Henry IV. of England, recorded by Monstrelet, vol. i., c. 9, where the Duke declined to use them. But Orleans challenged Lancaster to a duel, and not to a chivalric joust.

respecting the circumstances that happened at jousts were discussed.

Two gentlemen agreed to fight on horseback, and he who first fell was to be deemed the vanquished man. By the chance of battle it happened that they both fell together, and the sage spirits of chivalry were agitated by the question, who should be accounted victorious. Some thought that the defender ought to have the honour, for in all doubtful cases the challenged person should be favoured; others contended, that as the fall of the challenger might proceed from his own force, and not the virtue of the enemy, the judgment ought to lie dead: but the best and general decision was this: — if the combat were for trial of skill or love of the ladies, the challenger ought to lose the honour; but if it were for the decision of any mortal quarrel, the battle ought to be resumed some other day, because in combats of that kind no victory was gained until one of the parties were either slain or yielded himself prisoner, or had with his own mouth denied the words whereon the combat was occasioned.

On another occasion, seven knights agreed with seven of their companions to run certain courses for honour and love of the ladies. When the joust took place, five of one side acquitted themselves right chivalrously, but their two brother-tilters were overthrown. On the other side, two only performed their courses well, the rest of that company lost many lances, and ran very foul. It was then debated whether unto five well-doers and two evil, or unto two well-doers and five evil, the honour ought to be allotted. As the question did not regard the merit of any particular man, but which party in general best performed the enterprise, it was alleged that the party wherein were most well-doers ought to have the honour, notwithstanding the fall of two of their companions. This opinion was met by the acknowledged rule of arms, that the fall from horseback by the enemies' force or skill was the most reproachful chance that could happen to a knight. Therefore it was contended that the misadventure of two men only might reasonably be the loss of honour to the rest.* But further details of chivalric subtleties would afford little pleasure, and contenting myself with having shown that our ancestors' intellects were as sharp as their swords, we will progress to the tilting ground.

One of the earls of Warwick went to France dressed in weeds of peace, but carrying secretly his jousting harness. In honour of his lady he set up three shields on three pavilions, and his heralds proclaimed his challenges, apparently from three different knights, among the lords, knights, and squires of honour in France. The devices on his shields and the names he assumed were emblematical of love and war. Three skilful jousters of France on three successive days touched the shields, and the earl, dressed in different guises, overthrew them all. They now became his friends: he entertained them with chivalrique magnificence, and gave jewels of price to them all. For himself he had acquired renown, and that was all he wished; for he now could return to his lady, and showing how he had sped in his chivalric courses, could proudly claim the reward of valour.*

"Ye have heard oftentimes, it is said, how the sport of ladies and damsels encourageth the hearts of young lusty gentlemen, and causeth them to desire and seek to get honour."†

Such is Froissart's beautiful and romantic prelude to his account of a very interesting joust.

In the year 1389, the King Charles V. tarried several days at Montpellier, delighting himself with the pastime of the ladies; and the gentlemen of his court were no bad imitators of his fancy. Three cavaliers, in particular, were chiefly marked. They were the young Sir Boucicaut, Sir Raynold of Roy, and the Lord of St. Pye. Their valour was

* Segar, of Honour, lib. iii., c. 13.

* I do not know when exactly this truly chivalric circumstance occurred. The story is told in a manuscript, in the Lansdowne Collection, British Museum, No. 285. It is described as the challenge of an ancestor of the Earl of Warwick, and the MS. bears date in the days of Edward IV.

† Vous savez et bien l'avez oui dire et recorder plusieurs fois, que les ebatemens des dames et damoiselles encouragent voulontiers les cœurs des jeunes gentils-hommes, et les elevent, en requerant, et desirant tous honneur. Froissart, vol. iv., c. 6, ed. Lyons, 1560.

inspired by gallantry, and they resolved to achieve high feats of arms in the ensuing summer; and if it had been possible for a knight to entertain any other object in his imagination, than the favour of his sovereign lady, the gallant knights of France had a very noble motive to enterprise, for some reflections had lately been cast upon their honour by an English cavalier. The noble knighthood that was in them felt a stain like a wound; and this imputation on their honour gave the form and colour to the joust they meditated; for they resolved to perform their deeds of arms in the frontier near Calais, hoping that Englishmen might be incited to meet them.

The holding of the jousts at such a place was not deemed courteous by some members of the king's council, for it was thought that the English would consider it presumptuous; and the more sage and prudent knights murmured their opinion, that it was not always right to consent to the purposes of young men, for incidents rather evil than good often sprang from them. The king, however, who was young and courageous, overruled all scruples, and ordered that the joust should proceed, because the knights had promised and sworn it before the ladies of Montpellier.

Then the king sent for the three knights into his chamber, and said to them, "Sirs, in all your doing regard wisely the honour of us and of our realm; and to maintain your estate, spare nothing, for we will not fail you for the expense of ten thousand franks."

The three knights knelt before the king, and thanked his grace. So important to the national honour was this joust considered, that the challenge was not published till it had been revised by Charles and his council.

This was its form: — "For the great desire that we have to come to the knowledge of noble gentlemen, knights, esquires, strangers, as well of the nation of France, as elsewhere of far countries, we shall be at St. Ingelbertes, in the marshes of Calais, the 20th day of the month of May next coming, and there continue thirty days complete, the Fridays only excepted, and to deliver all manner of knights and squires, gentlemen, strangers of any nation, whosoever they be, that will come thither for the breaking of five spears, either sharp or rockets, at their pleasure; and without our lodgings shall be the shields of our arms, both shields of peace and of war, and whosoever will joust, let him come or send the day before, and with a rod touch which shield he pleases. If he touch the shield of war, the next day he shall joust with which of the three he will; and if he touch the shield of peace, he shall have the jousts of peace and of war; so that whosoever shall touch any of the shields shall show their names to such as shall be then limited by us to receive them. And all such stranger-knights as will joust shall bring each some nobleman on his part who shall be instructed by us what ought to be done in this case. And we require all knights and squires, strangers that will come and joust, that they think not we do this for any pride, hatred, or evil will, but that we only do it to have their honourable company and acquaintance, which with our entire hearts we desire. None of our shields shall be covered with iron or steel, nor any of theirs that will come to joust with us, without any manner of fraud or unfair advantage, but every thing shall be ordered by them to whom shall be committed the charge of governing the jousts. And because that all gentlemen, noble knights, and squires, to whom this shall come to knowledge, should be assured of its being firm and stable, we have sealed the present writing with the seals of our arms. Written at Montpellier the twentieth day of November, in the year of our Lord God one thousand three hundred, four-score and nine, and signed thus. Raynolde du Roy — Boucicaut — St. Pye."

When this challenge was published, the knights and squires of England entertained such great imaginations to know what to do; and most of them thought it would be deeply to their blame and reproach that such an enterprise should take place near Calais, without their passing the sea. They therefore thanked the French chivalry for deporting themselves so courteously, and holding the joust so near the English marshes.

Accordingly, in the fresh and jolly month of May, when the spring was at

its finest point, the three young knights of France mounted their gay steeds, and sportively held their course from Paris to Boulogne. They then progressed to the abbey of St. Ingilbertes, and were right joyful to learn that a number of knights and squires of merry England had, like good companions, crossed the sea, and were arraying themselves for the joust. The Frenchmen raised three green pavilions, in a fair and campaign spot, between St. Ingilbertes and Calais. To the entrance of each pavilion they affixed two shields, with the arms of the knights, one shield of peace, and the other of war; and again proclaimed that such knights as would do deeds of arms should touch one of the shields, or cause it to be touched, whichever mode pleased him, and he should be delivered according to his desire.

At the day appointed for the jousts, all the respective chivalries of France and England poured from the gates of St. Ingilberte and Calais, eager for the gallant fray. Such as proposed to be mere spectators met in friendly union, without regard to national differences. The King of France was present in a disguise.* The three French knights retired within their pavilions, and squires donned their harness. The English jousters apparelled themselves, and took their station at the end of the plain, opposite the pavilions. A flourish of clarions proclaimed the commencement of the joust, and the herald's trumpet sounded to horse.

When all was hushed in breathless expectation, Sir John Holland, Earl of Huntingdon, pricked forth with the slow and stately pace of high-born chivalry, from the end of the lists which had been assigned to the English strangers. He was a right gallant cavalier, and he commanded his squire to touch the war-shield of Sir Boucicaut. Incontinently, that noble son of chivalry, ready mounted, left his pavilion with shield and spear. The knights marked each other well, and then spurred their horses to the encounter. The spear of Sir Boucicaut pierced through the shield of the English knight; but it passed hurtless over his arm, and their good steeds bounded to either end of the plain. This course was greatly commended. The second course was altogether harmless; and in the third course the horses started aside, and would not cope. The Earl of Huntingdon, who was somewhat chafed, came to his place, waiting for Sir Boucicaut taking his spear; but he did not, for he showed that he would run no more that day against the Earl, who then sent his squire to touch the war-shield of the Lord of St. Pye. He issued out of his pavilion, and took his horse, shield, and spear. When the Earl saw that he was ready, he spurred his horse, and St. Pye did not with less force urge his own good steed. They couched their spears: at the meeting their horses crossed, but with the crossing of their spears the Earl was unhelmed. He returned to his squires, and incontinently he was rehelmed. He took his spear, and St. Pye his, and they ran again, and met each other with their spears in the middle of their shields. The shock nearly hurled both to the ground, but they saved themselves by griping their horses with their legs, and returned to their places, and took breath. Sir John Holland, who had great desire to do honourably, took again his spear, and urged his horse to speed. When the Lord of St. Pye saw him coming, he dashed forth his horse to encounter him. Each of them struck the other on the helms with such force that the fire flew out. With that attaint the Lord of St. Pye was unhelmed; and so they passed forth, and came again to their own places. This course was greatly praised, and both French and English said that those three knights, the Earl of Huntingdon, Sir Boucicaut, and the Lord St. Pye, had right well done their devoirs. Again the earl desired, for love of his lady, to have another course; but he was refused, and he then mixed with the knights and spectators, and gave place to others, for he had ran all his six

* "Ye may know well that Charles the French King was sore desirous to be at those jousts: he was young and light of spirit, and glad to see new things. It was showed me that from the beginning to the ending he was there present, disguised as unknown, so that none knew him but the Lord of Garansyers, who came also with him as unknown, and every day returned to Marquise." Froissart, vol. i., c. 168.

courses well and valiantly, so that he had laud and honour of all parties.

These noble jousts continued for four days.* The gallant champions assembled after matins, and did not quit the course till the vesper-bell of the abbey summoned them to prayer. Of the noble company of knights and squires there were few who did not add something to their fame: for if a knight happened to be unhelmed, yet perhaps he did not lose his stirrups, and he was admired for sustaining a severe shock.

Such was the noble chevisance of the jousters that no mortal wound was inflicted.† The lance was the only weapon used. To unhelm the adverse knight by striking his frontlet was the chiefest feat of arms, and in the fierce career of opposing steeds, the firmest strength and the nicest skill could alone achieve it. Helms struck fire, lances were splintered, and the lance-head was lodged in the shield: but sometimes the shield resisted the lance, and men and steeds reeled back to their several pavilions.

Each gallant knight, however,

> "Grew unto his seat,
> And to such wondrous doings brought his horse
> As he had been incorps'd and demi-natur'd
> With the brave beast."

The knighthood and squirery of England sent forth nearly forty of their host to vindicate their chivalry, and right nobly did they deport themselves against the doughtiest lances of France. There was only one knight who disgraced the order of chivalry. By birth he was a Bohemian, in station an attendant of the King of England. It was demanded of him with whom he would joust. He answered, with Boucicaut. They then prepared themselves and ran together, but the Bohemian struck a prohibited part of the armour, and he was greatly blamed that he demeaned his course so badly. By the laws of the joust he should have forfeited his arms and horse, but the Frenchman, out of courtesy to the Englishmen, forgave him. The Bohemian to redeem his shame required again to joust one course. He was demanded against whom he would run; and he sent to touch the shield of Sir Raynolde du Roy. That gallant knight was not long before he answered him. They met in the middle of their shields, and the French cavalier struck his antagonist from his horse; and the Englishmen were not displeased that he was overthrown, because he had ran the first course so ungoodly.

This Sir Raynolde du Roy was one of the best jousters in all the realm of France, and no wonder; for our faithful and gallant chronicler reports that he lived in love with a young maiden, which availed him much in all his affairs.*

* As the weather was bright, according to Froissart, I wonder he did not, in his fondness for detail, mention the number of barrels of water that were every evening poured on the dusty plain. On one occasion he says, "The knights complained of the dust, so that some of them said they lost their deeds by reason thereof. The King made provision for it: he ordained more than two hundred barrels of water that watered the place, whereby the ground was well amended, and yet the next day they had dust enough, and too much." vol. ii., p. 157.

† Du Cange (Dissertation 7, on Joinville) is incorrect in saying that a joust seldom terminated without some knights being slain, or very grievously wounded. The jousts at St. Ingilberte were on the most extensive scale, and nothing worse than a flesh-wound or a bruise from falling was felt, even by the most unskilful or unlucky knight. Froissart perpetually described jousts of three courses with lances, three strokes with axes, three encounters both with swords and daggers; and generally concludes with saying, "And when all was done, there was none of them hurt." "You should have jousted more courteously," was the reproach of the spectators to a knight, when his lance had pierced the shoulders of the other jouster. Froissart, vol. ii., c. 161. Du Cange preserved no clear idea in his mind of the difference between the joust *à la plaisance* and the joust *à l'outrance*, and most subsequent writers have only blindly followed them. I shall notice in this place another popular error on the subject of jousts. Mr. Strutt (Sports and Pastimes of the People of England, book iii., c. 1), and a hundred writers after him, assert that the authority of the ladies was more extensive in the joust than in the tournament. Mr. Strutt says, that "in the days of chivalry jousts were made in honour of the ladies, who presided as judges paramount over the sports." Now there are many jousts mentioned in Froissart and other chivalric historians that were held only in the presence of knights. But I can find no instance of a tournament being held without ladies. The joust was a martial exercise; but the tournament was connected with all the circumstances of domestic life.

* "Et si aimoit, par amour, jeune dame:

One of his most valiant antagonists was a gentle knight of England, young and fresh, a jolly dancer and singer, called Sir John Arundell. At the first course they met rudely, and struck each other on the shields, but they held themselves without falling, and passed forth their course. The second course they struck each other on the helms; the third course they crossed and lost their staves; the fourth course resembled the second; the fifth course they splintered their spears against their shields, and then Sir John Arundell ran no more that day.

At the conclusion of the joust the Earl of Hutingdon, and the Earl Marshal, and the Lord Clifford, the Lord Beaumont, Sir John Clinton, Sir John Dambreticourt, Sir Peter Sherborne, and all other knights that had jousted those four days with the French knights, thanked them greatly for their pastime, and said, "Sirs, all such as would joust of our party have accomplished their desires; therefore now we will take leave of you: we will return to Calais, and so cross to England; and we know that whoever will joust with you will find you here these thirty days, according to the tenor of your challenge."

The French knights were grateful for this courtesy, saying, that all new comers should be right heartily welcome; "and we will deliver them according to the rights of arms, as we have done you; and, moreover, we thank you for the grace and gallantry that you have shown to us."

Thus in knightly manner the Englishmen departed from St. Inglebertes, and rode to Calais, where they tarried not long, for the Saturday afterwards they took shipping and sailed to Dover, and reached that place by noon. On the Sunday they progressed to Rochester, and the next day to London, whence every man returned to his home.

The three French knights remained the thirty days at Saint Inglebertes, but no more Englishmen crossed the sea to do any deeds of arms with them.*

Perhaps the most interesting joust in the middle ages was that which was held between Lord Scales, brother of the Queen of Edward the Fourth, and the Bastard of Burgundy. Many of the circumstances which attended it are truly chivalric.*

On the 17th of April, 1465, the Queen and some ladies of her court, in a mood of harmless merriment, attached a collar of gold, enamelled with the rich floure of souvenance,† to the thigh of that right

dont en tous estats son affaire en valoit grandement mieux." Froissart, vol. iii., c. 12, edit. Lyons, 1560.

* Froissart, vol. li., c. 160, 162, 168. Memoires du Mareschal de Boucicaut, partie i., c. 17. The writer of those memoirs, a contemporary of Boucicaut's, in his zeal for his hero, gives all the honour to the French knights. Juvenal des Ursins (p. 83, &c.) is more modest, and he makes certain judges of the court compliment many of the knights for their valiancy.

* Most of these circumstances are unnoticed by our historians. I can pardon their unacquaintance with the Lansdowne manuscripts, for those are but recently acquired national treasures: but every scholar is supposed to know the Biographia Britannica,— and in the article Caxton, some of the chivalric features of the joust in question are mentioned.

† A very amusing little volume might be made on the romance of flowers, on the tales which poetry and fancy have invented to associate the affections and the mind with plants, thus adding the pleasures of the feelings and the imagination to those of the eye. The reader remembers the Love in Idleness, in Shakspeare's Midsummer Night's Dream. The Floure of Souvenance, the Forget-me-not, is an equally pleasing instance. The application of the name to the Myosotis Scorpioidis of botanists is of considerable antiquity: the story in the text proves that the plant with its romantic associations was known in England as early as the days of our Edward IV. The following tale of the origin of the fanciful name has been communicated to me by my friend Anthony Todd Thomson, whose Lectures on the Elements of Botany, at once scientific and popular, profound and elegant, take a high place in the class of our most valuable works.

"Two lovers were loitering on the margin of a lake, on a fine summer's evening, when the maiden espied some of the flowers of Myosotis growing on the water, close to the bank of an island, at some distance from the shore. She expressed a desire to possess them. when her knight, in the true spirit of chivalry, plunged into the water, and, swimming to the spot, cropped the wished-for plant, but his strength was unable to fulfil the object of his achievement, and feeling that he could not regain the shore, although very near it, he threw the flowers upon the bank, and casting a last affectionate look upon his lady-love, he cried, 'Forget-me-not,' and was buried in the waters."

"There are three varieties of the plant," Mr. Thomson adds; "the one to which the tradition of the name is attached is perennial, and grows in marshes and on the margins of the lakes."

worshipful and amorous knight, Anthony Woodville, Lord Scales, for an emprise of arms on horseback and on foot.* The most renowned cavalier at that time was the Bastard of Burgundy, and accordingly Lord Scales addressed him in courteous wise, praising his prowess, and vowing before God and the ladies that his own great desire was to rival his fame. In order, then, that there might exist that love and fraternity between them which became knights of worship, he related the goodly adventure at the court of England, and requiring the Bastard, in all affection for the honour of chivalry, to do him so much favour as to discharge him of his bond. The Earl of Worcester, Lord High Constable of England, certified the fact of the delivery of the floure of souvenance to the Lord Scales, and the King's permission for his herald to cross the seas to Burgundy.

The Bastard received the letter on the last day of April, and with permission of his father, the Duke of Burgundy, he consented to assist the Lord Scales in accomplishing his emprise. Lord Scales and the court of England were right joyous and grateful at the news, and Edward granted a safe-conduct to the adventurous Burgundian, the Earl of Roche, and a thousand persons in his company, to come into England, to perform certain feats of arms with his dearly beloved brother Anthony Woodville, Lord Scales, and Nucelles.†

The Bastard accordingly set sail for England, nobly accompanied by four hundred of his father's prowest chivalry. By Edward's command, Garter king-at-arms met him at Gravesend. The gallant squadron sailed towards London, and at Blackwall it was joined by the Earl of Worcester, attended by a noble troop of lords, knights, and squires, and also by many of the aldermen and rich citizens of London. The Lord of Burgundy landed at Billingsgate, and was welcomed by another party of the nobility and trades of England, (so general was the interest of the expected joust,) who conducted him on horseback through Cornhill and Cheap to the palace of the Bishop of Salisbury in Fleet Street, which royal courtesy had appointed for his abode. Lord Scales soon afterwards came to London, attended by the nobility and chivalry of his house, and the King assigned him the palace of the Bishop of Ely in Holborn for his residence. The noble stranger was introduced to Edward on his coming to London from Kingston, in order to open the parliament.

The ceremonies of the joust were then arranged by well experienced knights, and strong lists were erected in Smithfield, one hundred and twenty yards and ten feet long, eighty yards and ten feet broad, with fair and costly galleries around. On the morning appointed for the gallant show, the King and Queen, with all the chivalry and beauty of the land, repaired to Smithfield. The King sat under a richly canopied throne, at one end of the lists; on each side were lords and ladies, and underneath him were ranged the knights, the squires, and the archers of his train. The city magistrates then appeared; the lord mayor bowing, and the mace-bearer lowering his sign of authority, as they passed the King in their procession to the other end of the lists, where scaffolds of similar form, but inferior magnificence to the royal chambers, were erected for them. The eight guards of the lists entered on horseback, and received their charge from the Earl Marshal and Lord High Constable of England, who gently paced their horses to and fro beneath the throne.

When every thing was fairly arranged, Lord Scales appeared at the gate of the lists. At the sound of his trumpet the Constable advanced and demanded his purpose. The young lord, with the grace and modesty of chivalry, replied, that he solicited the honour of presenting himself before his sovereign liege the King, in order to accomplish his arms against the Bastard of Burgundy. The gate was then thrown open by command of the Constable, and the Lord Scales entered the lists, followed by nine noblemen on horseback, bearing parts of

* The Lord Scales was a good knight of worship, in spite of the reflections on his courage which Edward IV. once threw out against him. "The kyng hathe sayd of hym that even wyr he hathe most to do, then the Lord Scalys wyll soonest axe leve to depart, and the kyng weenyth that it is mist because of kowardyese." Paston Letters, vol. iv., p. 116.

† Rymer, Fœdera, tom. ii., p. 573.

his harness and arms, and nine pages riding on gaily caparisoned steeds. They advanced to the King, and after having made their obeisances, they retired to a pavilion at one end of the lists.

With similar forms the Lord of Burgundy, attended by the chosen chivalry of his country, approached the King, and then repaired to his tent.

The heralds commanded silence, and forbad any one, by the severest penalties, from intermeddling with the jousters. Two lances and two swords were taken to the King, who, being satisfied of their fitness, commanded the lords who bore them to take them to the combatants. The stranger-knight made his election, and dressed his lance to its rest. Lord Scales prepared himself with equal gallantry, and they dashed to the encounter. Their spears were sharp; but so perfect was their knowledge of chivalry, that no wounds were inflicted. The nicest judges could mark no difference of skill, and the noble knights jousted their courses, when the King dropped his warder, and the amusements ended.

The next day the court and city repaired to Smithfield, with their accustomed pomp, and the spectacle was varied by the jousters contending with swords. The sports were, however, untimely closed by the steed of Lord Scales with the spike of his chaffron overthrowing the Bastard of Burgundy and his horse; and the King would not allow the tourney to proceed, though the bruised knight gallantly asserted his wish not to fail his encounter companion.

Not wearied by two days' amusement, the chivalry and beauty of England assembled in the lists of Smithfield on the third morning. The noblemen now fought on foot with pole-axes. At last the point of Lord Scales's weapon entered the sight of the Burgundian's helmet, and there was a feeling of fear through the galleries that a joust of peace would have a fatal termination. But before it could be seen whether Lord Scales meant to press his advantage, the King dropped his warder, and the Marshals separated them. The Bastard of Burgundy prayed for leave to continue his enterprise; and the Lord Scales consented. But the matter was debated by the assembled chivalry; and it was declared by the Earl of Worcester, then Constable of England, and the Duke of Norfolk the Marshal, that if the affair were to proceed, the knight of Burgundy must, by the law of arms, be delivered to his adversary in the same state and condition as he was in when they were separated. This sentence was a virtual prohibition of the continuance of the joust, and the Bastard therefore relinquished his challenge. The herald's trumpet then sounded the well known point of chivalry that the sports were over; but as the times were joyous as well as martial, the knights and ladies before they parted held a noble festival at Mercer's Hall.*

The feats of arms at St. Ingilbertes displayed the martial character of the joust; and the emprise of Lord Scales shows how beautifully love could blend itself with images of war, and the interest which a whole nation could take in the circumstance of certain fair ladies of a court binding round the thigh of a gal-

* Besides Holingshed, Stow, and other chroniclers, I have consulted for this very interesting joust a curious collection of contemporary documents, among the Lansdowne manuscripts (No. 285) in the British Museum. The Chevalier de la Marche accompanied the Bastard of Burgundy to England, and his Memoirs furnish a few particulars not noticed by English writers. His account of the joust itself differs from that of our chroniclers, (whom I have followed,) for he makes all the advantage lie with his own knight. It is neither impossible nor important to discover the truth. The spirit of the age which gave birth to the challenge and the general interest excited by the joust are the points that deserve to be marked. There is also much confusion regarding the dates of most of the circumstances, and I hold my readers in too much respect to enter into any arguments touching such trifling matters. Such few dates as are undoubted I have mentioned. Let me add Hawkin's conjecture (Origin of the English Drama, vol. iii., p. 91), that the word *Burgullian* or Burgonian meaning a bully, a braggadochio, was derived from this joust. This is by no means unlikely, observes Mr. Gifford, (note on Every Man in his Humour, act iv., sc. 2,) for our ancestors, who were not over delicate, nor, generally speaking, much overburdened with respect for the feelings of foreigners, had a number of vituperative appellations derived from their real or supposed ill qualities, of many of which the precise import cannot now be ascertained.

lant knight a collar of gold, enamelled with a floure of souvenance.

But the high romantic feeling of chivalric times is, perhaps, still more strikingly displayed in the following tale. In the beginning of the year 1400, an esquire of Spain, named Michel d'Orris, being full of valour and love, attached a piece of iron to his leg, and vowed that he would endure the pain till he had won renown by deeds of chivalry. The prowess of the English knights most keenly excited his emulation; and, as his first measure to cope with it, he journeyed from Arragon to Paris. He then issued his defiance to the English chivalry at Calais, to perform exercises on foot with the battle-axe, the sword and the dagger, and to run certain courses on horseback with a lance.

A noble soldier, hight Sir John Prendergast, a companion of Lord Somerset, governor of Calais, being equally desirous to gain honour and amusement, like a gentleman, to the utmost of his power, accepted the challenge in the name of God, of the blessed Virgin Mary, and of his lords Saint George and Saint Anthony. Like a true brother in chivalry, he expressed his wish to relieve the Arragonian esquire from the pain he was suffering; and, agreeably to the nobleness and modesty of his profession, he avowed his joy at the occasion of making acquaintance with some of the French nobility,* and learning from them the honourable exercise of arms; and then, in a fine strain of gallantry, he concludes his acceptance of the challenge by praying that the Author of all good would grant the gentle esquire joy, honour, and pleasure, and every description of happiness to the lady of his affection, to whom Sir John Prendergast entreated that those letters might recommend him.

Political affairs recalled Orris to Arragon, and the English knight, not knowing that circumstance, wrote to him at Paris, pressing the performance of the emprise, reminding him how much his honour was concerned in the matter, and entreating Cupid, the god of love, as Orris might desire the affections of his lady, to urge him to hasten his journey.* No answer was returned to this heart-stirring epistle; and, after waiting several months, Prendergast again addressed Orris, expressing his astonishment that the challenge had not been prosecuted, and no reason rendered for the neglect by the valiant esquire. He was ignorant if the god of love, who had inspired him with courage to undertake the emprise, had since been displeased, and changed his ancient pleasures, which formerly consisted in urging on deeds of arms, and in promoting the delights of chivalry. He was wont to keep the nobles of his court under such good government, that, to add to their honour, after having undertaken any deeds of arms, they could not absent themselves from the country where such enterprise was to be performed, until it was perfectly accomplished. Anxious to preserve the favour of the god of love, and from respect to the ladies, Sir John Prendergast was still ready, with the aid of God, of Saint George, and Saint Anthony, to deliver him whom he still hoped was the servant of Cupid; and unless within a short time the emprise was accomplished, he intended to return to England, where he hoped that knights and esquires would bear witness that he had not misbehaved towards the god of love, to whom he recommended his own lady and the lady of Orris.†

* Prendergast mistook Orris for a French knight. Orris afterwards refused the honour intended him, expressing, however, very high compliments to the chivalry of France, and merely stating his Arragonese descent, on the ground, that no honest man ought to deny his country.

* "Si prie au dieu d'amour qu'ainsi comme vous desirez l'amour de ma dame la vostre, il ne vous l'ait de vostre dicte venue." Monstrelet, vol. i., p. 3, ed. 1578.

† Lest it should be thought that I am drawing from a romance, I subjoin part of the original letter from the grave old chronicler Monstrelet. "Je ne scay se le dieu d'amours qui vous enhorta et meit en couraige de vosdictes, lettres quand les envoyes, ait en aucune chose esté si despleu: parquoy il ait changé ses conditions anciennes, qui souloient estre telles que pour esbaudir armes et à cognoistre chevalerie. Il tenoit les nobles de sa court en si royalle gouvernance, que pour accroissement de leur honneur, apres ce qu'ils avoient fait leur dicte emprise, jusques à tant que fin en fut faicte: ne aussi ne faisoient leurs compagnons frayer, travailler, ne despendre leurs biens en vain. Non pourtant que n'y voudroye pas qu'il trouvast celle deffaute en moy, si qu'il eut cause de moy bannir de sa court. Je vueil encores demourer par deça jusques au huictiesme jour de ce present

The esquire returned to Paris, after he had finished his military duties in Arragon, still wearing the painful badge of iron. He found at Paris all the letters of Prendergast. His chivalric pride was wounded at the thought that the god of love had banished him from his court, and made him change his mind; and he informed his noble foe that assuredly, without any dissembling, he should never, in regard to the present emprise, change his mind, so long as God might preserve his life; nor had there ever been any of his family who had not always acted in such wise as became honest men and gentlemen.

Notwithstanding the appeal of Orris to the chivalry of Prendergast no deeds of arms were achieved. The delay of answers to his letters had offended the English knight, and some misunderstanding regarding the petty arrangements of the joust abruptly terminated the affair.*

A very favourite description of joust was that which was called a passage of arms. A knight and his companions proclaimed that they would on a certain day guard a particular road or bridge from all persons of cavaleresque rank, who attempted to pass.† Those who undertook such an emprise had their arms attached to pillars at the end of the lists with some plain shields of different colours, in which were marked the nature of the adventure, and the description of arms that were to be employed, so that he, who repaired to the passage, with the design of trying his skill, chose his mode of combat by touching one of the shields whereon it was specified. Officers at arms were in waiting to collect and register the names of such as touch the different shields, that they might be called out in the rotation of their first appearance.

In the spring of the year 1443, the Lord of Chargny, a noble knight of the court of Burgundy, made known to all princes, barons, cavaliers, and esquires without reproach, that, for the augmentation and extension of the most noble profession and exercise of arms, it was his will and intention, in conjunction with twelve knights, squires, and gentlemen, of four quarterings, whose names he mentioned, to guard and defend a pass d'armes, situated on the great road leading from Dijon toward Exonne, at the end of the causeway from the said town of Dijon, at a great tree called the Hermit's Tree, or the Tree of Charlemagne. He proposed to suspend on the tree two shields, (one black, besprinkled with tears of gold, the other violet, having tears of sable,) and all those who by a king at arms or pursuivant should touch the first shield should be bounden to perform twelve courses on horseback, with him the Lord of Chargny, or one of his knights and squires, with blunted lances; and if either of the champions, during their twelve courses, should be unhorsed by a direct blow with the lance on his armour, such person so unhorsed should present to his adversary a diamond of whatever value he pleased. Those princes, barons, knights, and esquires, who should rather take their pleasure in performing feats of arms on foot, were to touch the violet shield, and should perform fifteen courses with battle-axes or swords, as might be most

mois de May preste a l'ayde de Dieu, de St. George, et de St. Anthoine à vous deliverir, ainsi que ma dame et la vostre le puissent scavoir que pour reverence d'icelles j'ai voulenté de vous aiser de vostre griefue: qui par long temps vous a desaisié comme vosdictes lettres contiennent: pourquoy aussi vous avez cause de desirer vostre allegeance. Apres le quel temps se venir ne voulez, je pense au plaisir de Dieu de m'enretourner en Angleterre par devers nos dames: ausquelles j'ai espai en Dieu que sera tesgmoigné par chevaliers et escuyers que je n'ai en riens mesprins envers le dit dieu d'amours: le quel vueille avoir lesdits madame et la vostre pour recommandées, sans avoir desplaisir envers elles pour quelque course qui soit advenue."

* Monstrelet, vol. i., c. 1.

† The phrase, the passage of arms, is used in the romance of Ivanhoe as a general expression for chivalric games. But this is incorrect; for the defence of a particular spot was the essential and distinguishing quality of the exercise in question. Now there was no such circumstance in the affair near Ashby-de-la-Zouche. Five knights challengers undertook to answer all comers, but it was not expected that those comers should attempt to pass any particular place. The encounters which were the consequences of the challenges were simple jousts, and constituted the first day's sports; on the second day there was a general tourney or mêlée of knights, and as in chivalric times the tournament was always regarded as the chief military exercise, the amusements at Ashby-de-la-Zouche were a tournament, and by that name, indeed, the author of Ivanhoe has sometimes called them.

agreeable to them, and if during those courses any champion should touch the ground with his hand or knees he should be obliged to present to his adversary a ruby of whatever value he pleased.

The Lord of Chargny was a right modest as well as a valiant knight, for he besought all princes, barons, knights, and esquires, not to construe his intention as the result of pride and presumption, for he assured them that his sole motive was to exalt the noble profession of arms, and also to make acquaintance by chivalric deeds with such renowned and valiant princes and nobles as might be pleased to honour him with their presence.

For the forty days that followed the first of July, the passage of arms lasted, and right nobly did the Burgundian chivalry comport themselves. Their most skilful opponent was a valiant knight of Spain, hight Messire Pierre Vasque de Suavedra, with whom the Lord of Chargny jousted on horseback and on foot, and the nicest eye of criticism could not determine which was the doughtiest knight. At the conclusion of the joust the cavaliers repaired to the church of our Lady at Dijon, and on their knees offered the shields to the Virgin.*

Such were the martial amusements and exercises of preux chevaliers. All the noble and graceful virtues of chivalry were reflected in the tournament and joust, and the warrior who had displayed them in the lists could not but feel their mild and beneficent influence even in the battle-field. He pricked on the plain with knightly grace as if his lady-mistress had been beholding him: skill and address insensibly softened the ferocity of the mere soldier, and he soon came to consider war itself only as a great tournament. Thus the tourneying lists were schools of chivalric virtue as well as chivalric prowess, while the splendour and joyousness of the show brought all classes of society into kind and merry intercourse.

* The challenge of the Lord of Chargny is contained in Monstrelet, vol. viii., c. 60, 61. The description of the passage of arms is given by Olivier de la Marche in his Mémoires, c. 9. There are many other passages of arms recorded in the histories of the middle ages, but there is only one of them of interest, and it will find a place in my description of the progress of chivalry in Spain.

Through the long period of the middle ages tournaments were the elegant pastimes of Europe, and not of Europe only, but of Greece; and knighthood had its triumph over classical institutions when the games of chivalry were played in the circus of Constantinople. The Byzantines learnt them from the early Crusaders; and when the French and Venetians in the twelfth century became masters of the East, chivalric amusements were the common pastimes of the people, and continued so even when the Greeks recovered the throne of their ancestors; nor were they abolished until the Mussulmans captured Constantinople, and swept away every Christian and chivalric feature.*

In the West the tournament and joust survived chivalry itself, whose image they had reflected and brightened, for changes in the military art did not immediately affect manners; and the world long clung with fondness to those splendid and graceful shows which had thrown light and elegance over the warriors and dames of yore.

CHAPTER VII.

THE RELIGIOUS AND MILITARY ORDERS OF KNIGHTHOOD.

General Principles of the Religious Orders.—Qualifications for them.—Use of these Orders to Palestine.—Modern History of the Knights Templars.—Their present Existence and State.—Religious Orders in Spain.—That of St. James.—Its Objects.—Change of its Objects.—Order of Calatrava.—Fine Chivalry of a Monk.—Fame of this Order.—Order of Alcantara.—Knights of the Lady of Mercy.—Knights of St. Michael.—Military Orders.—Imitations of the Religious Orders.—Instances in the Order of the Garter.—Few of the present Orders are of Chivalric Origin.—Order of the Bath.—Dormant Orders.—Order of the Band.—Its singular Rules.—Its noble Enforcement of Chivalric Duties towards Woman.—Order of Bourbon.—Strange Titles of Orders.—Fabulous Orders.—The Round Table.—Sir Launcelot.—Sir Gawain.—Order of the Stocking.—Origin of the Phrase Blue Stocking.

Such were the institutions by which the character of the true knight was

* Nicetas, Hist. Byzant. l, iii., c. 3. Johannes Cantacuzenus, l, i., c. 42.

formed; and we might now resume our historical course did not a matter of considerable interest detain us, which, as it belongs to chivalry in general, and not entirely to any state in particular, can no where be treated with so much propriety as in this place.

It has been shown that from the union of religion and arms chivalry arose, and that the defence of the church and the promoting of its interests were among the chief objects of the new system of principles and manners. But knighthood had various duties to discharge, and the cavalier, who was sometimes distracted by their number, consecrated his life to the single purpose of upholding the cross of Christ. Thus orders called the Religious Orders of Knighthood were founded, and in imitation of them, fraternities, called Military Orders, appeared, all being ranged within the general pale of chivalry.

The religious orders, as might be expected, were sanctioned by papal authority. They were both martial and monastic in their general principles, but their internal conduct was entirely regulated by the discipline of the cloister; and, like the establishments of monks, they took some existing rule of a favourite saint as their guide. Theirs was a singular compound of the chivalric and the cloisterial characters,

> "The fine vocation of the sword and lance
> With the gross aims and body-bending toil
> Of a poor brotherhood who walk the earth
> Pitied." WORDSWORTH.

Like the monks they were bound by the three great monastic vows of chastity, poverty, and obedience. The first of these matters needs no explanation;* the second meant a total oblivion of individuality, the community and not a peculiar possession of property; and by the third, the members were confined to obey the head of their order, to the exclusion of all other authority. These general principles of the religious societies of knighthood gave way, however, and fitted themselves to the occasions and demands of society, for like the chain-mail, which was flexible to all the motions of the body, the orders of chivalry have varied with every change of European life. Ascetic privations gave place to chivalric gallantry, the vow of chastity was mitigated into a vow of connubial fidelity; and when men of noble birth and high fortune became knights of the holy and valiant societies of Saint John, the Temple, or Saint James, the vow of poverty was dispensed with, or explained away to the satisfaction of conscientious scruples. In the fraternity of the Temple a knight was permitted to hold estates, so that at his death he bequeathed some portion of them to his order.*

In another very important respect, the religious brotherhoods were moulded to the general frame of political society. Their independence of civil authority was given up, as the papal power declined, and kings refused admittance of the bulls of Rome into their states without their previous license. The knights of the religious fraternities became connected with the state by professing that their duties to God and their country were prior and paramount to the rules and statutes of the brotherhood; and they adopted this form of phrase rather to prevent the suggestions of malice than from any existing necessity, for they contended that the obligations of chivalry, instead of contravening the duty of a

* I may observe, however, that the ancient Templars were so dreadfully afraid of their virtue, that they forbad themselves the pleasure of looking in a fair woman's face; at least the statutes attempted to put down the instinct of nature. No brother of the Temple was permitted to kiss maid, wife, or widow, his sister, mother, or any relation whatever. The statute gravely adds, that it behoves the knights of Jesus Christ to avoid the kisses of women, in order that they may always walk with a pure conscience before the Lord. I shall transcribe the statute in the original Latin, and I hope that it will not be perused with that levity which an allusion to it during Rebecca's trial at Templestowe excited in the younger members of the valiant and venerable order of the Temple. The title is sufficiently ascetic, — Ut omnium mulierum oscula fugiantur. It proceeds thus: — "Periculosum esse credimus omni religioni, vultum mulierum nimis attendere, et ideo nec viduam, nec virginem, nec matrem, nec sororem, nec amitam, nec ullam aliam fœminam aliquis frater osculari præsumat. Fugiat ergo fœminea oscula Christi Militia, par quæ solent homines sæpe periclitari, ut pura conscientia, et secura vita, in conspectu Domini perenniter valeat conversare. Cap. 72.

* Statutes, c. 51, 55.

citizen, gave it strength, and dignity, and grace.*

In their origin, all the military orders and most of the religious ones were entirely aristocratic; proofs of gentility of birth were scrupulously examined; and no soldier by the mere force of his valiancy could attain the honors of an order, though such a claim was allowed for his admission into the general fraternity of knighthood. These requisites for nobleness of birth kept pace with the political state of different countries, for the sovereigns of Europe and chivalry did not accord upon any particular form. Thus a French candidate for the knighthood of Saint John of Jerusalem must have shown four quarters of gentility on his coat-armour, but in the severer aristocracies of Spain and Germany no less than eight heraldic emblazonings were requisite. In Italy, however, where commerce checked the haughtiness of nobility, it was not expected that the pedigree should be so proud and full, and at length the old families conceded, and the new families were satisfied with the concession, that the sons of merchants should be at liberty to enter into the religious order.

It would be tedious and unprofitable to detail the history of all these chivalric societies; and were I to repeat or abridge the usual books on the topic I should in many cases be only assisting to give currency to fraud, for the title, a religious order of knighthood, was often improperly bestowed on an establishment, while in truth it was only a fraternity of monks who maintained some soldiers in their pay: other associations obtained a papal sanction, but they were small and insignificant, and their history did not affect the general state of any country.

Not so, however, the noble fraternities of Saint John and the Temple,† and next, though the intervening space of dignity was considerable, the Teutonic knights. These religious orders of chivalry by their principles and conduct are strongly marked in the political history of the world, for they formed the firm and unceasing bulwark of the Christian kingdom in Palestine during the middle ages. They were its regular militia, and maintained the Holy Land in the interval between the departure of one fleet of crusaders and the arrival of another. Generous emulation sometimes degenerated into envy, and the heats and feuds of the knights of Saint John and the Temple violated the peace of the country; but these dissensions were usually hushed when danger approached their charge, and the atabal of the Muselmans was seldom sounded in defiance on the frontier of the kingdom without the trumpets of the military orders in every preceptory and commandery receiving and echoing the challenge.

The valiancy of the Templars was particularly conspicuous in the moments of the kingdom's final fate; for when the Christians of the Holy Land were reduced to the possession of Acre, and two hundred thousand Mameluke Tartars from Egypt were encamped round its walls, the defence of the city was entrusted to Peter de Beaujeau, Grand Master of the Templars. And well and chivalrously did he sustain his high and sacred charge. Acre fell, indeed, but not until this heroic representative of Christian chivalry and most of the noble followers of his standard had been slain. The memory of the Templars is embalmed in all our recollections of the beautiful romance of the middle ages, for the red cross knights were the last band of Europe's host that contended for the possession of Palestine. A few survived the fall of Acre and retired to Sis in Armenia. They were driven to the island of Tortosa, whence they escaped to Cyprus, and the southern shores of the Mediterranean no longer rang with the cry of religious war.

The origin and peculiar nature of these

* "I was a Scotsman ere I was a Templar," is the assertion of Vipont in the dramatic sketch of Halidon Hill, — a sentiment confessedly borrowed from the story of the Venetian General, who, observing that his soldiers testified some unwillingness to fight against those of the Pope which they regarded as father of the church, addressed them in terms of similar encouragement: — "Fight on — we were Venetians before we were Christians."

† The Templars find no favour in the eyes of the author of Ivanhoe, and Tales of the Crusaders. He has imbibed all the vulgar prejudices against the order; and when he wants a villain to form the shadow of his scene, he as regularly and unscrupulously resorts to the fraternity of the Temple, as other novelists refer to the church, or to Italy, for a similar purpose.

three great religious orders have been detailed by me in another work, and also their history as far as it was connected with the crusades; but on one subject our present deductions may be carried further: for though the annals of the cavaliers of Saint John and also of the Teutonic knights are mixed with general European history, yet those of the Templars stand isolated. In the History of the Crusades, I described the circumstances of the iniquitous and sanguinary persecution of the brotherhood of the Temple, the consequent suspension of their functions,* and the spoliation of all those possessions with which the respect of the world had enriched them.

But the persecution of the Templars in the fourteenth century does not close the history of the order, for though the knights were spoliated the order was not annihilated. In truth, the cavaliers were not guilty, the brotherhood was not suppressed, and, startling as is the assertion, there has been a succession of Knights Templars from the twelfth century down even to these days; the chain of transmission is perfect in all its links. Jacques de Molai, the Grand Master at the time of the persecution, anticipating his own martyrdom, appointed as his successor, in power and dignity, Johannes Marcus Larmenius of Jerusalem, and from that time to the present there has been a regular and uninterrupted line of grand masters. The charter by which the supreme authority has been transmitted is judicial and conclusive evidence of the order's continued existence. This charter of transmission, with signatures of the various chiefs of the Temple, is preserved at Paris, with the ancient statutes of the order, the rituals, the records, the seals, the standards, and other memorials of the early Templars. The brotherhood has been headed by the bravest cavaliers of France, by men who, jealous of the dignity of knighthood, would admit no corruption, no base copies of the orders of chivalry, and who thought that the shield of their nobility was enriched by the impress of the Templars' red cross. Bertrand du Guesclin was the grand master from 1357 till his death in 1380, and he was the only French commander who prevailed over the chivalry of our Edward III. From 1478 to 1497, we may mark Robert Lenoncourt, a cavalier of one of the most ancient and valiant families of Lorraine. Phillippe Chabot, a renowned captain in the reign of Francis I., wielded the staff of power from 1516 to 1543. The illustrious family of Montmorency appear as Knights Templars, and Henry, the first duke, was the chief of the order from 1574 to 1614. At the close of the seventeenth century the grand master was James Henry de Duras, a marshal of France, the nephew of Turenne, and one of the most skilful soldiers of Louis XIV. The grand masters from 1734 to 1776 were three princes of the royal Bourbon family. The names and years of power of these royal personages who acknowledged the dignity of the order of the Temple were Louis Augustus Bourbon, Duke of Maine, 1724 — 1737: Louis Henry Bourbon Condé, 1737 — 1741; and Louis Francis Bourbon Conty, 1741 — 1746. The successor of these princes in the grand-mastership of the Temple was Louis Hercules Timoleon, Duke de Cossé Brissac, the descendant of an ancient family long celebrated in French history for its loyalty and gallant bearing. He accepted the office in 1776, and sustained it till he died in the cause of royalty at the beginning of the French Revolution. The order has now its grand master, Barnardus Raymundus Fabré Palaprat, and there are colleges in England and in many of the chief cities in Europe.

Thus the very ancient and sovereign order of the Temple is now in full and chivalric existence, like those orders of knighthood which were either formed in imitation of it, or had their origin in the same noble principles of chivalry. It has mourned as well as flourished; but there is in its nature and constitution a

* The Pope (Clement V.) committed the glaring absurdity of making a provisional decree to be executed in perpetuity. The bull which he issued at the council of Vienne, without asking the judgment of the assembled bishops and others, declares, that although he cannot of right, consistently with the Inquisition and proceedings, pronounce a definitive sentence, yet by way of apostolical provision and regulation, he perpetually prohibited people from entering into the order and calling themselves Templars. The penalty of the greater excommunication was held out as a punishment for offending.

principle of vitality which has carried it through all the storms of fate. Its continuance, by representatives as well as by title, is as indisputable a fact as the existence of any other chivalric fraternity. The Templars of these days claim no titular rank, yet their station is so far identified with that of the other orders of knighthood, that they assert equal purity of descent from the same bright source of chivalry. Nor is it possible to impugn the legitimate claims to honourable estimation, which the modern brethren of the Temple derive from the antiquity and pristine lustre of their order, without at the same time shaking to its centre the whole venerable fabric of knightly honour.*

The Holy Land was not the only country which gave birth to the religious orders of knighthood. Several arose in Spain, and their arms were mainly instrumental in effecting the triumph of the Christian cause over that of the Moors. War with the usurpers was the pristine object of some of these societies, and in other cases it was based and pillared upon a foundation of charity. Perpetual enmity to the Arabian infidels was the motto of all. Unlike the Christian kings of Spain, the orders never relaxed in their hostility; they never mingled with the Moors in the delights of peace, and their character was formed by their own rules and principles, unaffected by the graceful softenings of oriental luxury and taste.

The most considerable of these Spanish religious orders of knighthood was that of Saint James, of Compostella, which sprang from the association of some knights and monks in the middle of the twelfth century, for the protection of the pilgrims who flocked from all countries to bow before the relics of the tutelar saint of Spain.* The monks were of the society of St. Eloy, a holy person of great fame among our English ancestors; for Chaucer's demure prioress was wont to verify her assertions by appealing to his authority.

"Her greatest oath n'as but by St. Eloy."

The monks and knights lived in friendly communion, the prior of the convent regulating the spiritual concerns, and a grand master, chosen by the cavaliers, leading the soldiers. They were taken under the protection of the papal see, on their professing the vows of chastity, poverty, and obedience; but afterwards Pope Alexander the Third sank the ascendancy of the monastic portion of their character, for he permitted an oath of connubial fidelity to be

* I add a complete list of the grand-masters of the Temple, from the time of Jacques de Molai to these days. (Manuel des Chevaliers de l'Order du Temple, Paris, 1817.)

	A.D.
Johannes Marcus Larmenius, Hierosolymetanus	1314
Thomas Theobaldus, Alexandrinus	1324
Arnaldus de Braque	1340
Johannes Claromontanus	1349
Bertrandus Du Guesclin	1357
Johannes Arminiacus	1381
Bernardus Arminiacus	1392
Johannes Arminiacus	1419
Johannes Croyus	1451
Bernardus Imbaultius, Vic. Mag. Afric. (Regens.)	1472
Robertus Lenoncurtius	1478
Galeatius de Salazar	1497
Philippus Chabotius	1516
Gaspardus de Salceaco, Tavannensis	1544
Henricus de Montmorenciaco	1574
Carolus Valesius	1615
Jacobus Ruxellius de Granceio	1651
Jacobus Henricus de Duroforti, Dux de Duras	1681
Philippus, Dux de Aurelianensis	1705
Ludovicus-Augustus Borbonius, Dux de Maine	1724
Ludovicus-Henricus Borbonius, Condæus	1737
Ludovicus-Franciscus Borbonis, Conty	1741
Ludovicus-Henricus Timoleo de Cossé Brissac	1776
Claudius Mathæus Radix de Chevillon, Vic. Mag. Europ. (Regens.)	1792
Bernardus-Raymundus Fabré Palaprat	1804

* "I would fain know," quoth Sancho, "why the Spaniards call upon that same St. James, the destroyer of the Moors: just when they are going to give battle, they cry St. Jago and close Spain. Pray is Spain open, that it wants to be closed up? What do you make of that ceremony?" — "Thou art a very simple fellow, Sancho," answered Don Quixote. "Thou must know, that heaven gave to Spain this mighty champion of the Red Cross, for its patron and protector, especially in the desperate engagements which the Spaniards had with the Moors; and therefore they invoke him, in all their martial encounters, as their protector; and many times he has been personally seen cutting and slaying, overthrowing, trampling, and destroying the Moorish Squadrons: of which I could give thee many examples deduced from authentic Spanish histories." Don Quixote, part, ii., c. 58.

substituted for that of chastity. A descent of two degrees of gentle birth was required for admission into the order of Saint James, and the Christian blood must have been uncontaminated with any Jewish or Moorish mixture.

The guarding of the passages to the shrine of Saint James from the incursions of the Moors became extended into a general defence of the kingdom against the hostilities of those enemies of the Christian name; and in time their active military operations far exceeded their defensive wars in consequence and splendour. The simple object of their association being forgotten, their glories became associated with the earliest struggles of the Christians for the re-possession of their inheritance; and they pretended to trace their line up to the ninth century, when Saint James himself, riding on a white horse, and bearing a banner marked with a red cross in his hand, assisted them to discomfit the Moors. A cross, finished like the blade of a sword, and the hilt crossleted, became the ensign of the order, and the order was then appropriately called *La Orden de Suntiago de la Espada*. The centre of the crosslet was ornamented with an escalop-shell, the badge of Saint James; and nothing can more strongly mark the popularity of his shrine in the middle ages than the fact of the escalop-shell being the usual designation of a European palmer. The cross was worn on a white cross mantle, and was painted red, agreeably, as it might seem, to that on the banner already alluded to. But Don Rodrigo Ximines, an archbishop of Toledo, who dealt in allegories, observed the reason to be that the sword was red with the blood of the Arabs, and that the faith of the knights was burning with charity.

The grand master of the order of Saint James had precedence over the grand masters of other Spanish orders; but the internal government of the fraternity was in the hands of a council, whose decrees were obligatory, even on the grand master himself. The order of Saint James had two great commanderies, one in Leon and the other in Castile; and to them all other establishments were subordinate. There were perpetual disputes for precedency between these commanderies, and the kings of Castile and Leon fomented them, thus preventing a union which might be dangerous to the state itself, and obtaining military aid in return for occasional interference. The gratitude of sovereigns enriched the order with various possessions; but it was its own good swords that won for it the best part of its territories.

Notwithstanding that, like all other religious orders of knighthood, the order of Saint James had originally enjoyed independence of royal authority, yet in the course of time the kings of Castile acquired the right of delivering to every newly-elected grand master the standard of the order. The obedience was only titular till the beginning of the sixteenth century, when the Emperor Charles V. obtained from Popes Leo X. and Adrian VI. the supreme direction of all the affairs of the order, and, consequently, the dignity of grand master became attached to the crown. But the power of the king was not suffered to be absolute; for the popes compelled him to consent that the affairs of the order should be managed by a council, with a right of appeal to the Pope himself. The power of the Spanish kings then became a species of influence, rather than of direct prerogative.

The object of the association, the expulsion of the Moors from Spain, being accomplished, this religious order became an order of merit—a feather in the plume of Spanish dignity. It could be gained only by the nobility; for it then behoved every knight to prove the gentility of his descent, maternal and paternal, for four degrees. The old vows of poverty, obedience and conjugal chastity, were preserved, with a mental reservation regarding the two former.

In the year 1652, the knights of Saint James, as well as the knights of Calatrava and Alcantara, in the fervour of their zeal for what they called religion, added a vow to defend and maintain the doctrine of the immaculate conception of the Virgin Mary. The people of Madrid were invited to three churches to witness the taking of the vows by the knights. After the celebration of the mass, a cavalier, in the name of all his brothers, pronounced the vow,* and

* The words are these: — Y asi mesmo hago voto, defener, voto defender, y guuardar en pub-

every one repeated it, placing his hand on the cross and the Gospels. And thus an order, which in its origin was charitable, in its progress patriotic, had the bright glories of its days of honour sullied by superstition.*

The next station in the dignity of rank was occupied by the knights of Calatrava, who, considering the circumstances of their origin, may be regarded as a more honourable fraternity than the brotherhood of St. James. About the year 1147, Alfonso, King of Spain, recovered from the Moors the fortress of Calatrava, which was the key of Toledo. The king committed it to the charge of the Knights Templars. That noble order of Christian soldiers was then in the very infancy of its career of honour, and so few were the red crosses in Spain, that they could not drive back the swelling tide of Muselman power. After retaining it for only eight years, the Templars resigned it into the hands of Don Sancho, successor of Alfonso, who endeavored to secure it for its defenders, by proposing to accord Calatrava and its lands in perpetual possession to such knights as would undertake the guarding of the fortress. The chivalry of Spain, remembering that the brave militia of the Temple had quailed before the Moors, hung back in caution and dismay; and Sancho already saw the fate of Calatrava sealed in Arabian subjection, when the cloisters of a convent rang with a cry of war which was unheard in the baronial hall.

The monastery of Santa Maria de Fetero in Navarre contained a monk named Diego Velasquez, who had spent the morning of his life in arms, but afterwards had changed the mailed frock for a monastic mantle, for in days of chivalry, when religion was the master-spring of action, such conversions were easy and natural. The gloom of a convent was calculated only to repress the martial spirit; but yet the surrounding memorials of military greatness, the armed warrior in stone, the overhanging banner and gauntlet, while they proved the frail nature of earthly happiness, showed what were the subjects wherein men wished for fame beyond the grave. The pomp of the choir-service, the swelling note of exultation in which the victories of the Jews over the enemies of Heaven were sung, could not but excite the heart to admiration of chivalric renown, and in moments of enthusiasm many a monk cast his cowl aside, and changed his rosary for the belt of a knight.

And thus it was with Velasquez. His chivalric spirit was roused by the call of his king, and he lighted a flame of military ardour among his brethren. They implored the superior of the convent to accept the royal proffer; and the king, who was at first astonished at the apparent audacity of the wish, soon recollected that the defence of the fortress of Calatrava could not be achieved by the ordinary exertions of courage, and he then granted it to the Cistertian order, and principally to its station at Santa Maria de Fetero, in Navarre. And the fortress was wisely bestowed; for not only did the bold spirits of the convents keep the Moors at bay in that quarter, but the valour of the friars caused many heroic knights of Spain to join them. To these banded monks and cavaliers the king gave the title of the Religious Fraternity of Calatrava, and Pope Alexander III. accepted their vows of poverty, obedience, and chastity. The new religious order of knighthood, like that of Saint James of Compostella, was a noble bulwark of the Christian kingdom.

Nothing could be more perfect than the simplicity of the knights of Calatrava. Their dress was formed from the coarsest woollen, and the edges were not like those of many a monk of the time, purfiled or ornamented with vair or gris, or other sorts of rich fur. Their diet, too, reproached the usual luxury of the monastery, for the fruits of the earth sustained them. They were silent in the oratory, and the refectory, one voice only reciting the prayers, or reading a legend of battle; but when the first note of the Moorish atabal was heard by the warder on the tower, the convent became a scene of universal uproar. The caparisoning of steeds, and the clashing of armour, broke the repose of the cloister, while

lico, y en secreto, que la Vergen Maria Madre de Dios, y senora nuestra, fue concebida sin mancha de peccato original.

* Favyne, Theat. d'Honneur, l. 6, c. 5. Carode Torres, Hist. de las Ordines Militares, l, 7, c. 10.

the humble figure of the monk was raised into a bold and expanded form of dignity and power. Through all the mighty efforts of the Christians for the recovery of their throne, the firm and dense array of the knights of Calatrava never was tardy in appearing on the field; but the kingdom, as its power and splendour increased, overshadowed the soldiers of every religious order of chivalry. The grand mastership of the Calatrava fraternity became annexed to the thrones of Castile and Leon by the decree of Pope Innocent VIII., and the Kings of Spain kept alive the chivalry of their nation by using the crosses and other emblems of the ancient knighthood as signs of military merit.*

Inferior in dignity and power to both these orders, was the order of Alcantara. It was formed soon after the establishing of the fraternity of Saint James of Compostella, at a town called Saint Julian of the Pear-tree, near Ciudad Rodrigo. The ancient badge was a pear-tree, in allusion to the origin of the order. The knights of the Pear-tree were so poor in worldly estate and consideration, that the knights of Calatrava took them under their protection, and gave them the town of Alcantara. The knights of the Pear-tree then quitted their humble title for a name of loftier sound, though ideas of dependence were associated with it. For nearly two centuries the cavaliers of Alcantara remained the vassals and retainers of the knights of Calatrava; but the spirit of independence gradually rose with their prowess in the field; and about the year 1412 their martial array was led to battle by their own grand master. Until the union of the Spanish crowns in the persons of Ferdinand and Isabella, they rivalled their former lords and the knights of Saint James in power and rank: the crown then placed them within its own control, and like the other fraternities, the main object of whose institution had been the expulsion of the Moors from Spain, the cross of the order of Alcantara became a mere decoration of nobility.†

* Mennenius, Delic. Equest. p. 99. &c. Marquez Tesoro Milit. de Cavale, p. 286. Favyn. Theat. de l'Honneur, lib. 6.

† Mennen. Delic. Equest. p. 102, &c. Miræus, and Fr. Caro de Torres, in locis.

Co-existent with these religious brotherhoods was a charitable establishment, which completed the blessings of chivalry in Spain. Experience of the wretchedness of imprisonment taught James I. of Arragon to sympathize with the helpless fate of others; and about the year 1218 he associated several valiant knights and pious ecclesiastics in Barcelona, whose whole thoughts and cares were to have for their chief end and aim the applying of the alms of the charitable towards the liberation of Christian captive. Knights of our Lady of Mercy was their title; and every cavalier at his inauguration professed his heart's resolve to observe the vows of chastity, obedience, and poverty, to apply the whole energies of his mind and feelings to succour such of his unhappy countrymen as, by the chance of battle, were in Moorish prisons, and if necessary to remain a slave in the hands of the Saracens rather than abandon his duty of procuring the redemption of captives. The general course of their lives was directed by the rule of Saint Benedict, for a knight as a monk, —

> "When he is reckless,*
> Is like to a fish that is waterless."†

So zealous were the Spaniards in promoting the noble objects of this order, that within the first six years of its institution no less than four hundred captives were ransomed. Originally the government of the order was in the hands of the knights, afterwards the priests obtained a share of the command, and finally they usurped it altogether, a matter of little reprehension, considering that the purpose of the institution had no military features. After the complete triumph of the Christian cause the scene of charity was changed from Spain to Africa; and it is curious to observe, that the order sullied the impartiality of its principle by releasing first the monks who had fallen into the hands of the African Moors, and then, but not before, the laity.‡

Superstition as well as charity gave birth to some religious orders of knight-

* Without rule.

† Chaucer's Prologue to the Canterbury Tales.

‡ Reman, Hist. Gen. de la Ordere de la Mercie, passim. Mennen. Del. Eq. p. 107.

hood. The Knights of the Wing of Saint Michael, in Portugal, a very honourable order in chivalric times, had their origin in the opinion of Alfonso, King of Portugal, that Saint Michael the Archangel assisted him in 1171 to gain a great victory over the Moors. Only persons of noble birth could be admitted members of this order. The knights lived in their monastery agreeably to the rule of Saint Benedict. Their most anxious care in private life was to discharge the chivalric duty of protecting widows and orphans, and when they marched into the field of battle, the support of the Catholic faith was the motto on their standard.*

But it would be profitless to pursue the subject; for the religious orders of knighthood are only worthy of inquiry as far as they are connected with the defence of the Holy Land, and the expulsion of the Moors from Spain.

> "Turn we now all the matere,
> And speke we of"

The military orders founded in imitation of those whose history has just been related; not that I shall transcribe their statutes or paint their costume, — such matters belong to the herald. It is the part of the historian to notice their existence, to trace the principles which gave rise to them, and to mark such parts of their rules or their annals as reflect the state of manners.

Though knights were often created before battle, for the purpose of stimulating them to achieve high exploits, yet many were invested after they had fought, and proved themselves worthy of their spurs. But knighthood was so much diffused through society, that it almost ceased to be a distinction; and kings and other rulers who wished to show their power or their gratitude were obliged to give a new form to chivalric dignity. The religious orders of knighthood presented a fair example of the benefits of close fraternity; and as those societies often gave a patriotic direction to chivalric feelings, so kings found the orders of military merit which they established admirable means of uniting in a bond of brotherhood their high-spirited nobles. When Louis, king of Hungary, avenged the murder of his brother Andrew, he endeavoured to unite the Hungarian and Neapolitan nobles by associating them in a fraternity called the Order of the Knot. The order did not live long. There were some singular provisions in this order of the Knot: there was to be an annual meeting of the knights on the day of Pentecost; and each knight was obliged to deliver to the chaplain of the order a written account of his adventures in the preceding year. The chaplain delivered it to the king and council, who ordered such parts as they approved of to be registered in the great book of the order. The order of the Argonautes of St. Nicholas, at Naples, was instituted by Charles the Third, for the avowed purpose of fraternising his lords; and in the year 1579, when indeed the days of chivalry may be considered as past, the order of the Holy Ghost was established in France: the friendly union of the nobility and prelates of the land was declared to be a great purpose of the order. The throne of France had already been strengthened by the order of Saint Michael, founded about a century before by Louis XI., to draw the affections of the nobility to himself.

Knights who were associated under one title, and lived under one code of regulations, were in truth companions in arms; and, like any two cavaliers who had vowed to live in brotherhood, the banded knights were united for weal or wo, and were bound to assist each other with council and arms, as if a perfect community of interest existed. This was the general principle, but it was relaxed in favour of knights of foreign countries. Kings frequently interchanged orders, stipulating at the same time that in case of war they should be at liberty to return them. Instances of this nature occur repeatedly in the history of the middle ages; and in the last days of chivalry the principle of the companionship of knights was very artfully applied by Henry VII. to the support of his own avarice. The French king wished to borrow from him a sum of money in order to prosecute a war with the King of Naples; but Henry replied that he could not with honour aid any prince against the sovereign of Naples, who

* Marquez, Tesoro Milit. 35, &c.

had received the Garter, and was therefore his companion and ally. To give such assistance would be to act contrary to the oath which he had taken to observe the statutes of the order.*

The rewarding of noble achievements in the higher classes of society was a principle that ran through all the martial orders, but they were not exclusively aristocratic when simple knighthood fell into disuse, and the military brotherhood represented the ancient chivalry. These associations of merit adopted many of the principles and usages of the religious orders of knighthood. Notwithstanding the real causes of their foundation, religious objects were always set forth. Fraternisation and the reward of military merit were undoubtedly the reasons for instituting the most noble order of the Garter; and yet in the statutes the exaltation of the holy faith, Catholic, is declared to be the great purpose of the brotherhood. This is expressed in the statutes of the order promulgated in the reign of Henry the Eighth, and the words are evidently copied from earlier authorities.† As the exaltation of the Roman Catholic religion is certainly not in the minds of the modern members of the Garter, I may adduce these facts in proof of my position in an earlier part of this chapter, that the orders of knighthood have always been flexible to the change of society.

The military, like the religious orders, had their establishments of priests. Thus, to the knights companions of the Garter were added a prelate, a chancellor, and the chapel of Saint George at Windsor, with its dean and chapter. Prayers and thanksgivings were perpetually to be offered to heaven, and masses were ordered to be celebrated for the souls of deceased companions. Some military orders, like their religious exemplars, forgot not the promotion of charitable objects, and Edward the Third, with particular propriety, connected with that most noble order which he founded, a number of poor or alms-knights, men who through adverse fortune were brought to that extremity, that they had not of their own wherewith to sustain them, or live so richly and nobly as became a military condition.*

Every military fraternity had a cross, of some shape or other among its emblems. To the highest order of merit in England a cross, as well as a garter, was assigned; but the silver star of eight points, which Charles I. with so little propriety, and with such wretched taste, commanded the knights to wear, renders insignificant the original chivalric designation of the order. The associations of nobles were always expressed to have been formed to the honour of God, or of some of his saints. Thus, even in the present days, a knight of the Garter is admonished at his installation to wear the symbols of his order, that, by the imitation of the blessed martyr and soldier of Christ, Saint George, he may be able to overpass both adverse and prosperous adventures; and that, having stoutly vanquished his enemies, both of body and soul, he may not only receive the praise of this transitory combat, but be crowned with the palm of eternal victory.

Considering the fact that many of the honours of the present day have a chivalric form, we might expect that most of our military orders could be traced to the splendid times of knighthood. Attempts to prove so high an origin have been often made. Knights of the order called the Most Ancient Order of the Thistle justly think that a foundation in the sixteenth century scarcely merits so august a title. They have ascended, therefore, to the days of Charlemagne

* Caligula. D. 6, in Bib. Cott. (cited in Anstis, Register of the Most Noble Order of the Garter, vol. i., p. 66,) "Que le Roy ne povoit avec son honneur bailler aide et assistence a icelluy son bon frere et cousin a l'encontre du Roy de Naples, qui estoit son confrere et allye, veu et considere qu'il avoit prins et receu l'ordre de la Jarretiere. Et si le roi autrement faisoit ce seroit contrevenir au serment, qu'il a fait par les statuz du dit ordre," &c.

† This assertion may be supported by some lines in a poem which Chaucer addressed to the Lords and Knights of the Garter. He says to them,

"Do forth, do forth, continue your succour,
Hold up Christ's banner, let it not fall."

And again:

"Ye Lordis eke, shining in noble fame,
To which appropred is the maintenance
Of Christ 'is cause; in honour of his name,
Shove on, and put his foes to utterance."

* Ashmole on the Garter, c. iv., s. 5.

himself; and, boasting a union between their king Fergus and that emperor, have contended that the order of the Thistle was founded to commemorate the glorious event. The supporters of this hypothesis tread with timid steps the sombre walks of antiquity; others, with bolder march, have ascended several centuries higher, and fancied that they saw a great battle between the Scots and the English, when the former won the victory by the aid of Saint Andrew, and that an equestrian order, properly called the Order of St. Andrew, and vulgarly, the Order of the Thistle, was founded. With equal extravagance, the order of St. Michael, in France, pretends to the possession of regular descent from Michael the Archangel, who, according to the enlightened judgment of French antiquarians, was the premier chevalier in the world, and it was he, they say, who established the earliest chivalric order in Paradise itself. But, in simple truth, the order of Saint Michael was founded by Louis XI., King of France, in the year 1469, and the name of Michael was used, for he stood as high in favour in France as Saint George did in England. Except the orders of the Garter and the Golden Fleece, the one established in 1344, the other in 1429, and the order of Saint Michael already mentioned, a chivalric origin cannot be successfully claimed for any of the institutions of knighthood. Thus, the order of Saint Stephen was founded in 1561, that of Saint Michael, in Germany, in 1618, and those of the Holy Ghost in 1579, and of Saint Louis, in 1693; and none of these years dates with the age of chivalry. A view, therefore, of most of the military orders that now flourish comes not within the scope of the present work. On one of them, however, a few words may be said.

England, above all other countries, can pride herself on the chivalric nature of her military rewards; for her Most Honourable Order of the Bath is a revival of an institution of chivalry, while her Most Noble Order of the Garter has suffered no suspension of its dignity. In tracing the progress of chivalry in England, I shall show that the knighthood of the Bath was an honour distinct from that which constituted the ordinary knighthood of the sword; and that from very early times to the days of Charles II. it was conferred on occasions of certain august solemnities, with great state, upon the royal issue male, the princes of the blood-royal, several of the nobility, principal officers, and other persons distinguished by their birth, quality, and personal merit. George I., in the year 1727, not only revived that order of knighthood, but converted it into a regular military order.

The curious ceremonies regarding the Bath itself were dispensed with; but in many other respects the imitation was sufficiently exact. It was ordained that a banner of each knight was to be placed over, and a plate of his crest, helmet, and sword, was to be affixed to his stall in the chapel of Henry VII. in Westminster Abbey. All the romantic associations of early times were pleasingly attended to; for on the seal of the order were to be represented three imperial crowns *Or*, being the arms usually ascribed to the renowned King Arthur. The lady-love of chivalric times was to be commemorated in the collar; for its seventeen knobs, enamelled white, which linked imperial crowns of gold and thistles, were intended to represent the white laces mentioned in the ancient ceremonial of conferring knighthood of the Bath, and which were worn till the knight had achieved some high emprise, or till they had been removed by the hand of some fair and noble lady. The collar, however, is an honorary distinction of the order, whereas the white laces were regarded as a stigma. The form of the old oath was also strictly preserved, even with the singular clause that a knight would defend maidens, widows, and orphans, in their rights; and, as it had been said in old times, a newly-made companion was admonished to use his sword to the glory of God, the defence of the Gospel, the maintenance of his sovereign's right and honour, and of all equity and justice, to the utmost of his power. At the close of the ceremony, and without the door of the abbey, the king's master-cook made the usual admonition to him, viz. "Sir, you know what great oath you have taken; which, if you keep it, will be great

honour to you; but if you break it, I shall be compelled, by my office, to hack off your spurs from your heels."

Of those orders, which are either dormant or extinct, the account needs only be brief; for their history contains little matter that is either fanciful or instructive. An enlightened curiosity could find no satisfaction in investigating the annals of the extinct order of St. Anthony of Hainault, or of the order of Cyprus, and a thousand others, whose history, presenting only a list of grand masters, and the ceremonies of knightly inauguration, adds nothing to our pleasure or our knowledge.

A few exceptions may be made to this opinion. In the year 1330, Alphonso XI., King of Spain, attached many of the nobility to his interests by founding an order of merit, which, from the circumstance of every knight wearing a red ribbon three inches broad across the breast and shoulder, was called the order of the Band or Scarf. Some of the rules of the institution are exceedingly interesting, as reflecting the state of manners and opinions in Spain during the fourteenth century. Not only were the duties of patriotism and royalty inculcated by the statutes of the order, but, singular as it may seem in the history of Spain, virtue was to be cultivated at court, for every knight was charged to speak nothing but truth to his sovereign, and to abhor dissimulation and flattery. He was not to be silent whenever any person spoke against the king's honour, upon pain of being banished from the court, and deprived of his band: but he was to be always ready to address the king for the general good of the country, or on the particular affair of any individual; and supposing that his patriotic virtue might be checked by his attachment to his sovereign, the punishment for neglecting this duty was a forfeiture of all his patrimony, and perpetual banishment. Of the two extremes, taciturnity was to be preferred to loquaciousness: he was to be rather "checked for silence" than "taxed for speech;" and if in his conversation he uttered an untruth, he was to walk in the streets without a sword for a month. He was bound to keep his faith to whomever he had pledged it; but he was to associate only with men of martial rank, despising the conversation of mechanics and artisans.

Every knight was enjoined always to have good armour in his chamber, good horses in his stable, good lances in his hall, and a good sword by his side; nor was he to be mounted upon any mule nor other unseemingly hackney, nor to walk abroad without his band, nor to enter the king's palace without his sword; and he was to avoid all ascetic practices, for he was particularly enjoined not to eat alone. The vices of flattery and of scoffing were to be shunned; and the penalty for committing them was for the knight to walk on foot for a month, and to be confined to his house for another month. Boasting and repining were both prohibited: the reproof of the grand master and the neglect of him by his companions were to punish the offender. A knight was not permitted to complain of any hurt;* and even while he was being mangled by the surgeons of the time, he was to deport himself with stoical firmness. In walking, either in the court or the city, the gait of the knight was to be slow and solemn; and he was exhorted to preserve a discreet and grave demeanour, when any vain and foolish person mocked at and scorned him.

Chivalric duties to women were more insisted upon in this order than in any other. If a knight instituted an action against the daughter of a brother-knight no lady or gentlewoman of the court would ever afterwards be his lady-love, or wife. If he happened, when he was riding, to meet any lady or gentlewoman of the court it was his duty to alight from his horse, and tender her his service, upon pain of losing a month's wages and the favour of all dames and damsels. The

* This rule did not escape Cervantes. "If I do not complain of the pain," says Don Quixote, after the disastrous chance of the windmills, "it is because a knight-errant must never complain of his wounds, though his bowels were dropping out through them." — "Then I have no more to say," quoth Sancho; "and yet, heaven knows my heart, I should be glad to hear your worship bone a little now and then when something ails you; for my part, I shall not fail to bemoan myself when I suffer the smallest pain, unless, indeed, it can be proved, that the rule of not complaining extends to the squires as well as knights." Don Quixote, part i., book 1, c. 8.

circumstance was scarcely conceived to be possible, but the statutes of the order, to provide for every imaginable as well as every probable offence, decreed that he who refused to perform any service which a fair lady commanded should be branded with the title, The Discourteous Knight.

The statutes echoed the voice of nature in all her appeals to the heart; and thus every cavalier was enjoined to select from the ladies of the court some one upon whom his affections might rest, some one who was to be to him like a light leading him forward in the noble path of chivalry. There was no penalty for disobedience to this command, for disobedience seems to have been thought impossible. All the higher acts of chivalric devotion to his lady-love were presumed to be performed by the knight; and to show that his daily duties to his Order were to give way to his attention to his mistress, it was commanded that whenever she pleased to walk, he was to attend upon her on foot or on horseback, to do her all possible honour and service. When by his valiant feats against the Moors he had proved himself worthy of her love, the day of his marriage was a festival with his brother-knights, who made rich presents to the lady, and honoured the nuptials with cavaleresque games and shows. Nor did this generous consideration for woman stop here; for when a knight died, his surviving brothers were bound to solicit the King to make such grants of land and money to the family as would enable the widow to maintain her wonted state, and would furnish the marriage-portions of his daughters.

The band of the deceased knight was, agreeably to the general usage of the military orders, to be re-delivered to the king, who was to be solicited to bestow it upon one of the sons of its last wearer. The king was to select the knights from among the younger sons of men of station in the country, but no elder brother or other heir-apparent could be received; for it was the purpose of the founder to advance the fortunes of the nobly born, but indifferently provided, gentlemen of his court. Only one species of exception was made to this form of introduction. The honour of the order was conferred upon any stranger-knight who overcame one of the companions in the joust or tournament. This regulation was made for the general honour of chivalry, and the promotion of noble chevisance among the knights of the band. It was a bold defiance, and seldom answered.*

The order of Bourbon, called of the Thistle, and of Our Lady must not pass unnoticed. It was instituted at Moulins, in the Bourbonnois, in the year 1370, by Louis II., Duke of Bourbon, who was named, on account of his virtues, the Good Duke. It had for its object the winning of honour by acts of chivalry. The device of the order was a golden shield; and when it was given to knights they were exhorted to live as brethren, and die for each other if occasion should require it. They were told that every good action which beseemed chivalry ought to be performed by the knights of Bourbon. Above all things, they were exhorted to honour ladies, not permitting any man to speak slanderous matters of them, because, after God, comes from them all honour which men can acquire. Nothing could be more base than to vilify that sex which had not the strength to redress its wrongs. The knights were charged not to speak evil of each other, for that was the foulest vice which a nobleman or gentleman could be taxed with; and in conclusion, as the summary of their duty, they were exhorted to practice faith and loyalty, and to respect each other as became knights of praise and virtue.†

The occasions of the titles of many of the military orders are more interesting than a view of the external marks of their chivalry. Notwithstanding the haughtiness of knighthood, one of the most celebrated orders took its name from no chivalric source. The order was instituted by Philip Duke of Burgundy, who named the fraternity the Knights of the Golden Fleece, in gratitude to the trade in woollens by which he and his family had been so much enriched. In the fifteenth century, the order of the Porcupine was highly celebrated in France; and it was furnished with its singular title from the fancy of

* Favyn, lib. vi. Mariana, lib. xvi., c. 2.
† Favyn, lib. iii., c. 12.

the founder (Louis Duke of Orleans, second son of Charles V., King of France), that by such a sign he should commemorate the fact, that he had been abandoned by his friends in adversity, and that he was able to defend himself by his own weapons. While the Porcupine was a favourite order in France, that of the Dragon-overthrown was famous in Germany; and by this ferocious title, the Emperor Sigismond intended to express his conquest over heresy and schism. The Dukes of Mantua fancied that they possessed three drops of our Saviour's blood; and an order of knighthood was instituted in the year 1608, which took for its title the order of the Precious Blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ, at Mantua.

The chivalric nations of Europe attached as much consequence to orders which existed only in their own fervid imagination as to those whose lineage was certain. To Constantine the Great was ascribed the honour of inventing the first military order of knighthood. The great captains of his court were said to have been associated under the title of the order of the Constantinian Angelic Knights of Saint George, that Saint being in Greece, as well as in England, the patron of military men. The grand-mastership resided in the Imperial family. After the fall of the Eastern empire, the order passed into Italy; and the knights of that country imagined the existence of papal bulls, which permitted the grand masters to sit at the same table with the Popes, to coin money, and to confer titles of honour, whether in nobility or learning, and exercise every prerogative of independent princes. But it would be in vain to inquire after the names of any of these mensal companions of the Pope; and no cabinet of curiosities contains any coins which they struck in attestation of their power.

The memory of Charles Martel's great victory over the Moors was preserved in the middle ages of France, by the belief that the conqueror had established an order of knighthood called the Order of the Gennet; and lists of cavaliers were drawn out, and statutes imagined, attesting only the love of the French for chivalric distinctions. The Spaniards delighted to imagine that their early victories over the Moors were commemorated by an order called the Order of the Oak in Navarre, and founded on occasion of the Holy Cross, adored by an infinite number of angels, appearing to a Gothic chief who led the Christians.

But of all these imaginary orders none is so interesting as that of the Round Table, instituted by Uther Pendragon, King of Great Britain, and which reached its perfection of martial glory in the reign of his son Arthur. While our ancient historians exaggerated into heroism the patriotic efforts of the last of the British kings, the minstrels who sang in the baronial halls superadded the charms of chivalric circumstance. Since the time of Adam, God hath not made a man more perfect than Arthur, was the favourite opinion; and when his remains were discovered in the Abbey of Glastonbury, in the year 1189, the people from their idea that prowess always corresponded with size of limb fancied that his bones were of gigantic frame.*

The court of Arthur was supposed to be the seminary of military discipline of knights of all countries; and it was thought that his hundred and fifty† good

* Giraldus says, that the leg-bone of Arthur was three fingers longer than that of the tallest man present at the opening. Selden, in his Illustrations of Drayton, gives a very interesting account of the discovery of Great Arthur's tomb. "Henry II., in his expedition towards Ireland, was entertained by the way, in Wales, with bardish songs, wherein he heard it affirmed, that in Glastonbury (made almost an isle by the river's embracements) Arthur was buried betwixt two pillars; he gave commandment to Henry of Blois, then abbot, to make search for the corpse: which was found in a wooden coffin some sixteen foote deepe; but, after they had digged nine foot, they found a stone, on whose lower side was fixt a leaden cross with his name inscribed, and the letter-side of it turned to the stone. He was then honoured with a sumptuous monument; and, afterwards, the skulls of him and his wife Guinever were taken out (to remain as separate reliques and spectacles) by Edward Longshanks and Eleanor. The bards sang, that, after the battle of Camlan, in Cornwall, where traitorous Mordred was slain, and Arthur wounded, Morgan la Fay conveyed the body hither to cure it; which done, Arthur is to return (yet expected) to the rule of his country."

† At the high feast, evermore, there should be fulfilled the whole number of a hundred and fifty, for then it was the Round Table fully accomplished. Morte de Arthur, lib. viii., c. 1.

companions felt it their chief devoir to protect widows, maidens, and orphans,* not only in England, but in every country whither they might be invited. They were champions of the public weal, and like lions repulsed the enemies of their country. It was their duty to advance the reputation of honour, and suppress all vice, to relieve people afflicted by adverse fortune, to fight for the holy church, and protect pilgrims. They were likewise supposed to be enjoined to bury soldiers that wanted sepulture, to deliver prisoners, ransom captives, and heal men who had been wounded in the service of chivalry and their country. Independently of these patriotic and humane charges, they were thought to have formed a standing court for the redress of injuries; for Arthur, in case of any complaint being laid before him, was bound to send one of his knights to redress it.

The virtues of the knights of the Round Table were the mirror in which the chivalry of England arrayed themselves. These virtues are admirably described in the lamentation of Sir Ector over the dead body of Sir Launcelot of the Lake, the prowest of all the companions of Arthur: — "Thou wert never matched of none earthly knight's hands; and thou wert the curtiest knight that ever bare shield; and thou wert the truest friend to thy lover that ever bestrode horse; and thou wert the truest lover of a sinful man that ever loved woman; and thou wert the kindest man that ever struck with sword; and thou wert the goodliest person that ever came among press of knights; and thou wert the meekest man and the gentlest that ever ate in hall among ladies; and thou wert the sternest knight to thy mortal foe that ever put sphere in the rest."* Next in rank to Sir Launcelet was his friend Sir Tristram, the history of whose emprises and love entered so largely into the fancies and conversation of our ancestors. Then came Sir Gawaine, a nephew of Arthur, the bright exemplar of courtesy, the virtue which was so highly prized in chivalric times. Chaucer makes a very pleasing allusion to him in his Squire's Tale. Describing the entrance of the strange knight, our old bard says that he

> "Saluëth king and lordes alle
> By order as they sat in the hall,
> With so high reverence and observance,
> As well in speech as in his countenance,
> That Gawain with his old courtesy,
> Though he were come agen out of faerie,
> Ne coude him not amenden with a word."

The most prominent of all the chivalric virtues which the institutions of Arthur shadowed forth was that of fraternity; for it was believed that round one vast and mysterious table, the gift of the enchanter Merlin, Arthur and all his peerage sat in perfect equality; and to this idea may be traced the circumstance that the friendly familiarity of a chivalric round table broke down the iron distinctions of feudal haughtiness, and not only "mitigated kings into companions, but raised private men to be fellows with kings." Localities unlock the gates of memory, whether the stores within be treasured there by imagination or the sterner powers of the mind; and with a more serious interest than that with which the modern traveller follows Don Quixote in the Sierra Morena our ancestors were wont to mark Winchester and Windsor, Camelot in Somersetshire, Carlion in Monmouthshire, where

> "Uther's son,
> Begirt with British and Armoric knights,"

held his solemn feasts about the Round Table.

Many of the orders whose histories fill the pages of works on knighthood have no claims to their places; for they were only associations of cavaliers without

* The general objects of the knights of the Round Table are exceedingly well stated in the following fine passage of genuine, expressive old English: — "Then King Arthur stablished all his knights, and to them that were of lands not rich he gave them lands, and charged them never to do outrageouste, nor murder, and always to flee treason. Also by no means to be cruel, but to give mercy unto him that asketh mercy, upon pain of forfeiture of their worship and lordships to King Arthur, for evermore; and always to do ladies, damsels, and gentlewomen, succour, upon pain of death. Also, that no man take no battles in a wrongful quarrel for no law, nor for no world's goods. Unto this were all the knights sworn of the table round, both old and young. And every year were they sworn at the high feast of Pentecost." Morte d'Arthur, lib. iv., c. last.

* Morte d'Arthur, lib. ult., cap. ult.

royal or pontifical authority, and wearing no badge or cross, except in the imagination of the writer. Only one of these fraternities merits mention here. The Society de la Calza (of the Stocking) was formed at Venice in the year 1400, to the honour of the inauguration of the Doge, Michele Steno. The employments of the members were conversation and festivity; and so splendid were the entertainments of music and dancing, that the gay spirits of other parts of Italy anxiously solicited the honour of seats in the society. All their statutes regarded only the ceremonies of the ball or the theatre; and the members being resolved on their rigorous performance, took an oath in a church to that tendency. They had banners and a seal like an authorized order of knighthood. Their dress was as splendid and elegant as Venetian luxury and taste could fashion it; and, consistently with the singular custom of the Italians of marking academies and other intellectual associations by some external signs of folly, the members when they met in literary discussion were distinguished by the colours of their stockings. The colours were sometimes fantastically blended, and at other times one colour, particularly the *blue*, prevailed. The Society de la Calza lasted till the year 1590,* when the foppery of Italian literature took some other symbol. The rejected title then crossed the Alps, and found a congenial soil in the flippancy and literary triflings of Parisian society, and particularly branded female pedantry as the strongest feature in the character of French pretension. It diverged from France to England, and for a while marked the vanity of the small advances in literature of our female coteries. But the propriety of its application is now gradually ceasing; for we see in every circle that attainments in literature can be accomplished with no loss of womanly modesty. It is in this country, above all others, that knowledge asserts her right of general dominion, or contends that if she be the sustaining energy of one sex, she forms the lighter charm, the graceful drapery of the other.

* Ashmole, p. 105.

CHAPTER VIII.

PROGRESS OF CHIVALRY IN ENGLAND, FROM THE NORMAN CONQUEST TO THE CLOSE OF THE REIGN OF EDWARD II.

Chivalry connected with Feudalism.—Stipendiary Knights.—Knighthood a compulsory Honour.—Fine Instance of Chivalry in the Reign of Edward I.—Effect of Chivalry in Stephen's Reign.—Troubadours and Romance Writers in the Reign of Henry II.—Chivalric Manners of the Time.—Cœur de Lion the first Chivalric King.—His Knightly Bearing.—John and Henry III.—Edward I.—His Gallantry at a tournament.—His unchivalric Cruelties.—He possessed no knightly Courtesy.—Picture of ancient Manners.—Edward II.—Chivalric Circumstance in the Battle of Bannockburn.—Singular Effect of Chivalry in the Reign of Edward II.

In the first chapter we traced, by the help of the few lights which yet remain, the rise of chivalry in Europe. We may now mark its progress, and, in order to avoid the inconvenience of frequent transitions, it will be better to follow the historical train in each chivalric country, than to attempt to form one general collection of knightly events. And first, of its influence in England.

Many chivalric principles and customs were known to the Anglo-Saxons,* and affected, in some degree, the character of the nation.† Many of the elements of chivalry were brought into England by the Normans, and, in the course of time, they were framed, by the energy which was involved in them, into a fair and noble system. The adventurousness of knighthood comported well with a people who, quitting the inhospitable shores of Scandinavia, had impressed their conquests on France, Italy, and even Greece. The Norman nation was one vast brotherhood, and therefore it was natural for them to nourish the principles of chivalric fraternity.‡ It is re-

* Pp. 14, 15, 16, ante.

† The exact degree of this influence it is impossible to ascertain now. The author of the romance of Ivanhoe appears to deny it altogether; and while he represents the Normans as perfectly chivalric, he describes, for the sake of contrast, the Anglo-Saxons as totally undorned with the graces of knighthood. This is a sacrifice of historic truth to dramatic effect, and materially detracts from the merit of Ivanhoe as a faithful picture of ancient manners.

‡ Glaber Rod, c. 5.

corded of them that they brought from the north a love of splendour, and having learned courtesy of manner from the French, they were fitted to admire the shows and the gallantry of knighthood.* They affected, indeed, to despise the religious parts of the Saxon ceremonies of initiation into knighthood, but they soon adopted them; for we find that William Rufus himself was knighted by Archbishop Lanfrank.†

Chivalry became established as part of the national constitution when William the Conqueror divided the country into about sixty thousand knights' fees, with the tenure of military service. The clergy, as well as the laity, were compelled to furnish armed knights, on horseback, as the price of their possessions, when the king went abroad against his enemies; and, consequently, knights became attached to every ecclesiastical foundation. These servants of the church were generally younger members of baronial families; and as there was constant occasion for them, chivalry became a military profession. In England, as in every country, the feudal array was found insufficient for foreign wars, and wide-spread domestic rebellions; for few contests could be finished in forty days,—and that was the brief space which, in the earliest simplicity of feudal times, had been fixed for the duration of military service. As petty states swelled into kingdoms, and their public operations became extensive, many a martial enterprise was broken up before achievement, because the time of service had expired. So frequent were the calls on the holders of knights' fees, that they were glad to compromise for attendance by pecuniary penalties. The sovereigns were exorbitant in their exactions, in order to be able to pay the stipendiary substitutes; but one of the most important provisions of Magna Charta gave to parliament alone the power of imposing this escuage or military tax.‡ When the custom of escuage arose is a matter which no antiquarian researches have settled. The clause in Magna Charta shows not only its existence, but its being used as an instrument of tyranny; and under this aspect of chivalric history, the reign of John is important. Most of these stipendiary subsidiaries were knights, with their equipments of men-at-arms and archers; and the sovereign was accustomed to contract with his barons for their attendance upon him in his foreign expeditions. Chivalry and feudal tenure were, therefore, no longer convertible terms; yet the spirit of knighthood long survived the decay of the forms of feudal obligation; for the practice of escuage was fully established in the days of Edward III.; and that was the brightest era of English chivalry.

In England, knighthood was always regarded as the necessary distinction of people of some substance and estate.* In the reigns of our three first Edwards, the qualification for knighthood varied from land of the yearly value of forty to that of fifty pounds. The King was the sovereign and supreme judge of chivalry, and he might confer knighthood on whomsoever he chose. He could compel men of worth to be knights, for knighthood was honourable to the kingdom. Like the performance of every other duty in all states of society, that of knighthood could be commuted for by money; and the royal invitation to honour was so extensive as to be inconvenient; for a statute was passed in the reign of Edward II., whereby the King respited for some time the payment of the fines of such persons whose station in the world made knighthood a necessary part of their consequence. Besides all these ways of forming the knighthood of England, must be added the custom of elevating to chivalric dignities men who had gained renown by martial exploits. This was indeed a mode more pure in principle, and, therefore, more honourable than any we have mentioned.

The military necessities of many of our sovereigns favoured the growth of chivalry. William Rufus invited to his court the proudest cavaliers from every

* Snorre, Malmsbury, p. 174.

† Ingulf, p. 512. Order, Vit. p. 460, 463, &c. Malmsbury, passim. Dudo, p. 82.

‡ Magna Charta, cl. xiv.

* Lord Lyttleton gives no higher date to this compulsory knighthood than the reign of Henry III. But it surely must have existed earlier, as it seems the natural consequence of the change of constitution, effected by William I.; by his uniting chivalry to feudalism.

country ;* for as his father had effected the subjugation of Harold not merely by the feudal force of Normandy, but by hired soldiers, it was the natural policy of the kings of the Norman line to attach to their person valiant men who were not connected by ties of nature with the people.

The principles and feelings of chivalry were firmly established in England in the reign of Henry I., and gave the tone and character to our foreign military warfare. This state of things is proved in an interesting manner by a circumstance that occurred during the war of Henry with Louis the French king. The reader remembers that the latter had espoused the cause of William, the son of Robert, Henry's elder brother, who was kept by his uncle from his rightful inheritance of Normandy. The chivalric anecdote is this. The two armies were approaching each other near Audelay, when, instead of rushing to the conflict with their whole masses, five hundred knights on the English side, and four hundred on the French, prepared for an encounter, a joust to the utterance. About eighty Normans, friends of the French king, charged the centre of Henry's line with true chivalric fire. The English monarch was severely wounded in the head, but the Normans could not pierce the firm line of the English, and they were all taken prisoners. The three hundred remaining knights of Louis made a fine attempt to redeem their companions in arms. Again the English line was impenetrable, and the recoil of the shock scattered the French. Henry's soldiers now were assailants; and so fiercely did they press their advantage, that even the French king scarcely escaped with life.†

The knightly character had an important effect on England during the troublous reign of Stephen. As he was deserted by his barons, he called in foreign cavaliers to assist him in his resistance to the Empress Maud. Their valour was rewarded by the grant of estates; and thus a new order of nobility arose to shake the arrogance of the old; and new opinions, feelings, and manners, became blended with English habits.

The arms of chivalry grew rusty in the long and unwarlike reign of Henry II.; but many of the milder graces of knighthood were cultivated in consequence of the love of letters entertained by the sovereign and his queen. The Troubadours found royal, and, from the force of example, noble, patronage in England; and, however offensive to a clasic ear their conceits and bombast may sound, yet, since they treated love as an affair of the fancy rather than as an appetite, they contributed to purify the manners of the age. By another channel, literature promoted the cause of arms. Romance, with her bold fictions and splendid colouring, inspired the tamest hearts with the love of adventure. Such of the traditions and fables regarding Arthur and the knights of the Round Table as dwelt in the memory of the people of Brittany (that ancient colony of England) were collected by an Arch-deacon Walter, of Oxford, and formed part of a Latin history of Great Britain that was written in the time of Henry I. by Jeffry of Monmouth. Wace, the translator-general of the age, turned it into Anglo-Norman verse, mingling with it all the stories of his hero that were floating in the English mind. The subject was fitted to the martial taste of the time; and as the book was now rendered into the language of the upper classes of life, it found its way into the baronial hall and the lady's bower. This was the earliest of the French metrical romances; and before the close of the twelfth century nothing was read by the nobility but romances of Arthur and his knights. And the sports and exercises of the time nourished the chivalric spirit. A writer of those days has given us a graphic description of them. "Every Sunday in Lent, immediately after dinner, crowds of noble and sprightly youths, mounted on war-horses, admirably trained to perform all their turnings and evolutions, ride into the fields in distinct

* Wace tells us that William Rufus never could hear a knight of prowess spoken of without endeavouring to engage his services.

"Li reis ros fu de grant noblesce
Proz, et de mult grant largesce.
N'oist de chevalier parler,
Qui de proesse oist loer,
Qui en son breif escrit ne fust,
Et qui par an del soen n'eust."

† Huntingdon, p. 381. Order. Vit., 854, &c.

bands, armed with lances and shields, and exhibit representations of battles, and go through all their martial exercises. Many of the young nobility, who have not yet received the honour of knighthood, issue from the king's court, and from the houses of bishops, earls, and barons, to make trial of their courage, strength, and skill in arms. The hope of victory rouses the spirits of these noble youths; their fiery horses neigh and prance, and champ their foaming bits. At length the signal is given, and the sports begin. The youths, divided into opposite bands, encounter one another. In one place some fly, and others pursue, without being able to overtake them. In another place, one of the bands overtakes and overturns the other."*

Martial daring, thus fostered and promoted, broke out with fresh vigour in the reign of Richard Cœur de Lion; and England, which hitherto had but partially and occasionally engaged in the crusades, now took up those sacred and perilous enterprises with the ardour of the French. Richard was the first king of England of knightly character; for I cannot, with some writers, place William Rufus among our chivalric sovereigns. I cannot with them see any thing magnanimous in his receiving under his banners an enemy's soldier who had unhorsed him, and who had forborne to slay him because he had declared himself king of England. The conduct of the soldier merited reward; and William acted only with common selfishness in taking so good a soldier into his service. Rufus had mere brutal courage, but that quality was not the character of chivalry. His bravery was not directed either by religion or the love of fame, nor was it tempered into virtue by the charities of life. When, with Robert, he besieged his brother Henry in his castle, Rufus was guilty of one of the most unchivalric acts on record. Henry's supply of water was exhausted, and he solicited some from his brothers on the true knightly principle that valour should decide a triumph, and that it was unworthy a soldier's pride to gain a victory merely by the circumstance of his antagonists being in want of the common necessaries of life. Robert, with fine chivalric generosity, supplied his brother, much to the regret of William, who ridiculed, and was angry at his simplicity.*

But in Richard the whole knightly character appeared in all its martial dignity and splendour. His courage was not the mere savage confidence in superior strength, but the fine display of chivalric exercises. Such was the might of his arm, and such the fierceness of his spirit, that he could sweep from the field whole squadrons of knights. When we see his javelin transfixing a Turk on the walls of Acre,† the exploits of Grecian heroes appear to be no longer poetical fictions; and when he appears on the plains of Palestine, grasping his lance, and riding from wing to wing of the Saracenian host without meeting an enemy who dared to encounter his career, the stories of Arthur and the Round Table seem the calm relations of truth.

No one was more attentive than Richard to the regulations of chivalry. In the course of his crusade he was assailed by some rustics, against whom it was unlawful for a knight to use his sword. He beat them with the flat part of it till it broke, and he then took up stones, and drove them away.‡

* Stephan. Descrip. Lond., p. 7.

* Malmsbury, p. 121.

† Vinesauf, p. 338.

‡ Hoveden, p. 678. This principle of chivalric pride did not escape the good-humoured ridicule of Cervantes. "As for myself," answered the bruised Don Quixote, after his battle with the Yanguesian carriers, "I must own I cannot set a term to the days of our recovery; but it is I who am the fatal cause of all this mischief; for I ought not to have drawn my sword upon a company of fellows, upon whom the honour of knighthood was never conferred; and I do not doubt, but that the Lord of Hosts suffered this punishment to befall me for thus transgressing the laws of chivalry. Therefore, friend Sancho, observe what I am going to tell thee, for it is a thing that highly concerns the welfare of us both: it is, that, for the future, whenever thou perceivest us to be any ways abused by such inferior fellows, thou art not to expect I should offer to draw my sword against them, for I will not do it in the least; no, do thou then draw, and chastise them as thou thinkest fit; but if any knights come to take their parts, then will I be sure to step between thee and danger, and assault them with the utmost vigour and intrepidity." Don Quixote, part i., book 3, c. 1.

Richard's mind was framed in the finest spirit of chivalric liberality. His largesses, both to his own soldiers and those of his ally, Philip Augustus, while in Sicily during their voyage to Palestine, were so magnificent, that it was acknowledged he had given more treasure in a month than his predecessors in a year.*

Like the knights of romance, he revelled in gorgeousness and splendour, and his court resounded with the minstrel's lay. One of the Provençal poets followed him into Palestine; nor did he entirely want the minds of others to soften into grace his martial spirit; for often his own fancy played with poetical images. In the history of chivalric amusements, Richard is an important character. All his predecessors in sovereignty had forbidden jousts and tournaments; and their absurd regulations had only been violated in the time of Stephen. When Richard was in the Holy Land, he observed the inferiority of the English chivalry to that of the French: his own knights were rude soldiers, with none of the dexterity and skill of their crusading brethren, which could only be acquired in tournaments, the schools of war. Richard broke through the jealousy of adopting foreign customs, and, like a politic monarch, he allowed and encouraged his soldiers to practice martial exercises.†

These circumstances, and the various other events of his chivalric life, which I have described at length in another work, complete the authentic character of our lion-hearted king, for I dare not invest the severe simplicity of history with those golden fictions which romance has delighted to throw over the story of his Eastern achievements.

There was nothing chivalric in the character and conduct of his brother and successor King John, or he would not have suffered the foreign possessions of England's crown to be wrested from it. In the reign of Henry III. the flame of chivalry was kept alive by some English knights, who assisted the Emperor in his Milanese wars, and whose prowess was the most distinguished of the day. The crusades to the Holy Land were not altogether forgotten; but the page of our history is marked with the peculiar disgrace that English knights assisted the French in their inhuman war on the Albigenses.

There was much of the chivalric character in Edward I. He was a diligent reader of the ancient romances; and, as soon as he was invested with knighthood, he went to foreign courts, in order that he might display his prowess.* For the sake of acquiring military fame, he exposed his person in the Holy Land, and, during his journey homeward, though ill and forespent with travel, he displayed remarkable heroism at a tournament in Savoy.† The challenger was the Count of Chalons; but if pontifical authority could have destroyed chivalry, the knights never would have met. The pope feared that some hostility was menaced, and earnestly dissuaded Edward from the tournament. He warned him of his danger; he exhorted him, as a son of the church, to decline these encounters, which the church had forbidden; and he added, that as Edward now was king, he might decline the challenge, as kings were not wont to risk their persons in these perilous shocks. But most of these reasons were so many stimulants of his courage: the more danger, the greater share of honour, and it was beneath the gallantry of his bearing to have thrown his rank as a shield before his knighthood. Followed by a thousand men at arms, and archers on horseback and on foot, Edward pressed his bounding steed upon the chosen plain, and the Count of Chalons met him with equal spirit, and nearly twice the number of companions. The English king soon found that no lofty courtesy, no love of chivalric exercises, had influenced the French lord. The graceful tournament soon became a deadly fray. The cause of honour triumphed, and the knights of Chalons were either slain or driven from the field. After many cavaliers on each side had been disabled, the lords of either host encountered. Their lances met and shivered; and if Chalons had been a courteous knight, he would have passed to the other end of the plain, and seized a new lance to continue his emprise; but,

* Hoveden, p. 687.
† William of Newbridge, lib. v., c. 4.

* M. of Westminster, p. 300.
† Walsingham, p. 13.

maddened at his weapon failing, he threw himself upon Edward, endeavouring to crush him by his prodigious weight. At that moment Edward's horse started forwards, and the Count was thrown on the ground. His companions raised him; but he was so much bruised by the fall that he cried for mercy. His conduct had put him without the pale of chivalry, and Edward, therefore, treated him like a base-born churl. He beat him with the flat part of his sword; and, refusing to take him as his prisoner, he compelled him to surrender himself to a man of mean condition.*

Edward's love of chivalric exercises was imitated by his nobility. Tournaments and jousts were held in various parts of the country; and Kenilworth is particularly marked as famous for its Round Table, to which knights from every nation flocked.† In his Scotch wars, therefore, his armies were not deficient in chivalric bravery. At the battle of Falkirk, the strength of the Scots was foot, as that of the English was horse; and the repeated charges of Edward's chivalry decided the fate of that memorable day. In his Welsh wars he had sullied his reputation for knightly generosity by making a public exhibition of the head of his worsted foe, Llewelyn ap Gryffyth, the last sovereign of Wales;‡ and his well-known conduct to Wallace betrayed such an absence of all nobleness of mind, that he forfeited his claims to knightly consideration. The beautiful parts, the embellishments of chivalry, were subservient to his ambition. Before his second war in Scotland he vowed, in Westminster abbey, by God, and also by two swans which were introduced into the assembly with great pomp and splendour, that he would punish the Scottish nation for their breach of faith, and for the death of Comyn. Nor did any of the courtesies of chivalry grace Edward: the queen of Bruce and her ladies fell into his power, and in defiance of all chivalric gallantry, he treated them as prisoners. There was something peculiarly ferocious in his treatment of the Countess of Buchan, who was also his captive. Her offence was, that she had crowned Bruce. Edward exclaimed, with the deliberation of malignity, "As she has not used the sword, she shall not perish by the sword; but for her lawless conspiracy, she shall be shut up in a stone and iron chamber, circular as the crown she gave; and at Berwick she shall be suspended in the open air, a spectacle to travellers, and for her everlasting infamy."* And the English Tamerlane did not relent.†

The close of the reign of Edward I. is remarkable for a very splendid scene illustrative of the ancient mode of creating knights, and of the chivalric manners of our forefathers. Before his last and fatal journey to Scotland, Edward caused proclamation to be made throughout England, that all persons who were entitled to the honour of knighthood by custom of hereditary succession, or who had estates sufficient to support the dignity, should, at the next feast of Pentecost, repair to Westminster, and that to every one would be delivered out of the King's wardrobe, at the King's expense, the festive and inauguratory dress of a knight.

Accordingly, at the time and place appointed, there was a fair and gallant

* Matt. of Westm., p. 402. Hemingford, p. 592.

† Walsingham, p. 8. Leland's Collectanea, p. 177.

‡ He sent the head up to London, adorned in derision with a silver crown, that it might be exhibited to the populace in Cheapside, and fixed upon the Tower. Knyghton, p. 2465. Mr. Sharon Turner (History of England, vol. ii., p. 44) judiciously contrasts the conduct of Edward with the reprimand of William the Conqueror, to the knight who had wounded the dead body of Harold.

* Matthew of Westminster, p. 460.

† The chamberlain of Scotland was directed by Edward I., A.D. 1306, to fit up one of the turrets of the castle of Berwick-upon-Tweed, and therein to build a strong cage, of lattice-work, constructed with stout posts and bars, and well strengthened with iron. The Countess was prohibited from speaking with any person, Scotch or English, except the keeper of the castle, and a woman or two of the town of Berwick, appointed by him to deliver her food. The sister of Robert Bruce was a prisoner at the same time, and treated in the same manner. Lord Hailes's observation on this passage is amusing. "To those who have no notion of any cage but one for a parrot or a squirrel, hung out at a window, I despair of rendering this mandate intelligible."

show of three hundred young gentlemen, sons of earls, barons, and knights, and among these aspirants to chivalry were distributed in ample measure, according to their different ranks, purple, fine linen, furs, and mantles embroidered with gold. The royal palace, though magnificently spacious, could not accommodate all these young esquires with their retinue of yeomen and pages. Many of them repaired to the New Temple, where, cutting down the trees and levelling the walls of the garden, they set up their tents and pavilions in brave emulation of actual war. They performed their vigils in the Temple church, while the Prince of Wales, by command of the King his father, passed the night in prayer in Westminster Abbey.

On the following day, the King invested his son with the military belt, and assigned to him the duchy of Aquitaine. The Prince, being knighted, went to the Abbey that he might confer the like military honour on his companions. So close was the press of spectators round the high altar, that two knights were stifled, and several fainted, though each was supported by three knights of experienced prowess. The Prince, accompanied by his father and the chief nobility, at length reached the altar, and his guards made a passage for his friends to receive knighthood at his hands. After he had dubbed and embraced them all, his attendants introduced two swans covered with golden nets, which were adorned and embossed with studs of gold. This was the most joyous part of the ceremony in the eyes of the people, and their rude and joyous shouts drowned the clangor of the trumpets. The King, as before stated, vowed by heaven and the swans that he would go to Scotland, and even if he should die in the enterprise, he would avenge the death of Comyn and the violated faith of the Scots. He then adjured the Prince and the nobles, and his band of knights by their fealty and chivalry, that if he should die in his journey to Scotland, they would carry his body forwards, and never bury it till his son had established his dominion. Every heart assented to this high resolve, and the ceremony closed. The knights were feasted that day at the royal palace; and while they were quaffing muscadel in honour of chivalry and the ladies, the minstrels in their songs reminded them of their duty to pledge themselves before the swans to perform some rare feats of arms. The Prince vowed that he would never rest two nights in one place until he had performed his father's high behests; and the other knights made various vows for the promotion of the same object.*

The defeat of the English chivalry at the battle of Bannockburn, (24th June, 1315,) was the most remarkable circumstance in the reign of Edward II. On the preceding day, Douglas† and Sir Robert Keith, marshal of Scotland, were despatched by Robert Bruce from the main body of his army to descry whether the enemy was approaching.

"And soon the great host have they seen,
Where shields shining were so sheen,
And basinets burnished bright,
That gave against the sun great light,
They saw so fele‡ brawdyne§ banners,
Standards, and pennons, and spears,
And so fele‡ knights upon steeds,
All flaming in their weeds.
And so fele‡ batailles,‖ and so broad,
And too so great room as they rode
That the maist host, and the stoutest
Of Christendom, and the greatest
Should be abayit,¶ for to see
Their foes into such quantity."
The Bruce, vol. ii., p. 111.

The English vanguard, commanded by the Earls of Gloucester and Hereford, soon came in general sight. The appearance of Edward's army is described by Barbour in a rich chivalric style.

"The sun was bright, and shined clear,
And armouris that burnished were,
So blomyt,** with the sun's beam,
That all the land were in a leme††
Banners right fairly flawinand,‡‡
And pensels to the wind wawand.§§
Barbour, xi. 188—193.

Bruce was riding on a palfrey and marshalling his men, when Sir Henry de Bohun started from the opposite host, and careered his horse against him. Sir Henry was a fierce rather than a gallant

* Matthew of Westminster, p. 457, &c. Trevet, p. 343.

† This was the good Lord James of Douglas, of whom see p. 72, ante.

‡ Many. § Displayed.
‖ Battalions. ¶ Alarmed.
** Gleamed. †† Flame of fire.
‡‡ Flowing. §§ Waving.

knight, or he would not have pressed his war-steed upon a foe who was riding on a palfrey.* But his want of chivalric gallantry was justly punished.

" And when Glosyter and Hertfurd were,
With their battle approaching near,
Before them all there come riding,
With helm on head and spear in hand,
Sir Henry Boune, the worthy,
That was a wight knight, and a hardy,
And to the Earl of Hertfurd cousin;
Armed in arms good and fine;
Come on a steed, a bow-shot nere,
Before all other that there were.
And knew the King, for that he saw
Him so range his men in row:
And by the crown, that was set
Also upon his bacinet,
And towards him he went on haste.
And the King so apertly
Saw him come, forth all his feres†
In hy‡ to him the horse he steers.
And when Sir Henry saw the King
Come on frouting abaysing,§
To him he rode in full great hy‖
He thought that he should well lightly
Win him and have him at his will,
Since he him horsed saw so ill.
Sprent¶ they came unto a ling,**
Sir Henry missed the noble king.
And he, that in his stirrups stood,
With the axe, that was hard and good,
With so great mayn†† reached him a dint,
That neither hat nor helm might stynt,
The hewy dusche‡‡ that he him gave,
That near the head to the harness clave.
The hand-axe shaft fruschyt§§ in tow;
And he down to the yird gan go
All flatlyngs‖‖ for him failed might.
This was the first stroke of the fight."
Barbour, vol. ii., p. 122.

* Sir Walter Scott has made King Edward the author of this unknightly conduct.

" 'Knows't thou,' he said, 'De Argentine,
Yon knight who marshals thus their line?'—
'The token on his helmet tell
The Bruce my liege: I know him well.'—
'And shall the audacious traitor brave
The presence where our banners wave?'—
'So please my liege,' said Argentine,
'Were he but hors'd on steed like mine,
To give him fair and knightly chance,
I would adventure forth my lance.'—
'In battle-day,' the King replied,
'Nice tourney rules are set aside,
— Still must the rebel dare our wrath?
Set on—sweep him from our path.'
And as King Edward's signal, soon
Dash'd from the ranks Sir Henry Boune.'
The Lord of the Isles, canto vi., st. 14.

† Companions.
‡ Haste.
§ Without shrinking.
‖ Haste.
¶ Spurred.
** Line.
†† Moan.
‡‡ Heavy clash.
§§ Broken.
‖‖ Flat.

The fine generousness of chivalry was very nobly displayed in another circumstance which preceded the great battle. It was a main object with the English to throw succours into the castle of Stirling; and Edward, therefore, commanded Sir Robert Clifford and eight hundred horsemen to make a circuit by the low grounds to the east, and approach the castle. Bruce, in anticipation of the Englishman's purpose, had charged Randolph, who commanded his left wing, to prevent Stirling from being relieved; and when he saw the English troops holding on their gallant course unchecked, he cried, "A rose has fallen from thy chaplet, Randolph,"* and bitterly reproached him for his want of vigilance. Nothing but the utmost desperateness of valour could efface this shame; and gathering round him a few hundred bold spirits, the Scottish general advanced against the English. Clifford, in his pride of chivalry, thought that he could soon disperse a band of lightly-armed troops of foot-soldiers, who were now being marshalled into a circle with their spears resting on the ground, the points protruded on every side. The English charged, but the resistance was more gallant than what they had foreseen. Still, however, the Scots seemed gradually sinking under the force of numbers; and Douglas, who saw the peril, requested the King's permission to go and join him. "You shall not move from your ground," cried the King: "let Randolph extricate himself as he best may. I will not alter my order of battle, and lose the advantage of my position." But Douglas reiterated his request, and wrung leave from the King. He flew to the assistance of his friend. But before he reached him he saw that the English were falling into disorder, and that the perseverance of Randolph had prevailed over their impetuous courage. "Halt," cried Douglas, like a generous knight; "these brave men have repulsed the enemy; let us not diminish their glory by sharing it."

* "For the king had said him rudely,
That a rose off his chaplet
Has fallen; for quhar* he was set
To kep the way these men were past."
Barbour, vol. ii., p. 545—548.
* Where.

Of the battle of Bannockburn itself, little need be said by me, because there was not much chivalric character about it. Some historians describe the defeat of the English as having been principally occasioned by the Scottish cavalry throwing the rear of their archers into confusion. Others affirm that Bruce, seeing the inadequacy of his own cavalry to cope with that of the English, formed the battles or divisions of his army entirely of foot-soldiers, and dug trenches before his line, slightly covering them with turf and hurdles. The gallant knights of England, with the sun streaming on their burnished helms and gilt shields, advanced to charge the bristled front of the Scots; but the turf sunk beneath the pressure of their horses' feet, and men and their steeds lay at the mercy of their enemy. One or other of these circumstances turned the event of the battle, and the Scotch reserve being judiciously brought up, completed the victory. In every way the generalship of Bruce was admirable: but the fate of the battle reflects nothing upon the personal character of the English chivalry; for they were not worsted in an encounter of lance to lance, and horse to horse. The bravery of one English knight must not pass unrecorded. Sir Giles D'Argentyn, upon seeing some of his friends around him pause in alarm, cried that he was not used to fly, and spurring his war-steed into the thickest of the press, gallantly perished. Nor was this a solitary instance of courage; and even Edward seemed for a moment to be inspired with the fire of the Plantagenets. He dashed into the enemy's lines, and was by force drawn away by the Earl of Pembroke, when courage was evidently unavailing.*

Though the chivalric character was only for one moment of his life sustained by Edward II., yet it was too deeply fixed in the national mind to die on account of its neglect by any particular monarch. There is a singular circumstance on record illustrative of the power of this feeling. During his war with the barons, which his system of unprincipled favouritism had provoked, one of the lords refused the Queen the hospitality of his castle. This act of individual insult had general consequences. Disgusted with a cause which was blended with so much uncourtesy, barons and knights immediately flocked round the standard of the King; his arms completely triumphed, and the Spencers were recalled.*

* Mon. Malms., p. 149, &c. Moor, p. 594. Fordun, vol. xii., p. 20. Scala Chronica, p. 547. Dalrymple, vol. ii., p. 45, &c.

CHAPTER IX.

STATE OF CHIVALRY IN ENGLAND DURING THE REIGN OF EDWARD THE THIRD.

Tournaments.—The Round Table.—Order of the Garter.—Courtesy of Edward.—Prevalence of Chivalric Taste among all Classes.—English Archers.—The Black Prince.—Story of the King's Chivalry.—England regarded as the Seat of Honour.—Instance of this.—Chivalric Heroes in this Reign.—The Gestes and Prowesses of Sir Walter Manny.—Chivalric Vow of Sir Walter.—He fights for the Love of his Lady.—His Rescue of two Brother Knights.—Instance of his joyous adventurousness.—His Gallantry before Auberoche.—His filial piety.—Story of chivalric Manners.—The Gentle disposition of Manny.—His Importance at Edward's Court.—His remarkable Sagacity.—His Liberality.—His Death in 1372.—Buried in the Charter-House.—Heroism of Sir James Audley.—His Generosity.—Memoir of Sir John Chandos.—His Gallantry to Ladies.—Amusing instance of the Pride of Knighthood.—The importance of his Counsel at Poictiers.—His Exploits in Brittany.—And in Spain.—Is made a Knight Banneret.—Quits the Black Prince.—But returns.—The remarkable Generousness of his Conduct to Lord Pembroke.—The last Circumstance of his Life.—General Grief at his Death.

The sun of English chivalry reached its meridian in the reign of Edward III., for the King and the nobles all were knightly, and the image of their character was reflected in the minds of the people.†

* Trokelowe in Hearne, p. 52. Moor in Camden, Angl. Norm. p. 595.

† Warton (History of English Poetry, vol. i., p. 118, note, 8vo.) notices a passage in Piers Plowman, which shows how the reigning passion for chivalry infected the ideas and expressions of the writers of this period. The poet is describing the crucifixion, and speaking of the person who pierced our Saviour's side with a spear. This person our author calls a *knight*, and says, that he came forth *with his spear in hand and justed with Jesus*. Afterwards, for

Tournaments and jousts, for the amusement and in honour of the ladies, were the universal fashion of the time. In little more than one year, chivalric solemnities were held with unparalleled magnificence at Litchfield, Bury, Guildford, Eltham, Canterbury, and twice at Windsor.* The gay character of Edward and his court was pleasingly displayed in the spring of the year 1359, three years after the battle of Poictiers. A solemn tournament of three days' duration was proclaimed in London, and the lord mayor, sheriffs, and aldermen, proposed to keep the field against all comers. The time arrived, the martial games were held, and all the honour of arms appeared to be of right due to the officers of the city. The victors then threw aside their shields and surcoats impressed with the city's bearings, removed their bevers, and King Edward, the Black Prince, the princes Lionel, John, and Edmund, and nineteen noble barons, were recognised.†

The round table at Kenilworth already mentioned was not a solitary instance of the love of romantic grandeur and gallantry among the people of England. Mortimer kept a round table of knights in Wales professedly in imitation of Arthur.‡ And afterwards Edward III. endeavoured to realise the golden imaginations of fable which had assigned one hundred and fifty knights as the complement of Arthur's chivalry.§ We are assured that the round table which Edward established at Windsor in 1344 described a circumference of six hundred feet: but it is more interesting to know that the nobility and knighthood of France, Germany, Spain, and other countries flocked to England on the invitation of the King, and that the chivalric bands at Windsor were graced by the presence of Queen Philippa and three hundred English ladies, who, in honour of the friendly union of knights, were all arrayed in splendid dresses of one form and fashion, and looked like the sisters of a military order. Policy was mixed with chivalric pride in Edward's plan; for he wished to retain in his service some of the foreign knights who repaired to the tournament at Windsor. But his intention to strengthen his chivalry was defeated by his rival Philip of Valois, who established also a round table, to which the cavaliers of the Continent could more easily repair than to that of Edward.* The knights of France were expressly forbidden by their king to attend the festivities of the round table at Windsor. The English monarch found, too, that he could not secure the attachment of stranger knights. That great chivalric principle, the companionship in weal or wo of men forming one society, was never regarded by them. Edward's table at Windsor was surrounded by gay cavaliers, who talked and sang of war and love, and then merrily returned to their own country full of courtesy to their royal host for his gallant bearing, but not disposed to renounce the chivalric associations of their native land. Edward then changed his design, and wished to establish an order of merit, that so "true nobility, after long and hazardous adventures, should not enviously be deprived of that honour, which it hath really deserved, and that active and hardy youth might not want a spur in the profession of virtue, which is to be esteemed glorious and eternal."† He accordingly assembled the nobility and knighthood of his realm, and showed them his intention of forming an especial brotherhood of knights, to be called Knights of the blue Garter, and of ordaining that a feast should be kept yearly at Windsor, on Saint George's day. The barons and cavaliers of Eng-

doing so base an act as that of wounding a dead body, he is pronounced a disgrace to *knighthood*, and our *champion chevaler chyese knight* is ordered to yield himself recreant. fol. 88, b. So, too, in the Morte d'Arthur, Joseph of Arimathea is called the gentle knight that took down Jesus from the cross.

* Warton, vol. ii., p. 86.

† Barnes's Edward III., p. 564.

‡ Leland, Collect., vol. ii., p. 476.

§ Arthur went to his mete with many other kings. And there were all the knights of the Round Table except those that were prisoners, or slain at a recounter, thenne at the high feast evermore they should be fulfilled the hole nombre of an hundred and fifty, for then was the Round Table fully accomplished. Morte d'Arthur. The tale of Sir Gauth of Orkeney, c. 1. And see Index to this work, Article "Round Table."

* Walsingham, sub anno 1344. Ashmole on the Order of the Garter, cap. v., s. 2.

† Preface to the Black Book of the Order of the Garter.

land joyously agreed to his pleasure; for they were animated by this encouragement to military feats, and they saw that great amity and love would grow and increase among them. Twenty-five of the most valiant men of the kingdom were then chosen.*

The most noble order of Saint George, named the Garter, had, therefore, its origin in romance, in the wish to restore the chivalric dignity and splendour of ancient Britain. That view was afterwards blended with objects of policy which also were soon abandoned, and a fraternity of companions in arms was established for the promotion of chivalric honour. But though gallantry did not, as is commonly thought, actually found the order, yet perhaps it caused the union to receive the last clause of its title. Froissart describes the passion of Edward for the Countess of Salisbury, but is altogether silent on the story of her garter, a silence decisive of the incorrectness of the vulgar tale; for Froissart was intimately acquainted with the court of the English king, and his attention was always awake to circumstances of a gallant and romantic nature. It was quite in the spirit of those days for a band to be regarded as an excellent symbol of the friendly union which ought to exist between the knights companions; and if love had not been a chief feature in chivalry, the order might have been only called the Order of the Band. But gallantry came in, and claimed some share of chivalric honours. Ages of fastidious delicacy would have thought of a zone or girdle, but our simple minded ancestors regarded the garter as the wished for symbol. The well known motto of the Garter (*Honi soit qui mal y pense*) seems to apply, as Sir Walter Scott conjectures, to the misrepresentations which the French monarch might throw out respecting the order of the Garter, as he had already done concerning the festival of the round table.†

On the collar of the order something should be said. Warton appears to think that the earliest collar worn by the knights of the Garter was a duplication of the letter S, in allusion to the initial letter of the fair lady's name who, he supposes, gave rise to the fraternity of the most noble order of the Garter. But in truth no evidence exists that originally the members of the order wore any collar at all as knights of the Garter, though they certainly wore golden collars in their character of knights bachelors and knights banneret.

The favourite badge of the Lancastrian family was the letter S, sometimes single, and sometimes double, and the golden collar of esses became in time the general collar of English knights, and the silver collar of esses was worn by squires. The letter S was the initial letter of the sentence, "*Soveigne vous de moy.*" This was a very favourite motto in the fourteenth century, and was afterwards frequently introduced into collars which were formed of the fleur-de-souvenance, the forget-me-not of modern times. Whether at any period the golden collar of esses distinguished the knights of the Garter we know not. The collar worn in the present days, composed of garters with the image of Saint George dependent thereon, cannot be traced higher than the reign of Henry VIII.

The order was founded in honour of God, the Virgin Mary, Saint George the Martyr, and Saint Edward, king and confessor. The two saints were regarded as the particular patrons of the knights companions. The person that our an-

* Walsingham, p. 164. Froissart, c. 100.

† Supplement to the Encyclopædia Britannica, vol. iii., part 1, p. 139. As the story of Lady Salisbury's garter is fabulous, we must resort to some other conjectures for an explanation of the famous motto of the order, and the one cited in the text is extremely ingenious and plausible. With much less appearance of truth, Ashmole fancies that Edward by this motto reported shame and defiance upon him that should dare to think ill of so just an enterprise as he had undertaken for the recovery of his lawful right to the French crown (whose arms he had lately assumed); and that the magnanimity of these knights whom he had chosen into this order was such as would enable him to maintain that quarrel against all who durst think ill of it. Ashmole's Order of the Garter, p. 184. There never was a knight more fond of impresses, mottoes, and devices, than King Edward III. He not only stamped them upon his own armour and that of his horse, but on his apparel, beds and household furniture. "It is as it is," was one of these mottoes. Another was: —

"Ha! ha! the white swan,
By God's soul I am thy man."

cestors understood by the name Saint George is a point of doubt. Some modern writers have called him a sufferer in the persecutions of Diocletian, and others the flagitious George of Cappadocia, the Arian successor of Athanasius in the archbishoprick of Alexandria.* It is equally difficult to discover how the saint became invested with military glory. But, leaving such questions to martyrologists and legend-makers, it is sufficient for our purpose to observe that a person called Saint George was in very early ages regarded as the tutelary saint of England, and became therefore very naturally one of the heads of the new military order. His brother-protector Saint Edward soon fell from his lofty station: but at the time concerning which I am writing he was high in fame, for Edward III. was wont to invoke both him and the other patron-saint with perfect impartiality; and when he was cutting his way through a press of knights, one stroke of his sword was accompanied by the exclamation, "Ha, Saint Edward," and another by the cry, "Ha, Saint George."

To pursue, however, the general course of the chivalry of our Edward III. Nothing could be more beautiful than his courtesy on all occasions. It was particularly shown in his treatment of the hostages of the French king for the due performance of the treaty of Bretigny. He commanded his officers to deport themselves to those lords and their company courteously and favourably; and, accordingly, the French strangers sported without peril in London at their pleasure, and the great lords went hunting and hawking, and rode over the country, and visited ladies and damsels, without any control, so courteous and amiable was the King of England to them.* During all the tournaments that were held in his reign, he permitted his French, Scotch, and other prisoners, to share in the games, and sometimes he even furnished them with tourneying harness out of the royal armoury.†

The taste for chivalry among classes of people apparently little susceptible of its influence may be learned from the masquerading tournament of Edward; for knightly games must have been well known to the citizens of London, or the proclamation would not have been issued, that the lord mayor, aided by the court of aldermen and the sheriffs, would, on a certain day, hold a solemn tournament. The same taste was proved some years before, when the Black Prince entered London, with King John of France as his prisoner. The outsides of the houses were covered with hangings, wrought over with battles in tapestry, and the citizens exposed, in their shops, windows, and balconies, an incredible quantity of bows and arrows, shields, helmets, corselets, breast and back pieces, coats of mail, gauntlets, umbraces, swords, spears, battle-axes, armour for horses, and other armour.‡ It is also curious to notice, that on the evening preceding Candlemas-day, in the year 1377, one hunderd and thirty citizens of London, for the entertainment of the young prince, Richard, son of the nation's idol, the Black Prince, rode, disguised as knights, from Newgate to Kennington, where the court resided, attended with an innumerable multitude, bearing waxen torches, and playing various instruments of music.§

As the principal wars of Edward's time were waged with a chivalric people, the circumstances which surrounded them favoured the development of the chivalric qualities of the English character. I shall not repeat the political events of our glorious contests with France, nor describe, for the thousandth time, the battles of Cressy and Poictiers. but it may be mentioned, that the admirable marshalling of Edward's force on the field of Cressy was a high proof o his chivalric sageness, and mainly con-

* Gibbon is the chief supporter of the last hypothesis. In his text (vol. iv., c. 23), he states positively, that "the infamous George of Cappadocia has been transformed into the renowned St. George of England, the patron of arms, of chivalry, and the Garter." In a note, however, he observes that this transformation is not given as absolutely certain, but as extremely probable. Few people read this note, and, perhaps, Gibbon did not intend they should. He wished to strike their attention by the sentence in his text, and he satisfied his conscience for literary honesty by writing the modification at the bottom of the page.

* Froissart, c. 213. † Barnes, p. 444.
‡ Knyghton, Chron. col. 2615.
§ Stow's Chronicle.

tributed to his victory over the forces of the King of France.

The battles of Cressy and Poictiers, however, were not entirely gained by the chivalry of England: the bow was a most important weapon in the English army. It had characterised the Normans, and been mainly instrumental in winning for them the battle of Hastings. It was afterwards used by the small landholder, the tenant in soccage, and the general mass of the people, while the lance was the weapon of the lord and the knight. The bow was the emblem of freedom, and the pre-eminence of our archers show that the political condition of England was superior, in the fourteenth century, to that of any continental nation.*

The arrow was of the remarkable length of a cloth-yard. The expression in the old ballad of Chevy-Chase,

> "An arrow of a cloth-yard long
> Up to the head drew he,"

marks the usage of our early ancestors; and that sentence of Lear, in Shakspeare's play, "Draw me a clothier's yard," shows that in the sixteenth century the national character had not been lost. It was fostered by every proper means: by royal command archery was practised in towns on holidays, after church; while coits, cock-fighting, and amusements with the ball, were strictly prohibited. Other nations drew the bow with strength of arm, but Englishmen with their whole vigour: they laid their body in the bow,† as an old writer has forcibly expressed the usage; and when in amusement they were exercising their skill, eleven-score yards was the least distance at which the mark was set up. No one could better shoot an arrow than a yeoman in the days of Edward III.: they were the most powerful attendants which our knights could boast of.

> "A yeomen had he, and servants no mo,
> At that time, for him lust to ride so;
> And he was clad in coat and hood of green.
> A sheaf of peacock's arwes bright and keen
> Under his belt he bare full thriftily.
> Well coude he dress his takel yemanly.
> His arwes dropped not with feathers lowe,
> And in his hand he bare a mighty bowe.
> A not-hed* had he with a brown visage,
> Of Wood-craft coude he well all the usage.
> Upon his arm he bare a gay bracer,
> And by his side a sword and a bokeler;
> And on that other side a gay dagger,
> Harnessed well, and sharp as point of spere;
> A Cristofere on his breast of silver shene;
> An horn he bare, the baudrick was of green,
> A forster was he, soothly as I guess."†

The reader scarcely needs to be informed that the battle of Cressy by the French began with the confusion among the Genoese crose-bow men. The English archers then stepped forth one pace, and, as Froissart says, let fly their arrows so wholly, and so thick, that it seemed snow was piercing through heads, arms, and breasts. The French cavaliers rushed in to slay the Genoese for their cowardice, but the sharp arrows of the English slew them, and their horses too. The chivalry of the Black Prince decided the victory: the Earls of Flanders and Alençon broke through his archers, but deeper they could not penetrate: and in the personal conflict of the chivalries of the two nations, the English were conquerors.‡

At the battle of Poictiers, the English archers threw the French cavalry into confusion, by slaying the unmailed horses. True to say, as Froissart observes, the archers did their company that day great advantage; for when the Black Prince descended the hill on which he had posted himself, the archers were mingled with his chivalry, in true knightly fashion, and shot so closely to-

* "——These gallant yeomen,
England's peculiar and appropriate sons,
Known in no other land. Each boasts his hearth
And field as free as the best lord his barony,
Owing subjection to no human vassalage,
Save to their king and law. Hence are they resolute,
Leading the van on every day of battle,
As men who know the blessings they defend.
Hence are they frank and generous in peace,
As men who have their portion in its plenty.
No other kingdom shows such worth and happiness
Veil'd in such low estate."
Halidon Hill, act ii., sc. 2.

† This national characteristic is alluded to in Latimer's sermons, folio, 69,—a work not of very good promise for such matters.

* Hair cut short.

† Chaucer, Prologue to the Canterbury Tales, line 101, &c., &c.

‡ Froissart, c. 131.

gether, that none durst come within danger.*

The well.known conduct of the Black Prince to his prisoner, King John, after the battle—his waiting on him at table, saying that he was not sufficient to sit at the board with so great a man as the King—his riding through London to the Savoy, the French monarch mounted on a white and superbly equipped war-horse, while the Prince rode by his side on a little black palfrey—all this beautiful deportment proceeded from the modesty, the self-abasement of true chivalry, and from that kindly consideration which one knight always showed to his brother in arms.†

There were many circumstances in Edward's wars amply deserving of notice, as illustrative of national and personal character, but which have been passed over altogether, or but slightly regarded, by the general historians of England; some of whom, in their anxiety for chronological exactness, and others in their desire to make the matter in hand merely illustrative of a few political principles, have very ingeniously contrived to strip their subject of all its splendour, interest, and variety.

Three years after the battle of Cressy had given the town of Calais to the English, the Lord Geffray Charney, of France, endeavoured to regain it, by bribing the Governor, Amery de Puy, a Lombard. Edward, hearing of the treaty, sent for his officer from Calais to Westminster. When the King saw him, he took him apart, and said, "Thou knowest well I have given thee in keeping the thing in the world I love best next my wife and children, namely, the town and castle of Calais: and thou hast sold it to the Frenchmen; wherefore thou deservest to die."

Then the Lombard kneeled down, and said, "Noble king, I cry your mercy: it is true what you say; but, Sir, the bargain may well be broken, for as yet I have received never a penny."

The King, who had warmly loved the governor, replied, "Amery, I will that thou goest forward in thy bargain, and the day that thou appointest to deliver the town, let me have knowledge thereof before; and on this condition I forgive thee thy trespass."

Accordingly Amery returned to Calais, and continued the negotiation with Lord Geffray Charney. It was finally agreed between them that the surrender of Calais should take place on the night of the new year: and the governor, faithful to his allegiance, communicated the progress of the plot to Edward. The King immediately rode from London to Dover, with three hundred men-at-arms, and six hundred archers, and, crossing the sea, he reached Calais in the evening, and secretly lodged his men in the chambers and towers of the castle. He did not wish to head the emprise himself; and selecting Sir Walter Manny from his gallant band, as the prowest chevalier, he told him that he and his son, the Prince, would fight under his banner.

When the time for surrendering Calais approached, the Lord Geffray, having heard from Amery that matters were ripe, advanced from Arras, and sent before him twelve knights, and an hundred men-at-arms, to take possession of the castle. Amery admitted them over the bridge of the postern, receiving, at the same time, a bag containing twenty thousand crowns, the price of his treachery. He led the soldiers towards the donjon of the castle; and immediately King Edward and an hundred men, with swords and axes, furiously poured from it, shouting the war-cry, "Manny, Manny, to the rescue!" The Frenchmen were panic-struck by this wild sweep of war, and incontinently yielded themselves prisoners. Edward advanced to the Boulogne gate, where he found the Lord Geffray, who was anxiously expecting it to be opened; and his companions were driving away the tedious moments, by supposing that Amery, like a subtle and suspicious Lombard, was busy in counting his crowns.

The cry, "Manny to the rescue!" disturbed their jocularity, and grasping their swords, they saw a band of armed men issuing from the gate. In an instant the King, the Black Prince, the Staffords, the Suffolks, the Salisburys, the Beauchamps, the Berkeleys, all the

* Froissart, 163.

† Ibid., cc. 168, 174.

pride and flower of English chivalry stood before them. The Frenchmen did not decline the combat, and it was chivalrously maintained until a winter's return of morn. The English were finally victors. Of the single combats in which the cavaliers signified their valiancy, the fiercest occurred between the King and the Lord Eustace of Rybamount, a strong and hardy knight. Twice was Edward struck on his knees; but at last Eustace was worsted; and he yielded his sword to the King, saying, not knowing his royal quality, "Sir Knight, I yield me your prisoner."

The king treated his captives like brethren in arms, giving them a noble entertainment, and sitting at the table with them, while the Prince, the lords, and the knights of England, acted as attendants. After supper, and when the tables were removed, the King talked a while with his own knights, and then conversed with the Frenchmen. He gently reproved the Lord Geffray of Charney for an enterprise so unworthy of nobility and knighthood; and then going to Sir Eustace of Rybamount, he said to him, with all the fine frank joyousness of chivalry, "Sir Eustace, you are the knight in the world that I have seen most valiantly assail his enemies and defend himself; and I have never found a knight that ever gave me so much ado body to body as you have done this day, and therefore I give you the prize above all the knights of my own court." The King thereupon took from his head a chaplet of pearls, fair, goodly, and rich, and presented it to the knight, with the remark, "Sir Eustace, I give you this chaplet, for the best doer in arms this day of either party, and I desire you to wear it this year for the love of me. I know that you are fresh and amorous, and oftentimes among ladies and damsels. Say wheresoever you go that I gave it to you; and I free you from prison, and renounce your ransom. To-morrow, if it so please you, you shall depart."*

Here chivalry appeared in all its generousness, elegance, and refinement. How beautifully contrasted is Edward's deportment to Sir Eustace de Rybamount with his feelings towards Eustace de St. Pierre and his five fellow-burgesses, three years before, at the surrender of Calais to the English. Edward had no sympathy with their magnanimous devotion of themselves to save the lives of their fellow-citizens; no consideration of knightly mercy softened his mind; and it was only the supplication of his queen, who was in a state to move the sternest soul to grant her wishes, that restored his better nature. Before Edward's chivalry, however, he generally and finally condemned, let it be remembered that his severe losses of his own men had sorely grieved his mind against the people of Calais, and that at the commencement of the siege, when the captain of the town had driven from its gates all the poor and impotent, Edward not only granted them a free passage through his army, but gave them meat and drink and money.*

The court of the English king was regarded as the very judgment-seats of honour; an opinion of which a very curious proof exists. In the year 1350, a fierce war raged between the Soldan of Babylon and Constantine, King of Armenia; the former invading the dominions of the Armenian prince with vast and numerous armies, and the latter endeavouring, by the united strength of his own subjects, and Cypriots and Rhodians, to repel the violence of the heathen invaders, or at least to arrest their progress, which then began to threaten all Christendom. Among the many great men who, together with the Chris-

* Froissart, cc. 150, 152. "Messire Eustace vous estes le chevalier au monde, que veisse oncques plus vaillamment assailer ses ennemis, ne son corps, deffendre: ny ne me trouvay oncques en bataille ou je veisse, qui tant me donnast affaire, corps à corps, que vous avez huy fait. Si vous en donne le pris, et aussi sur tous les chevaliers de ma cour, par droit sentence. Adonc print le roy son chappelet, qu'il portoit sur son chef (qui estoit bon et riche) et le meit sur le chef de Monseigneur Eustace; et dit Monseigneur Eustace, je vous donne ce chappelet pour le mieux combattant de la jouence, de ceux de dedans et de dehors: et vous pui que vous le portez ceste année pour l'amour de moi. Je say bien que vous estes gai et amoureux, et que volontiers vous vous trouvez entre dames et damoiselles. Si dites, par tout la ou vous irez, que je le vous ay donné. Si vous quitte vostre prison, et vous en pouvez partir demain, s'il vous plaist.

* Froissart, cc. 133, 146.

tian princes, were engaged in this holy war, were a Cypriot knight named John de Visconti, a relation of the King of Cyprus, and a knight of France called Thomas de la Marche, bastard-brother to John de Valois, the French king. Both these knights held high commands in the Christian army. From certain information, or from jealousy, John de Visconti charged the bastard of France with treason: with having agreed, in consideration of a certain sum of gold to be paid unto him beforehand, in part of a greater sum to be paid afterwards, to betray the Christian army to the Turk. Thomas de la Marche, with all the confidence of virtue, boldly denied the charge; it was repeated, and again flung back in the accuser's face; opprobrious epithets were interchanged, and a challenge to mortal combat was given and accepted. The friends of the two knights, dreading the displeasure of the King of Cyprus and the King of France, and fearing that the consequences of a duel might be felt among themselves, compelled John de Visconti and Thomas de la Marche to agree to stand to the award which should be determined by the confederates in council. The judgment was, that they should carry letters importing their cause fully and clearly from the said Christian princes unto King Edward of England, and to submit themselves to be tried by combat before him, as the most worthy and honourable prince in all Christendom; they swearing to remain as perfect friends until that time.

Soon afterwards, they set sail for England, where they arrived in the beginning of September, and forthwith presented unto King Edward, in the names of the kings of Armenia and Cyprus and the rest of the princes and captains of the Christians, their letters, which contained a narrative of the whole dispute, and the conclusion, that the matter should be determined by combat before him as their judge. In the presence of the King and his court, Sir John de Visconti accused Sir Thomas de la Marche of his treasonable intent and purpose, challenging to prove it upon his body, and thereupon flinging down his gauntlet. Sir Thomas boldly took it up, and accepted the challenge in proof of his innocency. King Edward having read the letters, and seriously considered the whole matter, appointed a day for the decision of their quarrel in close field within the lists at his palace of Westminster.

On the day appointed they met accordingly, armed at all points, on horseback, the King, the Prince of Wales, and the whole court of England being spectators. Presently, upon sound of trumpet, a most gallant combat commenced between the two stranger knights. Both their spears were broken into splinters upon each other's shields, yet neither of them was cast from his saddle. Instantaneously, and, as it were, by mutual consent, they alighted, and drawing their good swords, renewed the combat on foot, till having with equal valour and discretion fought a considerable while, both their weapons became useless, and they were obliged to come to close grapple, and at length by wrestling both fell locked together, still contending for the victory. It was gained by Sir Thomas de la Marche, by means which, though lawful in the duel, would not have been permitted in the courtly joust and tournament. He had armed the joints of his gauntlet with sharp pricks of steel called gadlings, and he struck them with such force and frequency through the small distant bars of his antagonist's visor, that Visconti was compelled to call for mercy. The King thereupon threw down his warder, the marshal cried Ho! and the combat ceased. Edward adjudged the victory to the Frenchman, declaring that the vanquished was at his mercy, agreeably to the laws of arms.*

The court of Edward and his son was as chivalric as that of Arthur, and of much more interesting contemplation, from the pleasure of finding that the beauties of the chivalric character were not imaginary. If the Round Table boasted its Sir Tristram and its Sir Launcelot of the Lake, the order of the Garter possessed its Sir Walter Manny and its Sir John Chandos, whose lives were so brilliant and glorious that the golden age of chivalry seems not like the golden age of nations, a poet's dream.

In the suite of Philippa, daughter of

* Barnes's History of Edward III., p. 452, &c.

the Coūnt Hainault, when in the year 1327 she came to England to be married to Edward III., was a gentleman of baronial rank, named Walter of Manny ;* and it was not thought that he lost any quality of his birth by serving at her table as her carver.† He had been educated as a cavalier, and his military accomplishments were soon noticed by Edward.‡ He was knighted, and the ceremony was splendid, the dresses being selected from the royal wardrobe.§ When the chance of a war with France was freely talked of in London, and every man's mind was filled with hopes of honour, Sir Walter vowed before dames and lords of the court, that he would be the first knight to enter the enemy's territory,‖ and win either town or castle, and do some deeds of arms. He then went to Flanders, and on the defiances being declared between the French and English nations, he got together about forty spears, and, by riding through Brabant night and day, he soon reached Hainault. Mortaigne was, he heard, in the realm of France; and passing with the utmost speed through the wood of Blaton, he arrived at the wished for town before the sun arose, and by good chance he found the wicket of the gate open. Leaving a few of his company to keep the entrance, he went into the high street with his pennon before him, and reached the castle. He was then espied by the watch, who blew his horn, and shouted "Treason, treason!" It would have been the extreme of rashness for such a little troop as that of Sir Walter to have attempted to storm the castle. They therefore contented themselves with setting fire to some houses, and then quitted the town ; and thus that noble and gentle knight Sir Walter Manny performed the vow which he had made to the dames and lords of England.*

Afterwards, (in the year 1342,) being high in favour with Edward, he was sent into Brittany, with a proud display of knights and archers, to aid the Countess of Mountfort, at that time besieged in her castle by the French. He was not long before he made a sally on the enemy, and with such effect, that he destroyed all their great engines of assault. The French knights, not anticipating so bold a measure, lay at some distance from their machines ; but they soon advanced in formidable numbers. The English and Bretons retreated, however, fairly and easily, though the French pursued them with infuriate violence. It would not have been knightly for Sir Walter to have left the field without having right valiantly acquitted himself; and he exclaimed, "Let me never be beloved by my lady, unless I have a course with one of these followers."† He then set his spear in its rest, and so did many of his companions. They ran at the first comers. Then legs were

* There was a Lord of Manny, as well as Sir Walter, at Edward's court. The lord was a distinguished person, for he was among the bishops, and earls, and barons, who accompanied Edward to France, upon his doing homage for the duchy of Guienne. St. Palaye has confounded the lord and the knight, and made but one of them. He overlooked the hundred and second chapter of Froissart, wherein the baron and the knight are separately and distinctly mentioned. There was also another Manny, called the courageous Manny. He was knighted by Sir Eustace Dambreticourt before a battle, and after fighting most valiantly he was left for dead in the field. Froissart shall tell the remainder of the story. "After this discomfiture, and that all the Frenchmen were departed, the courageous Manny being sore hurt and near dead, lift up his head a little, and saw nothing about him but dead men lying on the ground round about him. Then he arose as well as he might and sat down, and saw well how he was not far from the fortress of Nogent, which was English; then he did so much, sometimes creeping, sometimes resting, that he came to the foot of the tower of Nogent: then he made tokens to them within, showing how he was one of their companions; then certain came down to the tower to him, and bare him into the fortress, and dressed his wounds, and there he governed himself so well that he was healed." Froissart, c. 199.

† Froissart, c. 19.

‡ Ibid., cc. 24, 26.

§ Appendix, No. xxiv., to Anstis's History of the Knighthood of the Bath.

‖ "Mais il dit à aucuns de ses plus privés, qu'il avoit promis en Angleterre devant les dames et seigneurs, qu'il seroit le premier qui entreroit en France, en prendroit chastle ou forte ville, et y feroit aucunes appertises d'armes, c. 36.

* Froissart, c. 36.

† Quand Messire Gautier veit ce, il dit, j'amais ne soye salué de madame et chere amie, se je réntre en chastel n'en forteresse, jusques à tant que j'aye l'un de ces venans verse. Froissart, c. 82.

seen turned upwards, knights were taken and rescued, and many rare deeds of arms were done by both parties. Afterwards the English slowly retired to the castle, and the French to their tents.*

Sir Walter, in all his measures of succour to the Countess of Brittany, showed himself one of the prowest knights of the age; but no act of his valour was so interesting as his rescue of two brother-knights, whom an uncourteous cavalier, called Sir Loyes of Spain, had condemned to death.† Sir Walter said to his companions, "It would be great honour for us if we could deliver out of danger yonder two knights; and even if we should fail when we put it in adventure, yet King Edward, our master, will thank us, and so will all other noble men. At least, it shall be said, how we did our utmost. A man should peril his body to save the lives of two such valiant knights."

So generous an emprise was willingly undertaken: the greatest part of his force attacked the enemy's camp, while Sir Walter himself, with a chosen band, went round to the quarter where, by the custom of war, the prisoners were kept. He found there the two knights, and he immediately set them upon good steeds, which he had brought with him for their use, and, shaking them by the hand he made them gallop to a place of safety.‡ The object of his expedition into France, namely, the succour of the Countess of Montfort, being accomplished,§ Sir Walter recrossed the seas, and went to London.

In the year 1344 he was despatched into Gascony with the Earl of Derby and Lancaster, the Earl of Pembroke, and other noble peers of England, as one of the marshals of the host. Manny inspired and directed every enterprise. From the reports of his spies regarding Bergerac, he thought the place was pregnable. Being one day at dinner with the Earl of Derby, he exclaimed, with a cup of rich Gascon wine in his hand, "If we were good men-of-arms, we should drink this evening with the French lords in Bergerac." This bold and manly sentiment was loudly applauded by his brother-knights; tables and benches were overthrown in their haste to quit the hall and don their harness, and in a few moments they bestrode their noble steeds. The Earl of Derby was right joyous at the sight of the gallant assemblage, and crying, "Let us ride to our enemies in the name of God and Saint George," banners were displayed and the English cavaliers urged their horses to speed. They soon reached the fortress of Bergerac. The pleasant wish of Sir Walter was not realised; for night closed upon the combatants, without their drinking the wines of Gascony together. All the next day was spent, likewise, in manœuvres, and in jousts *à l'outrance*, and in the evening the French men-at-arms stole away from Bergerac. The common people sent their submissions to the Earl of Derby, who, saying, "He that mercy desireth mercy ought to have," made them swear faith and homage to the King of England.*

No circumstance in this war was of more importance than the relief of the castle of Auberoche, then beleaguered by the French. The Earl of Derby had with him only three hundred spears, and six hundred archers, the rest of his force being dispersed over the country. The French could count about ten or twelve thousand; but the English, undismayed by numbers, thought it was a great disgrace to abandon their friends in Auberoche. The Earl of Derby and his knights were then in a wood, two little leagues from Auberoche; and while waiting for the Earl of Pembroke, they left their horses to pasture.

While they were loitering in the fields, in this state of restlessness, Sir Walter Manny said to his companions, "Let us leap on our horses and wend our way under the covert of this wood till we arrive at the side which joins the Frenchmen's host; and then let us put our spurs into our horses, and cry our cries. Our enemy will then be at supper, and, not expecting us, you shall see them so

* Froissart, c. 82.
† See 57, ante.
‡ Froissart, c. 87.
§ See p. 84, ante.

* Froissart, c. 103. Le Comte D'Erby dit, qui merci prie merci doit avoir. This sentence, I suppose has escaped the notice of writers who have represented the sole amusement of knights to have consisted in cutting the throats of common people.

dicomfited, that they shall not be able to preserve any array." A scheme so adventurous was readily embraced: every man mounted his horse; and the troop coasted the wood till they came near the French, who were going to supper, and some, indeed, were already seated at the tables. The scene of festivity was broken up when the English displayed their banners and pennons, and dashed their spurs into their horses, and raising the cry, "A Derby, a Derby!" rushed among them, overthrowing tents and pavilions. When the French recovered from their astonishment, they mounted their steeds, and rode into the field in military array; but there they found the English archers ready to receive them, and those bold yeomen shot so fiercely that they slew many men and horses. On the other side of the castle there was a noble display of French chivalry; and the Englishmen, having overcome those who were near the tents, dashed boldly among them. Many noble deeds of arms were done, knights were taken and rescued, and the English cause triumphed; for the knights of the castle had armed themselves, and now issued forth and rushed into the thickest of the press. Then the Englishmen entered into Auberoche; and the Earl of Derby gave a supper to the earls and viscounts who were prisoners, and to many of the knights and squires, lauding God, at the same time, that a thousand of his own nation had overcome many thousands of their enemies, and had rescued the town of Auberoche, and saved their companions that were within, who, in all likelihood, would have been taken within two days.

The next morning, at sunrise, the Earl of Pembroke reached the castle with his company of three hundred spears, and four thousand archers; and his personal chivalry was mortified that so fine a deed of knighthood had been done without him; and he said to the Earl of Derby, "Certainly, cousin, you have shown me great uncourtesy to fight with our enemies without me. You sent for me, and might have been sure I would not fail to come."

"Fair cousin," quoth the Earl of Derby, "we greatly desired to have had you with us: we tarried all day till it was far past noon, and when we saw that you did not come, we did not dare to abide any longer, for if our enemies had known of our coming, they would have had great advantage over us, but now we have the advantage over them." The Earl of Pembroke was well contented with this fair reply, and gallantly fought with his brother noble during the remainder of the war.*

We need not describe Sir Walter's feats of arms before La Reole, besieged by the Earl of Derby; but when the town surrendered, a little circumstance occurred beautifully illustrative of the character of our knight. His father had been murdered near that place, as he was making a pilgrimage to the shrine of St. James, in Spain, and had been buried in a little chapel in the field which then was without the town of La Reole, but was inclosed within the walls when the Earl of Derby conquered it. Sir Walter inquired if there was any one who could show him his father's tomb, offering a hundred crowns for his knowledge and labour. A man, grey and bent with age, went to the knight and declared, "Sir, I think I can bring you near the place where your father was buried." Manny then, in his joy at the promise, answered, "If your words be true I will keep covenant, and more."

The townsman led him to the place of sepulture; and they found a little tomb of marble which the servants of the deceased pilgrim had respectfully lain over him. The old man, pointing to it exclaimed, "Sir, under that tomb lies your father." Then the Lord of Manny read the scripture on the tomb which was in Latin;† and finding that his guide had declared the truth, he gave him his reward. He afterwards caused the bones of his father to be taken up, and removed to Valenciennes, in the county of Hainault. There his obse-

* Froissart, c. 107.

† This is Lord Berners's rendering of the passage. The phrase "par un sien clerc" had crept into some editions of Froissart; and Mr. Johnes's translation is, "Sir Walter caused the inscription to be read to him by a clerk." This, perhaps, was necessary, as the inscription was in Latin, for heroes have not been famous for their clerkship. But the inference which some writers have drawn, that he could not read at all, is perfectly unwarrantable.

nies were right sacredly performed: ıe helmet, the sword, the gauntlet, the ɔurs, and the tabard were hung over is grave, and as long as the family of Manny lived in that country, sad and olemn priests yearly chanted masses ɔr his soul.†

Sir Walter so manfully defended the astle of Aguillon, that the Duke of Normandy was compelled to raise the iege. The battle of Cressy had just een fought, and our knight was anxious o visit his sovereign, Edward. He fell nto communication with a cavalier of Normandy, who was his prisoner, and lemanded of him what money he would ıay for his ransom. The knight answered, he would gladly give three thouand crowns.

"Well," quoth Sir Walter, "I surely ınow that you are a kinsman to the luke of Normandy, and so warmly beoved by him, that were I to press you, wot in sooth he would gladly pay ten housand crowns; but I shall deal otherwise with you. You shall go to the Duke, your Lord, upon your faith and ɔromise, and get a safe-conduct for myıelf and twenty of my companions to ride through France to Calais, paying courteously for all our expenses; and if you can procure this from the Duke, or he King, I will willingly remit your ransom, for I greatly desire to see the King my master. If you cannot do his, return hither in a month, and consider yourself as my prisoner."

The knight was well contented, and went to Paris to the Duke, his lord; and having obtained the passport, he returned with it to Sir Walter, who acquitted him of his ransom. Manny commenced his journey, and proceeded safely till he reached Orleans, where he was seized by the officers of the King of France and taken to Paris.

This circumstance was reported to the Duke of Normandy, who went to the King, his father, and entreated him, for the honour of chivalry, to release Sir Walter. He was for a long while inexorable, for he wished to destroy him whom he called his greatest foe; but, at last, good counsel prevailed with him, and Manny was delivered out of prison. He dined with the French monarch, who deported himself with knightly generosity. He entertained the Englishman right nobly, and gave him a distinguished seat on the dais. He also presented to him jewels to the value of a thousand florins: which Sir Walter received, only upon the condition of having liberty to return them, if his master, the King of England, did not approve of his retaining them; and the French King declared that he spoke like a noble knight.

Sir Walter then recommenced his journey, and soon reached Calais. Edward welcomed him; but when he heard of the presents he said, "Sir Walter, you have hitherto truly served us, and shall continue to do so, we trust. Return the gifts to King Philip; you have no cause to keep them: thank God! we have enough for ourselves and for you; and we intend to do much good to you for the service you have rendered us."

Sir Walter immediately gave those jewels to a cousin of his, named Sir Mansac, and said, "Ride into France, to the King, and commend me to him, and say, that I thank him a thousand times for his gift; but as it is not the pleasure of the King my master, that I should keep it, I send it to him again."

Sir Mansac, therefore, rode to Paris, and had his royal audience. The King would not accept the jewels, but pressed them upon the knight who, less conscientious than his cousin, thanked his Grace, and was not disposed to say nay.*

Sir Walter remained with his sovereign during the memorable siege of Calais; and when the inhabitants proposed to capitulate, it was his counsel that swayed with Edward to offer mercy to the town, on the surrender of six of its chief burgesses, instead of requiring general submission. Though Eustace de St. Pierre and his noble companions were saved by the tears and entreaties of Philippa, yet it was that gentle knight, Sir Walter Manny, who first endeavoured to turn aside the fierce wrath of the King. "Noble Sir," said he, "refrain your courage. You have the reputation of nobleness; therefore do not any thing that can blemish your renown. Every man will say it is great

* Froissart, c. 110.

* Froissart, c. 135.

cruelty to put to death such honest persons, who, from their own noble feelings, to save their companions, have placed themselves in your power."*

Sir Walter lost nothing of Edward's consideration by this contradiction of his humour. But he continued in such favour, that he was permitted to marry a lady related to the royal family:† he was invested with the Garter; and was summoned to parliament among the barons of England, from the twenty-first to the forty-fourth year of Edward's reign.‡ He was among the English lords who signed the treaty of Bretigny in the year 1360; and I regret that he was one of Edward's council who advised the sending of succours to the Black Prince, when he was about to assist Peter the Cruel. It is more pleasing to contemplate our cavalier on the battle-plain than in the hall of deliberation. He was, to the height, a sage and imaginative soldier; skilful as well as brave in battle.

When the war between England and France was renewed, in the year 1369, the Duke of Lancaster (late Earl of Derby) prevented the Duke of Burgundy's descent upon the English shores, by landing a small army at Calais, and ravaging the country near Boulogne. The Duke of Burgundy commanded the heights of Tournehem: the English were in the neighbourhood, and a battle was daily expected. It was feared, rather than desired, by the English; for their handful of men were opposed by more than four thousand French knights. The Duke of Burgundy could not engage without the king's permission; but the policy of Charles forbad a battle, and the Duke then desired leave to retire: the king consented. One night, fires were lighted, and there was an unwonted stir amidst the French camp. Such of the English as were near it were roused from sleep. They awoke the Lord Robert Namur, who immediately armed himself, and, preceded by a man bearing his banner, went to the tent of the Duke of Lancaster, who had been already disturbed. The English lords, one by one, drew about the Duke, ranging themselves, from the force of habit, fair and softly in battle order, without any noise or light, and placing the archers in such a form as to be ready to receive an attack by the French. No attack was, however, made; and, after waiting two hours, the Duke consulted with his lords. It was the sage opinion of Manny that the French had fled, and he advised Lancaster to pursue them. But the Duke declined this course; for he said he never could believe that so many valiant men-of-arms and noble knights would so shamefully depart. As soon as morning arose, it was discovered, however, that the French camp was deserted; and the Duke of Lancaster repented that he had not followed the counsel of his experienced friend.

Such was Sir Walter Manny; gallant, hardy, adventurous, and sage. Something still was wanting to the beautiful perfection of his character; for courtesy to the ladies, and bravery and skill in the field, did not of themselves constitute the preux chevalier. Liberality was the graceful ornament of the knightly character; and the charitable annals of the city of London place this crown on the brow of our noble representative of English chivalry.

During a plague in England, in the year 1348, London and its vicinity were the chief places of suffering; and as no church-yard could contain the victims, the Bishop of London bought a piece of ground called *No Man's Land*,* and consecrated it for burials. In the next year, Sir Walter Manny materially added to the charities of the bishop; for he purchased, and caused to be consecrated to the same object, thirteen acres and one rod of ground adjoining to No Man's Land, and lying in a place called Spittle Croft, because it belonged to St. Bartholomew's Hospital. In the very year of the purchase, the purpose seemed accomplished, for (according to certain charters of Edward III., and an inscription on the cross remaining in Stow's

* Froissart, c. 146.

† She was the Lady Margaret, daughter and heiress of Thomas Plantagenet, surnamed of Brotherton, Earl of Norfolk, and uncle to Edward III.

‡ Dugdale.

* The reader may, reasonably enough, inquire who could have been the vendor? I cannot tell him: I can only copy Stow in these matters.

time) fifty thousand people were buried there. Sir Walter built a chapel in the cemetery; and, in the year 1371, he founded a house of Carthusian monks, by the appellation of the Salutation of the Mother of God, to advance charity, and administer the consolations of religion.*

The last circumstance of his tale shall be told in the fitting strain of Froissart. "That same season (1372) died the gentle knight, Sir Walter Manny, in the city of London, whereof all the barons of England were right sorry, for the truth and good counsel that they had always seen and heard in him. He was buried, with great solemnity, in the monastery of the Charter-house, near London; and at the day of his obsequy there were present the King and all his children, and all the prelates, barons, and knights of England. His possessions, both in England and beyond the sea, fell to the Earl of Pembroke, who had married the Lady Anne, his daughter and heir."†

Among the flower of Edward's chivalry, Sir James Audley must be mentioned; not, indeed, that a detailed history of his exploits would be interesting; but there was one series of circumstances in his life honourable to his name and the chivalric character, and distinct and peculiar from every thing else in the manners of other ages.

Immediately before the battle of Poictiers, Sir James said to the Black Prince, "Sir, I have always truly served my Lord your father, and you also, and I shall do so as long as I live; and, to prove my disposition, I once made a vow that the first battle wherein either the King, your father, or any of his sons, should be engaged, I would be one of the first setters on, or I would die in the endeavour. Therefore, I request your Grace, in reward for any service that ever I did to the King your father, or to you, that you would give me license to depart from you, in order that I may accomplish my vow."

The Prince accorded to his desire; and, taking him by the hand, exclaimed, "Sir James, may God give you this day grace to be the prowest knight of all my host."

Audley then departed, and set himself in front of the English battles, accompanied only by four squires, who had sworn never to desert him.

He was anticipated in his gallant purpose by the Lord Eustace Dambertincourt, whose chivalry was inspired by the lady Juliana;* but he continued in the front of the battle, performing marvels of arms. He lost no valuable moments in taking prisoners, but when he had disarmed one adversary he pressed forwards to another. He was severely hurt, both in the body and in the face; and, at the conclusion of the mêlée, his four squires took him out of the battle, and, laying him under a hedge, they bound up his wounds.

Edward soon inquired after the fate of his gallant friend; and Sir James, expressing his joy that his Prince should think of so poor a knight as he was, called eight of his servants, and made them bear him in a litter to the royal tent.

The Prince took him in his arms, and, embracing him with true fraternal affection, said, "Sir James, I ought greatly to honour you, for your valiantness this day has passed the renown of us all."

"Sir," answered the knight, with true chivalric modesty, "you say as it pleaseth you. I would it were so; but if I have this day advanced myself to serve you, and to accomplish my vow, no prowess ought to be reputed to me."

"Sir James," replied the Prince," I and all my knights consider you as the best doer in arms this day; and, in order that you may the better pursue these wars, I retain you for ever as my knight,

* Stow's London, book 4, c. 3. Maitland's History of London, p. 661. This was the state of the Charter-house till the suppression of the monasteries, in the reign of Henry VIII. Its annual value was 642*l.* It was given to Sir Thomas Audley, speaker of the House of Commons, with whose only daughter it went, by marriage, to Thomas, Duke of Norfolk, and from him, by descent, to Thomas Earl of Suffolk. In the time of James I. it was purchased by that "right phœnix of charity," Thomas Sutton, citizen and girdler, for the large sum of 13,000*l.*; and he converted the buildings and gardens into a hospital for the relief of aged men, education of youth, and maintaining the service of God.

† Froissart, 286.

* See p. 72.

with five hundred marks of yearly revenue."

Sir James, after expressing his thanks, was taken back to his tent. He then called the four squires before him, and resigned to them the Prince's gift, saying, it was to their valiantness that he owed it. The Prince soon heard of this noble action, and, sending for him, inquired why he renounced his kindness. Sir James craved pardon for his conduct, but affirmed he could do no otherwise; for his squires had that day several times saved his life, and enabled him to accomplish his vow. Edward's nobleness disdained any feeling of personal offence; and, in generous emulation of his friend's liberality, he made in his favour a new grant, more valuable than the former one.*

But of all the bold and protruding characters of the court of Edward III., none was more distinguished for the greatness and variety of his exploits than that sage and valiant knight, Sir John Chandos. He was the descendant of a Norman family, attached to William the Conqueror, and which had been renowned in every age of its history.† While only a squire, he accompanied Edward III. in his first war in France; and, at the siege of Cambray, he amazed the prowest knights by the goodly feats of arms done between him and a squire of Vermandois. At the battle of Vironfosse, immediately afterwards, he was stationed near the person of his sovereign, and, for his valour on that occasion, he received knighthood from the royal sword.‡ Like his friend, Sir Walter Manny, he was gentle, as well as valiant; and it was Chandos that, with another cavalier, saved the ladies of the castle of Poys from the brutal assault of the rabble.§ He was in the van, with the Black Prince, at the battle of Cressy; and, at the battle of Poictiers, he never quitted his side.

On the day that preceded this last great event an amusing proof occurred of the pride of knighthood, regarding armorial bearings. Sir John Chandos, on the part of the English, and the Lord of Claremont for the French, had been reconnoitering the other's forces; and, as they returned to their respective hosts, they met, and were mutually astonished that each bore the same armorial emblem.

The Lord of Claremont exclaimed, "Chandos, how long have you taken on you to bear my device?"

"Nay, you bear mine," replied the English knight; "for it is mine as well as yours."

"I deny that," observed the Lord of Claremont; "and were it not for the truce that this day is between us, I would prove immediately that you have no right to bear my device."

"Sir," rejoined Chandos, with the calmness of truth and bravery, "you shall find me to-morrow ready to prove it is mine, as well as yours."

Claremont passionately closed the conference by saying, "these are common words of you Englishmen; for you can invent nothing new; but you take for your own whatever you see handsome belonging to others."*

At the battle of Poictiers the counsel of Chandos was important to the fate of the day: for when the English archers had thrown the French into confusion, he said to the Black Prince, "Sir, take your horse and ride forth; this day is yours. Let us press forwards to the French king's battle, for there lies the stress of the matter. I think, verily, by his valiantness, he will not fly. I trust by the grace of God and St. George, that we shall take him; and, Sir, I heard you say that this day I should see you a good knight." It was this advice which guided the courage of Edward, and the victory was England's.

* Ashmole's History of the Garter, c. 26, s. 3. Froissart, cc. 142, 147.

† Dugdale, Baronage, i., 503.

‡ Authorities in Ashmole, p. 702.

§ Froissart, c. 125. See the first part of this work, p. 78.

* Froissart, c. 161. Monseigneur Jehan de Clermont dit, Chandos, ce sont bien les parolles de vos Anglos, qui ne savent adviser riens de nouvel; mais quant, qu'ils voyent, leur est bel. This is a very curious proof of the antiquity of the common remark that Englishmen are a borrowing and improving people, and not famous for originality of invention. It might be contended, but not in this place, that we are both. And here I will transcribe another sentence of Froissart more characteristic and true. "Les Anglois, selon leur coutume se divertirent moult tristement."

Nothing remarkable is related of Chandos for nine years after the battle of Poictiers. In 1365 he was the hero and counsellor of the Earl of Mountfort in his war with the Earl of Elois. Mountfort took no measures which were not of his suggestion, or met not with his judgment. Chandos was a valiant as well as a sage knight; for at the battle of Auray his mighty curtal-axe battered many a helm of the French. The fate of this battle fixed his friend of Mountfort in the dukedom of Brittany; and the opinion of the French lords, knights, and squires, the victory had been gained by the skill and high prowess of Chandos.*

He was seneschal of Aquitain, and of all those countries secured to the English by the treaty of Bretigny. Together with Sir Thomas Phelton he was summoned into Angouleme to advise the Black Prince regarding the affairs of Spain. The deposed king had arrived at Bourdeaux; and Edward, resolving to assist him, sought to fortify his determinations by the judgment of his friends. Chandos and his counsel earnestly endeavoured to change his resolve. When, indeed, no considerations could shake the purpose of the Black Prince, our knight accompanied him into Spain, his duties to his liege lord demanding his military service.

Before the battle of Naveret he took the rank and title of knight baneret. When the sun arose on that memorable day, it was a great beauty to behold the battles or divisions of the Black Prince's army and their brilliant harness glittering with its beams. The hostile forces slowly approached each other. Edward with a brief train of knights ascended a small hill, and clearly saw their enemy marching straight towards them. The prince was then followed by his army; and when they had reached the other side of the hill they formed themselves in dense array, and each man buckled on anew his armour and dressed his spear.

Sir John Chandos advanced in front of the battles with his banner uncased in his hand. He presented it to the prince, saying, "Sir, behold, here is my banner. I require you to display it abroad, and give me leave this day to raise it, for, Sir, I thank God and you, I possess land and heritage sufficient to maintain it withal."

The prince and King Peter took between their hands the banner, which was blazoned with a sharp stake gules, on a field argent, and after having cut off the end to make it square they spread it abroad; and the Prince delivered it to Chandos, saying, "Sir John, behold your banner, and God send you joy and honour, and strength, to preserve it!"

Chandos bowed, and after thanking the prince, he went back to his own company, and said, "Sirs, behold my banner and yours, keep it as your own."

They took it and were right joyful thereof, declaring that, by the pleasure of God and St. George, they would keep and defend it to the utmost of their power.

The banner was then placed in the hands of a worthy English squire, called William Allestry, who bore it that day and acquitted himself right nobly.

In that battle,' Chandos counselled the Duke of Lancaster sagely as at the battle of Poictiers he had counselled Edward. He performed also wonders in arms, for he was a great and mighty knight, and well formed of all his limbs; but he adventured himself so far that he was closed in among his enemies, and at length pressed to the earth. A Spaniard of gigantic stature fell upon him with dreadful force; but Sir John drew a knife from his bosom, which he recollected he had about him, and struck his foeman so fiercely in the back and on the sides, that he wounded him to death as he lay on him. Sir John turned him over, and rose quickly on his feet, and his men-at-arms at that time joined him, they having with much difficulty broken through the press when they saw him felled.*

Chandos had not succeeded in dissuading the Prince of Wales from his Spanish war, and he failed also in withdrawing him from the more fatal project of taxing beyond usage his French dominions. Finding him resolved in his purpose, and not wishing to bear any blame or reproach about the matter, Sir John took his leave of the prince, and made his excuse to go into Normandy to visit the land of St. Savour le

* Froissart, c. 226.

* Froissart, c. 237.

Viscount, whereof he was lord, for he had not been there for several years. When the war so fatal to England's power in France broke out, the Black Prince wrote to Chandos to join him without delay. Sir John immediately went to Angouleme, and his liege lord joyfully received him. He was made Seneschal of Poictou at the request of the barons and knights of that country.

His deeds of arms equalled his former fame, but it was his chivalric generosity that was most striking, and the circumstances which accompanied the appearance of that feature of his character are very interesting. He wished the Earl of Pembroke, who was in garrison at Mortaygne, to accompany him in an enterprise into the French territory. The Earl was well content to have ridden forth; but some of the knights of his counsel broke his purpose, and said, "Sir, you are but young, and your nobleness is to come; and if you put yourself into the company of Sir John Chandos, he shall have the reputation and voice of it, for you will be regarded only as his companion: therefore, Sir, it is better for you, since you are a great lord, that you perform your enterprises by yourself, and let Sir John Chandos perform his; for in comparison with your estate, he is but a knight bachelor."

The Earl of Pembroke accordingly excused himself; and Sir John Chandos, unaided by him, went into Anjou, accompanied by three hundred spears of knights and squires, and two hundred archers. He achieved all his emprises; and hearing at last that Sir Louis of Sancerre, the Marshal of France, with a great number of men at war, was at Hay in Touraine, he wished to cope with him; but as his own force was inadequate to so great an exploit, he sent word of his intention to the Earl of Pembroke, desiring him to repair with his soldiers to Chatelterault.

Chandos the herald took the message; but the Earl by counsel of his knights again refused. The herald repaired to Sir John at Chatelterault, and the enterprise was broken up in consequence of the presumption and pride of the Earl of Pembroke: Chandos gave leave to most of his company to depart, and he himself went to Poictiers. Some of his men joined the Earl of Pembroke; who, at the head of three hundred knights and squires, committed great destruction in Anjou, and returned with immense booty into Poictou.

The Frenchmen thinking it a more easy chevisance to discomfit him than Sir John Chandos, assembled seven hundred soldiers from all the garrisons in the country, and Sir Louis of Sancerre took the command. The Earl of Pembroke heard nothing of the enemy, and not having the vigilance of Sir John Chandos he took no pains to inquire. The English were one day reposing in a village called Puirenon, in the territory of Poictou, when suddenly the Frenchmen came into the town, their spears in their rest, crying their cry, "Our Lady of Sancerre, for the Marshal of France." The English were dressing their horses, and preparing their suppers, when they were thus unexpectedly assailed. Several were killed, all the plunder was retaken, many prisoners were made, and the Earl of Pembroke and some of his knights and archers saved themselves in a preceptory of the Templars. The Frenchmen assaulted it gallantly, and it was as gallantly defended, till night put an end to the assault.

The English were so severely straitened for provisions, that they knew they must speedily surrender, unless Chandos came to their succour. A squire, who professed to know the country, offered to go to Sir John, and he accordingly left the fortress when the French had retired to rest. But he soon lost his road, and did not recover it till morning.

At day-break the French renewed their assaults, and mounted the walls with pavesses to defend their heads from the missiles of the English. The Earl of Pembroke and his little band fought so bravely, from morning until noon, that the French were obliged to desist, and to resort to the uncavalier-like mode of worsting their gallant foes by sending to the neighbouring villages for pikes and mattocks, that they might undermine and break down the wall.

Then the Earl of Pembroke called a squire to him, and said, "Friend, take my courser, and issue out at the back postern and ride strait to Poictiers, and show Sir John Chandos the state and

danger we are in, and recommend me to him by this token," added the Earl, taking a ring from his finger: "deliver it to him, for Sir John knows it well."

The squire took the ring, and immediately mounting his courser, fled through the postern, thinking he should achieve great honour if he could reach Sir John Chandos.

The first squire having lost so much time in the confusion of the night did not arrive at Poictiers till nine in the morning. He found Sir John at mass; and, in consequence of the importance of his message, he disturbed his devotions.

Chandos's feelings had been severely offended by the pride and presumption of the Earl of Pembroke, and he was in no great haste to relieve him. He heard the mass out. The tables were then arranged for the noon repast.

The servants, among whom the message of the squire had been bruited, inquired of Sir John if he would go to dinner. He replied, "Yes; if it were ready."

He went into the hall, and knights and squires brought him water. While he was washing, the second squire from the Earl of Pembroke, pale, weary, and travel-soiled, entered the hall, and knelt before him, and took the ring out of his purse, and said, "Right dear Sir, the Earl of Pembroke recommends himself to you by this token, and heartly desires your assistance in relieving him from his present danger at Puirenon."

Chandos took the ring; but instead of calling his friends to arm, he coldly observed, that it would be difficult to assist the Earl if the affair were such as the squire had represented it. "Let us go to dinner," said he; and accordingly the knights sat down.

The first course was eaten in silence, for Chandos was thoughtful, and the minds of his friends were not idle.

In the middle of the second course when the generous wine of France had roused his better nature, he started from a reverie, and with a smile of pride and generousness exclaimed, "Sirs, the Earl of Pembroke is a noble man, and of great lineage: he is the son of my natural lord the King of England, for he hath married his daughter, and in every thing he is companion to the Earl of Cambridge. He hath required me to come to him, and I ought to consent to his desire."

Then thrusting the table from him, and rising to the full height of his fine martial figure, he cried, "Gallant knights, I will ride to Puirenon."

This noble and generous resolve found an echo in the heart of every one that was present. The trumpets sounded, the knights hastily donned their armour, and saddled the first horses they could meet with; and in a few moments the court-yard glittered with more than two hundred spears. They rode apace to wards Puirenon; bur news of their approach reached the vigilant French in sufficient time for them to abandon the siege, and effect their retreat with their prisoners and booty.

The Earl of Pembroke soon found that the terror of the name of Chandos had scared the foe, and he proposed to his companions to ride towards Poictiers and meet their deliverers. They according left the village in a right pleasant mode, some on foot, others on horses, and many a gallant steed carried double that day. They had not ridden a league before they met Sir John Chandos and his company, who much to their regret heard of the retreat of the French. The two parties rode in company for the space of three leagues, holding merry converse on deeds of arms. They then departed, Chandos returning to Poictiers, and the Earl of Pembroke to Mortaygne.*

Our knight's career of glory approached its close. By the treachery of a Monk, the abbey of St. Salvyn, seven leagues from Poictiers, fell into the possession of the French, who all that year, 1371, had been harassing the English territories. Chandos was deeply mortified at the loss of the abbey, it being within the scope of his seneschalship. To recover it by chivalric skill, or to bring his enemies to fair and manly battle, seemed equally impossible, and his high spirit was wounded at these insults to his military abilities. On the last day of December he made an unsuccessful attempt to recover the abbey; and when he returned to the town of Chauvigny,

* Froissart, cc. 265, 266.

he dismissed two-thirds of his troops, knights of Poictou and England. Sir Thomas Percy, with thirty spears, had his leave to go in quest of adventures. His own mind was too ill at rest for him to indulge in mere chivalric exercises; and after he had wished them good speed he went back into the house full of melancholy thoughts. He would not retire to rest though the night was far advanced; but he remained in the kitchen warming himself by the fire, his servants endeavouring by their jests and tales to banish his uneasiness.

Before daylight a man with the haste and anxiety of the bearer of news of import came into the house.

"The Frenchmen are riding abroad," said he to Sir John.

"How knowest thou that?"

"I left St. Salvyn with them," was the answer.

"Which way did they ride?" demanded Chandos.

"Their exact course I wot not," replied his informant; "but I saw them on the high road to Poictiers."

"What Frenchmen?" inquired Sir John.

"Sir Louis of St. Julian, and Carnot the Breton."

"Well," quoth Chandos, "I care not: I have no mind to ride forth to-night: it may happen that they may be encountered, though I am not there."

The conversation closed here, but Chandos could not dismiss the subject from his mind. He mused upon what he had heard, and hope gradually broke through the gloom of his disappointment.

He then told his knights he would ride to Poictiers, and they joyfully caparisoned their horses.

Chandos and forty spears left Chauvigny before daylight, and getting into the Frenchmen's course, they soon overtook them near the bridge of Lusac. They were on foot, preparing to attack Sir Thomas Percy and his little band, who had posted themselves on the other side of the bridge.

Before the Frenchmen and Bretons had arranged their plan of assault, they heard the trampling of Chandos's war-horses, and turning round they saw his dreadful banner displayed. He approached within three furlongs of the bridge and had a parley with them. He reproached them for their robberies and acts of violence in the country whereof he was seneschal.

"It is more than a year and a half," he continued, "that I have set all my aim to find and encounter you, and now, I thank God, I see you and speak to you. It shall soon be known who is prowest, you or I. You have often vaunted your desire to meet me; now you may see me before you. — I am John Chandos: regard me well," he thundered in their ears, his countenance darkening as he spoke.

At that moment an English squire was struck to the earth by the lance of a Breton. The generous nature of Chandos was roused at this ungallant act; and, in a tone of mingled expostulation and reproof, he cried to his own company, "Sirs, how is it that you suffer this squire thus to be slain? A foot, a foot!"

He dismounted, and so did all his band, and they advanced against the French. His banner, with the escutcheon above his arms, was carried before him, and some of his men-at-arms surrounded it. Chandos missed his steps, for the ground was slippery from the hoar-frost of the morning, and in his impatience for battle he entangled his feet in the folds of his surcoat. He fell just as he reached his enemy; and as he was rising the lance of a French squire entered his flesh, under the left eye, between the nose and the forehead. Chandos could not see to ward off the stroke; for, some years before, he had lost the sight of that eye, while hunting the hart in the country round Bourdeaux: unhappily, too, his helmet was without the defence of its vizor.

He fell upon the earth, and rolled over two or three times, from the pain of the wound, but he never spoke again.

The French endeavoured to seize him; but his uncle, Sir Edward Clifford, bestrode the body, and defended it so valorously, that soon none dared to approach him.

The barons and knights of Poictou were conquerors, and when the confusion was hushed, they flocked round their outstretched friend and seneschal.

They wept, they wrung their hands, they tore their hair, and gave way to every violent expression of grief. They called him the flower of chivalry, and lamented the hour when the lance was forged which had brought him into peril of death.

He heard and understood them well, but was unable to reply.* His servants then unarmed him; and, laying him upon a pavesse or large shield, they bore him gently to the neighbouring fortress of Mortimer.

He died on the following day; and a cavalier more courteous, and more worthily adorned with noble virtues and high qualitites, never adorned the English chivalry. He was, in sooth, as gallant a knight as ever laid lance in rest.

The Prince of Wales, the Earl of Cambridge, the Earl of Pembroke, and, indeed, all the English barons and knights then in Guienne, lamented his fate, as the loss of all the English dominions in France; and many right noble and valiant knights of France mourned the death of a generous foe, and they wished he had been made prisoner; for they said he was so sage and imaginative that he would have planned a peace between the two nations.*

Chandos was never married. All the estates which he had won by his valour went to his three sisters.

CHAPTER X.

PROGRESS OF CHIVALRY IN GREAT BRITAIN, FROM THE REIGN OF RICHARD II. TO THAT OF HENRY VIII.

Complaints of the unchivalric State of Richard's Court.—Influence of Chivalry on the national Character. — Scottish Chivalry. — Chivalric kindness of Robert Bruce.—Mutual Chivalry, between the Scotch and English Courts.—French Knight's Opinions of Scottish Chivalry.—Courtesies between English and Scottish Knights. — Chivalric Battle of Otterbourn.—Hotspur and the Douglas.—A cavaleresque Story.—Reign of Henry IV.—Chivalric Parley between him and the Duke of Orleans.— Henry's unchivalric Conduct at Shrewsbury.—Henry V.—Knights of the Bath.—Henry's love of chivalric Books.—His chivalric bearing.—Commencement of the Decline of Chivalry.—The Civil Wars injured Chivalry.—Caxton's Lamentation.—He exaggerates the Evil.—Many gallant English Knights.—Character of Henry VIII. with Reference to Chivalry.—Tournaments in his Reign.—Field of the Cloth of Gold.—Introduction of Italian Literature favoured Romance.—Popularity of Chivalric Literature.—English Knights continued to break Lances for Ladies' Love.—State of Scottish Chivalry at this Period.—James IV.—Chivalric circumstances at Flodden Field.

In the reign of Richard II., the splendour of England's chivalry was clouded. That monarch had neither spirit nor ambition to recover the possessions which had been wrested from the crown during the illness of his father, the Black Prince, and the imbecility of his grandfather Edward III.; for though the war with France nominally continued, yet he gave few occasions for his knights to break their lances with the French. Not that England enjoyed a state of perfect peace, but the wars in France and Portugal had no brilliant results, for the English knights were no longer guided by the sageness of Chandos, or the gallantry of Prince Edward.

England was menaced with invasion by Charles VI. of France; but the project died away, and nothing gave greater offence to the people than the want of spirit in the court, in not revenging itself for the insult. A comparison was immediately instituted between the present and the preceding reign. Where were those great enterprises, it was asked, which distinguished the days of Edward III.? where could be found the valiant men who had fought with the prince his son? In those days England was feared, and was reputed as possessing the flower of Christian chivalry; but now no man speaks of her, now there are no wars but such as are made on poor men's purses, and thereto every one is inclined.*

The expensive wars of England with France were productive of mighty consequences to the English constitution. An application for redress of grievances always met the demand of supplies, and public liberty benefited by the costly ambition of the crown. The wars did not

* Froissart, c. 270.

* Froissart, liv. ii., c. 82.

spring from chivalry, and we cannot, therefore ascribe to that bright source any general political advantages which resulted from them; but chivalry gave the tone to the manner in which they were waged; hers were all the humanities of the contest; hers was, at least, half the distinction (for we must remember the bow was as formidable as the lance) of establishing the glory of the country; of giving her that proud character for martial prowess, which has outlived her brief and feeble tenure of the territorial consequences of victory.

Richard II. did not emulate the martial fame of his father. His neglect of the warriors of the former reign was not among the slightest causes of that disaffection which ultimately ruined him. One of the public grievances, as stated to the throne by the House of Commons, was that the chivalry of the country had been discountenanced and disgraced, and that the growth of vice had consequently increased.*

Richard was a voluptuous prince; the splendour of chivalry hung over his court; his tilts and tournaments were unusually magnificent; but the martial and, therefore, the chief spring of knighthood was wanting. A warlike sovereign could have found rich materials among his people for ambitious enterprises. The increasing wealth of the nation, arising from its improving commerce, displayed itself in luxuries; and the aspiring commonality imitated the chivalric courtesies of the great. It marks the state of the manners, that the splendid tapestries of the cities represented the martial achievements of Edward III.†

The name of the Douglas and the Percy were so highly distinguished in the fourteenth century, that the reign of Richard II. is a fit place for some notices of northern chivalry. The battle of Bannockburn proved that, in gallantry and generosity, the essentials of knighthood, the Scots were as noble as the cavaliers of the south; and there was a fine wildness of imagination among the people which was suitable to the romantic genius of chivalry.* But those of Scotland's heroes whose lives are known to us were patriots rather than cavaliers, the circumstances of the times in which they lived inflaming them with different passions than those which knighthood could inspire.

Sometimes, however, the stern virtues of patriotism were graced and softened by chivalric courtesy. Perhaps the most pleasing instance of this occurred in the conduct of Robert Bruce, in the year 1317, when he was assisting his brother, Edward Bruce, to subjugate Ireland; and I will not injure the story by telling it in any other way than in the simple and beautiful strain of the poet:

"The king has heard a woman cry,
He asked what that was in hy [a]
It is the layndar,[b] Sir, said ane,
That her child-ill[c] right now has ta'en.
And must leave now behind us here,
Therefore she makes an evil cheer.[d]
The king said, "Certes, it were pity
That she in that point left should be,
For certes, I trow there is no man
That he no will rue[e] a woman than."
His hosts all then arrested he,
And gert a tent soon stintit[f] be,
And gert her gang in hastily,
And other women to be her by.
While she was delivered he bade,
And syne forth on his ways rade;

* 4 Plac. Parl. iii. 5.

† Thomas of Elmham, p. 72. His general expression, tapestries representing the ancient victories of England, I presume chiefly meant those of Edward II.

* The tales of chivalry had for their prologue some lines expressive of war and love; but in a grander strain the poetical biographer of the Bruce sings: —

"Ah! freedome is a noble thing;
Freedome makes men to have liking;
Freedome all solace to men gives;
He lives at ease, that freely lives.
A noble heart may have none ease,
Nor ellys nought that may him please,
If freedome fail: for free liking
Is *yearned*[h] o'er all other thing.
Na he that aye has lived free
May not know well the property,
The anger, *na* the wretched doom
That is coupled to foul thraldom.
But if he had essayed it,
Then all *perquer*[i] he should it wit,
And should think freedom more to prize
Than all the gold in world that is.
Thus contrary things ever more
Discoverings of the tother are."
The Bruce, line 225, &c.

[a] Haste. [b] Laundress. [c] Childbed.
[d] Stop. [e] Pity. [f] Pitched.
[g] Nor else. [h] Eagerly desired. [i] Perfectly.

And how she forth should carried be,
Or he forth fure[a] ordained he.
This was a full great courtesy,
That swilk a king and so mighty,
Gert his men dwell on this manner,
But for a poor lavender.[b]
The Bruce, Book, xi., 1, 270.

At the court of the Scottish kings, knighthood was always regarded as a distinction worthy of the highest ambition. Its objects were the same as in other countries—the defence of the church, protection of the helpless, and generosity to woman. The form of the chivalric oath has been preserved, and it presents us with a curious picture of ancient manners:

1. I shall fortify and defend the Christian religion to the uttermost of my power.

2. I shall be loyal and true to my sovereign lord the king; to all orders of chivalry, and to the noble office of arms.

3. I shall fortify and defend justice at my power; and that without favour or enmity.

4. I shall never flee from my sovereign lord the king; nor from his lieutenants, in time of affray or battle.

5. I shall defend my native land from all aliens and strangers.

6. I shall defend the just action and quarrel of all ladies of honour, of all true and friendless widows, of orphans, and of maidens of good fame.

7. I shall do diligence wheresoever I hear that there are any murderers, traitors, or masterful robbers, who oppress the king's lieges and poor people, to bring them to the law at my power.

8. I shall maintain and uphold the noble state of chivalry, with horse, armour, and other knightly habiliments, and shall help and succour those of the same order, at my power, if they have need.

9. I shall inquire and seek to have the knowledge and understanding of all the articles and points contained in the book of chivalry. All these promises to observe, keep, and fulfil, I oblige myself: so help me God by my own hand, and by God himself.*

Chivalric honours formed sometimes a bond of connexion between the Scottish and the English sovereigns. When Prince Henry (afterwards King Henry II.) arrived at the age of sixteen years, his father Geoffry sent him through England with a numerous and splendid retinue into Scotland, to receive the honour of knighthood from his mother's uncle, King David. The ceremony was performed with great pomp, in the midst of a prodigious concourse of the English, Scottish, and Norman nobility; and the Prince spent about eight months in the court of Scotland, perfecting himself in military exercises.*

A few years afterwards chivalric honours were conferred by Henry II. of England upon Malcolm II. But the granting of knighthood was not regarded as a matter of mere courtesy. When the kings met at Carlisle, in 1158, the previous cession of the northern provinces by Malcolm to Henry gave rise to such heats and feuds, that the Scottish Monarch departed without receiving the honour he desired. In the next year, however, Henry, by excellent address, persuaded Malcolm to accompany him to France for the recovery of Thoulouse, which he claimed as part of the inheritance of Eleanor his queen; and the honour which Henry had refused in the last year to give him at Carlisle, he now conferred upon him at Tours in France, in the course of his return from the Thoulouse expedition.†

In 1249, when King Alexander III. repaired from Scotland to York to be married to the Prineess Margaret, daughter of Henry III. of England, the ceremonies of chivalry preceded those of marriage. Alexander received the ensigns of knighthood from the King of England on Christmas day, and the hand of his bride on the following morning.‡ Tournaments were occasionally held at the Scottish court, and strangers were courteously received.§ Knights from Scotland are frequently mentioned in the

* Selden's Titles of Honour, and Pinkerton's History of Scotland, on the authority of a book which I have not been able to meet with, called "Certain Matters composed together." Edinb. 1597, 4to.

[a] Moved. [b] Laundress.

* Henry's History of England, vol. iii., p. 80, 4to.

† Border History of England and Scotland, p. 91.

‡ Ibid., p. 143.

§ Nisbet's Heraldy, i., 7.

old chronicles as having won the prize in the chivalric festivals in France and England. In the wars of the Scots with Edward III. no circumstances of a character peculiarly knightly can be selected; and in the intervals of true chivalry could not, as in the wars between England and France, give the guise of friendship to occasional intercourse. In the year 1341, a time of peace, Edward passed some time in Scotland. Tournaments and jousts formed the occupation of the strangers and the natives; but neither party regarded the gentle rules of the tourney, and two Scottish knights and one English knight were killed.*

Nothing could contribute more powerfully to the advancement of chivalry in the north than the frequent intercourse between the Scots and the French. The latter people, however, would not always acknowledge the chivalric character of their allies. In the year 1385, a troop of French knights joined the Scottish king; and they soon were grieved that they had ever left their own country. They complained to their leader, Sir John of Vienne, of their unhappy lot. They had no tapestried halls and goodly castles as in France; and instead of soft beds their couches were as hard as the ground.

Sir John was a true son of chivalry; and he said to them, "Sirs, it behoves us to suffer a little, and to speak fair since we are in the perils of war. Let us take in cheerfulness that which we find. We cannot always be at Paris, Dijon, Beaune, or at Chalons. It behoveth them that live in the world thinking to have honour, to suffer poverty as well as to enjoy wealth."

The reader of English history remembers that Richard II. invaded Scotland; that at the same time the Scots ravaged Cumberland and Westmoreland; and that each army boasted that the destruction it had committed was fully as dreadful as the havoc made by the other. It is more curious to notice the trait of manners which general historians have altogether omitted, that when the French knights returned home, they complained that they had never passed through so painful an enterprise. Not that they regarded the perilous mêlée, but it was because they returned without horse or harness, poor and feeble. They wished that the French king would unite with the English king, and go into Scotland and destroy that realm for ever. The Scots were an evil people, traitors, and altogether foolish in feats of war.*

English knights always more rejoiced when the trumpet summoned them to France than to Scotland. The rich wines, the fine country, the superior chivalry of the French were preferred before the poverty and bleakness of the north. When the English knights went to Scotland they were obliged to carry provisions with them; and also horses' shoes and harness, the country not furnishing iron or leather.†

The wars between England and Scotland, though fierce and sanguinary, admitted the display of the liberal feelings of chivalry. "Englishmen on the one party, and Scots on the other," says Froissart, "are good men of war: for when they meet there is a hard fight without sparing. There is no pause between them as long as spears, swords, axes, or daggers will endure. When one party hath obtained the victory, they then glorify so in their deeds of arms and are so joyful, that such as are taken are ransomed ere they go out of the field; so that shortly each of them is content with the other, that at their departing they will say courteously, God thank you."‡

These remarks of Froissart, so interesting because so characteristic of manners, prelude the most chivalric battle that ever

* Knyghton, col. 2580.

* This amusing opinion of the French knights should be given in the original language. "Adonc eurent plusieurs chevaliers et escuyers de France passage: et retournerent en Flandres, ou là ou ils pouvoyent arriver, tous affamés, sans monture, et sans armeures: et Escoce maudissoyent, et le heure qu'ils y avoyent entré: et disoyent qu'oncques si duc voyage ne fut: et qu'ils voudroyent que le roi de France s'accordast aux Anglois, un an ou deux, et puis allast en Escoce, pour tout destruire, car oncques si mauvaises gens ne verint: n'y ne trouverent si faux et se traistres, ne de si petite congnuissance. Vol. ii., c. 174.

† The Scotch knights procured horse-shoes and harness ready made from Flanders. Froissart, vol. ii., c. 3. Lord Berners's translation.

‡ Froissart, vol. ii., c. 142.

was fought between Scotland and England. Other battles were decided either by the bow or by that general military skill which was not peculiar to chivalry; but the battle of Otterbourn was a knightly mêlée, and was as truly chivalric as an encounter of cavaliers in the tournament. In the reign of Richard II. of England, and a few years after the circumstances in his time already alluded to, the Scots commanded by James Earl Douglas, taking advantage of the troubles between the King and his parliament, poured upon the south. When they were sated with plunder and destruction, they rested at New-castle, near the English force which the Earl of Northumberland and other border-chieftains had hastily levied.

The Earl's two sons were young and lusty knights, and ever foremost at the barriers to skirmish. Many proper feats of arms were done and achieved. The fighting was hand to hand. The noblest encounter was that which occurred between the Earl Douglas and Sir Henry Percy, surnamed Hotspur.* The Scot won the pennon of his foeman; and in the triumph of his victory he exclaimed that he would carry it to Scotland, and set it on high on his castle of Dalkeith, that it might be seen afar off.

Percy indignantly replied, that Douglas should not pass the border without being met in a manner which would give him no cause for boasting.

With equal spirit the Earl Douglas invited him that night to his lodging to seek for his pennon.

The Scots then retired, and kept careful watch, lest the taunts of their leader should urge the Englishmen to make an attack. Percy's spirit burned to efface his reproach, but he was counselled into calmness.

The Scots then dislodged, seemingly resolved to return with all haste to their own country. But Otterbourn arrested their steps. The castle resisted the assault; and the capture of it would have been of such little value to them that most of the Scotch knights wished that the enterprise should be abandoned.

Douglas commanded, however, that the assault should be persevered in, and he was entirely influenced by his chivalric feelings. He contended that the very difficulty of the enterprise was the reason of undertaking it; and he wished not to be too far from Sir Henry Percy, lest that gallant knight should not be able to do his devoir in redeeming his pledge of winning the pennon of his arms again.

Hotspur was not altogether that impatient spirit which poetry has described him. He longed, indeed, to follow the Douglas, and redeem his badge of honour; but the sage knights of the country, and such as were well expert in arms, spoke against his opinion, and said to him, "Sir, there fortuneth in war oftentimes many losses. If the Earl of Douglas has won your pennon, he bought it dear, for he came to the gate to seek it, and was well beaten: another day you shall win as much of him and more. Sir, we say this because we know well that all the power of Scotland is abroad in the fields; and if we issue forth and are not strong enough to fight with them, (and perchance they have made this skirmish with us to draw us out of the town,) they may soon enclose us, and do with us what they will. It is better to lose a pennon than two or three hundred knights and squires, and put all the country to adventure."

By such words as these Hotspur and his brother were refrained from their purpose; for like sage and imaginative knights they would do nothing against counsel.

Soon afterwards it was discovered that the whole amount of the Scottish force did not exceed three thousand men. Hotspur's heart leapt for joy at the prospect of glory which this news opened to him; and like a true son of chivalry he cried to his friends, "Sirs, let us spring upon our horses, for by the faith I owe unto God, and to my lord my father, I will go and seek my pennon, and dislodge the Scots this same night."

Incontinently knights and squires donned their helms and cuirasses, and vaulted on their war-steeds. They rode more than apace to Otterbourn, and

* "Henry Percy," says Holingshed, "was surnamed, for his often pricking, Henry Hotspur, as one that seldom times rested, if there were any service to be done abroad." History of Scotland, p. 240.

reached the Scottish camp by night. They far out-numbered their foeman, but the numerical was not the physical strength, for the English were fore-spent with travel, while the Scots were fresh and well rested.

The hostile banners waved in the night-breeze, and the bright moon, which had been more wont to look upon the loves than the wars of chivalry, lighted up the Scottish camp. A battle ensued of as valiant a character as any recorded in the pages of history; for there was neither knight nor squire but that did his devoir and fought hand to hand. The English dashed upon their foeman with such spirit, that their charge would have been irresistible, if Douglas, who was of great heart and high of enterprise, had not taken his axe in both his hands, and supported his retreating band. At length he was encountered by three spears at once, and borne perforce to the earth. One of his companions, a gallant knight, and a chaplain who fought on that occasion like a valiant man of arms with a good axe in his hands, skirmished about the Earl as he lay, and kept the press from him.*

When it was known that Douglas had fallen, some of his knights ran with breathless anxiety to the spot and asked him how he sped. "Right evil, cousins," quoth the Earl; "but thank God, very few of my ancestors have died in their beds. But I require you to avenge my death, for I feel my heart fainting within me. Raise my banner, but do not declare my case to any one; for my enemies would rejoice and my friends be discomforted, to hear that I have been wounded to death."

In a moment the proud ensign of his chivalry waved once again over the Scottish knights, and each gallent man-at-arms, cheered his companion's heart by crying the war-cry of the Douglas. The Percys were made prisoners, Hotspur† by the Earl of Montgomery, and Sir Ralph by Sir John Maxwell. Finally, the Scottish chivalry prevailed, and they remained masters of the field.*

Nothing could be more gallant than the demeanour of the Scots. They wished to take alive Thomas Felton, an English squire, whose valour excited their admiration; but, like a true hero, he submitted to be slain rather than to be vanquished.

The Scots, when the Englishmen yielded, were courteous, and set them to their ransom; and every man said to his prisoner, "Sir, go and unarm you, and take your ease;" and they lived together as if they had been brethren.

Among the circumstances connected with the battle, none is more interesting than this: — When the fate of the night was decided, Sir Mathew Redman, an Englishman, and governor of Berwick, spurred his horse from the field, but was hotly pursued by the Scottish knight, Sir James Lindsay, and he could not escape, for his panting charger fell under him. Lindsay dismounted, and the two knights fought well and chivalrously, Scotsman with his axe (the favourite weapon of the nation), and the English knight with his sword. The axe prevailed, and Redman surrendered himself, rescue or no rescue. He wished to go to Newcastle, and his master, (for such, as we have often seen, was the title of a knight who held another captive,) permitted him to depart, on his pledging his word of chivalry, that within three weeks he would meet him at Edinburgh. The knights then separated; but as Lindsay was returning to the Scottish host, priding himself on his success, he was surrounded by the bishop of Durham and a numerous troop. Some hours before, they had marched purposely to the succour of Percy; but the clangour of the mêlée had terrified them into a retreat. They possessed suffi-

* The gallantry of this fighting priest was afterwards rewarded by the gift of the archdeacontry of Aberdeen.

† He was afterwards ransomed; and, according to Camden, Pounouny castle, in Scotland, was built out of the ransom money.

* Walsingham (p. 366.) says that the Earl of Dunbar came in and turned the scale in favour of the Scots. Nothing of this is mentioned by Froissart, who had his account of the battle from the Douglas family, at whose castle he resided some time. If it be said that their account was probably a prejudiced one, the same objection may be raised against that of Walsingham. The Douglas's always spoke of their victory with true chivalric modesty; for they declared that it was the consequence of the exhausted state of the English after the march from Newcastle.

cient bravery, however, to take a single and battle-worn knight. He was led to Newcastle, where he met Sir Matthew Redman: and these two gallant cavaliers dined right merrily together, and, after quaffing many a cup of rich wine, to the honour and health of their mistresses, they arranged with the Bishop the conditions of each other's liberation.*

The reign of Henry IV. of England was not altogether void of chivalric interest. While Duke of Lancaster he had chosen Louis Duke of Orleans for his brother in chivalry. Each had promised to the other that they would live in the warmest affection of true friendship. Each vowed to be a friend and well-wisher to the friends and well-wishers of the other, and an enemy to his enemies, as became the honour and reputation of both; and at all times, and in all places, they would by words and deeds assist each other in the defence of his person, honour, and estate. These chivalric engagements between the two Dukes had been made known to the world in an instrument called a letter of alliance, dated the 17th of June, 1396.

The friendship lasted during the remainder of the reign of Richard II.; but the deposition of that monarch was so odious a circumstance, in the eyes of the court of France, the daughter of whose sovereign Richard had married, that although no open rupture of the existing truce between the two nations took place, yet many high-spirited French noblemen made private war upon the English king.

The Duke of Orleans, his sworn brother in arms, challenged Henry IV. to meet him at any place he chose in France, each of them being accompanied by one hundred knights and squires, of name and arms without reproach, and to combat together till one of the parties should surrender.

Henry declined the challenge, alleging, as his reasons, the public truce between the two countries, to which the Duke of Orleans was a party, and the particular treaty of alliance between themselves. That treaty, however, he now annulled, and threw aside thenceforth all love and affection towards the Duke. He declared that it would be unworthy of his high rank to accept the challenge of any one of inferior dignity to himself, nor had any of his royal progenitors ever employed his arms with one hundred or more persons, in such a cause: but whenever he should think it convenient to visit his possessions on the French side of the sea, accompanied by such numbers of persons as he thought proper, the Duke of Orleans might assemble as many persons as he should judge expedient, to acquire honour in the accomplishing of all his courageous desires; and he should not depart without being satisfied in a combat between themselves; which mode of terminating their dispute was preferable to any other that might occasion the effusion of more Christian blood.

The Duke of Orleans replied that the public truce had been violated by Henry himself, when he made war upon Richard the ally of France. With respect to the articles of friendship between themselves, the allies of the King of France had been excepted from their provisions, and therefore either party was left to his choice of conduct regarding the deportment of the other to any of their allies. On the subject of a remark of Henry that no knight, of whatever rank he might be, ought to request a deed of arms, until he should have returned any article of alliance that might exist between himself and the challenged person, Louis satirically inquired whether Henry had rendered to his lord King Richard, the oath of fidelity he had made to him, before he had proceeded in the manner he had done against his person. The Duke insinuated that Richard's death had been compassed by Henry, and then inquired how the King could suffer that noble lady, the Queen of England, to return to France so desolate after the death of her husband, despoiled of her portion and dower. The man who sought to gain honour was always the defender and guardian of the rights of widows and damsels of virtuous life, such as the niece of the Duke of Orleans was known to lead; and as he was so nearly related to her, acquitting himself towards God and towards her as a relation, he re-

* Froissart, vol. ii., c. 146. Buchanan, lib. 9, p. 178.

plied, that to avoid effusion of blood he would cheerfully meet him in single combat.

In reply to this letter Henry observed, that when public affairs had called him from France to England, Louis had promised him aid, and that therefore the Duke could not in justice comment on the late revolution: but with that respect to Richard personally, he, Henry, now king, denied most warmly and solemnly that his death had been occasioned by his order or consent. He declared it to be false, and said it would be false each time that Louis uttered it; and this he was ready to prove, through the grace of God, in personal combat. He repelled the charge of cruelty to Isabella; contending that, on the contrary, he had ever shown kindness and friendship to her, and wishing that Louis had never acted with greater rigour, unkindness, or cruelty towards any lady or damsel than he had done her.

But the proposed combat never took place; nor can it be inferred that either party was very sincere in his challenge, for the ambassadors of Henry at the court of France often complained of the conduct of Louis; but Louis never reiterated his challenge, and no satisfaction was rendered, the King and council waiving the matter entirely, and coldly stating that they would always continue firm to the engagements which they had made with England.*

In another event, the most important event of his reign, the conduct of Henry was most decidedly unchivalric. When at the battle of Shrewsbury, (July 21, 1403,) the banners advanced, and the air was rent with the war-cries, "Saint George!" and "Esperance Percy!" the archers on either side drew their tough bow-strings with such murderous energy, that the several lines of knights and men-at-arms with difficulty maintained their ground.

In this moment of peril, when the stoutest hearts quailed, the gallant Hotspur, and Archibald Earl Douglas,† with a small band of brothers in arms, started from their host, and throwing their warlike shields before them, rushed, amidst an iron shower, into the very centre, the best defended part, of the royal army. Their battle-axes and good swords made fearful havoc among the King's guards, the standard of England was trodden under foot, and the Earl of Stafford and that "dear and true industrious friend" of the King, Sir Robert Blunt, who were armed in royal guise, were slain.* Hotspur sought in vain for the King; for when His Grace observed the Percies sweeping across the field, he had followed the prudent council of the Earl of Dunbar, and changing his armour for that of a common knight, he repaired to another part of the plain.

The Prince of Wales displayed more bravery than his father, and he was wounded while maintaining his position.

Hotspur now formed his little band into a dense array, and endeavoured to retire to his line of knights. But while he was fighting with all the courage of his high chivalry, a random arrow brought him to the earth. His death was almost instantaneous; and the event was viewed through either army with the various feelings of joy and wo. He had been the inspiring soul of his own host, and his fall was the signal for their dispersion.

The character of courage can scarcely be denied to Henry IV., but it was not graced by any of the lofty daring of chivalry. An Edward would have braved the fiercest danger, he would never have thrown aside the insignia of his rank, and clothing some noble friends in the royal habiliments, have left them to perish in his stead. The

* Monstrelet, vol. i., c. 9, &c. Rymer, Fœdera, vol. viii, p. 310, 311.

† This Archibald Douglas Earl of Galloway, called the Grim, was an illegitimate son of a good Sir James Douglas, and the successor in the earldom of Douglas to the Earl James who fell at Otterbourn. Archibald had been taken prisoner by Hotspur at the battle of Holmedon Hill; and Percy agreed, that if he would fight with him as valiantly against Henry IV. as he had fought during that battle, he would give him his liberty free of ransom-money. Douglas, as a soldier and an enemy of the English king, had no objection to these terms, and therefore he fought at the battle of Shrewsbury. Buchanan, book 10.

* Well, indeed, might the Scottish knight say,

"Another king! they grow like Hydra-heads:
I am the Douglas, fatal to all those
That wear these colours on them."

Shakspeare, Henry IV., Part I., act. v., scene 4.

conduct of Henry might have been royal, but it certainly was not chivalric.*

The glories of chivalry seemed to be revived in the reign of Harry Monmouth. His coronation was accompanied by a large creation of a class of knights, whose peculiar nature I have not yet expressed. In the early ages of English history there seems to have been two descriptions of cavaliers, the Knights of the Sword, and the Knights of the Bath. The former were made both in times of war and peace, the latter only at coronations, royal marriages, and other festive occasions. The dubbing with the sword was the simple ceremony of creating knights of the one class; but most of the forms of chivalry were used in the investiture of those of the other: and as the Bath was a very remarkable part of the ceremony, and the exhortation to the performance of chivalric duties was delivered to the knight while he was in it, the knights so created were reputed knights of the Bath.

The Knights of the Sword, or Knights Bachelors, were created by the sheriffs of counties, by virtue of letters from the King, commanding his officers to knight those persons who, in consequence of their landed estates, were worthy of the honour; but when the other class was to be enlarged, the king selected a certain number of the young nobility and gentry, and he himself assisted at the ceremony.

Knights of the Bath always took precedence of Knights Bachelors; and as the superiority of the Knights of the Garter was shown by the circumstance, that on the installation of a knight there was a creation of knights of the Bath, so on another occasion, when knights of the Bath were made, there was, in honour of the circumstance, a creation of knights of the Sword.

The exact time when this distinction was first made between Knights of the Bath and Knights of the Sword, has eluded the investigation of antiquaries, nor does it deserve a lengthened inquiry. It may be marked in the reign of Henry IV.,* and was probably of earlier origin; and at the coronation of his son this feature of our ancient manners were fully displayed.

The King, with a noble and numerous train of lords spiritual and temporal, left his palace at Kingston-upon-Thames, and rode at a soft pace towards London. He was met and greeted by a countless throng of earls, barons, knights, squires, and other men of landed estate and consideration; and as he approached the city, a solemn procession of its clergy, and a gorgeous train of its merchants and tradesmen, hailed his approach. The King was conducted with every

* Otterbourne, p. 239, 244. Walsingham, p. 410, &c. Hall, folio 22. I mean not to say, however, that his conduct was without precedent, for at the great battle of Poictiers nineteen French knights were arrayed like King John.

* Camden has marked the commencement of this custom in the reign of Henry IV., and he has been followed by all our writers on heraldry and titles of honour, except Anstis, who endeavours to trace it to the reign of Edward I. Anstis mistook the matter entirely. Undoubtedly many instances may be met with in earlier times when knights were created with the full ceremonies of oblation of the sword at the altar, of bathing, &c.; and in strictness all knights should have been created in that manner. Whenever Anstis met with a knight inaugurated in that way, he called him a knight of the Bath. Now the question is, at what time was the first royal marriage, royal christening, or other festivity, when knights were made? — made, not exactly for military objects, not in consequence of feudal tenure, but in honour of the event which they were celebrating. Knights of the Bath were knights of peace, knights of compliment and courtesy. Camden's opinion was founded on the following passage in Froissart: "The vigil before the coronation (of Henry IV.) was on the evening of Saturday, on that occasion, and at that time, there watched all the esquires who were the next morning to be created knights, to the number of forty-six. Each of them had his esquire attending him, a separate chamber, and a separate bath, where the rites of bathing were that night performed. On the day following, the Duke of Lancaster (Henry IV.) at the time of celebrating mass, created them knights, giving them long green coats, the sleeves whereof were cut straight, and furred with minever, and with great hoods or chaperons furred in the same manner, and after the fashion used by prelates. And every one of these knights, on his left shoulder, had a double cordon or string of white silk, to which white tassels were pendent. Now there is nothing in this passage which can lead the mind to think that the coronation of Henry IV. was the first occasion when knights of the Bath were created; and, therefore, our writers on heraldry and titles of honour are not justified in the positiveness with which they always head the dissertations on knighthood of the Bath with the year 1399.

mark of honour to the Tower, where about fifty gallant young gentlemen of noble birth were waiting in expectation of receiving the honour of knighthood from the King, on occasion of the august ceremony of his coronation. The sovereign feasted his lords in the Tower; and these young candidates for chivalry, in testimony that they should not be compellable at any future time to perform the like service in the habit of esquires, served up the dishes at this royal festival according to the usage of chivalry in England; and immediately after the entertainment they retired to an apartment where dukes, earls, barons, and honourable knights, as their counsellors or directors, instructed them upon their behaviour, when they should become Knights of the venerable order of the Bath.

The young candidates, according to custom, went into the baths prepared severally for them, performing their vigils and the other rites and exercises of chivalric practice. Much of the night was passed in watching and prayer, the rest they slept away in rich golden beds. They arose on the first appearance of the next morning's dawn; and, after giving their beds to the domestic servants of the King's household, as their customary fee, they proceeded to hear mass. Their devotions concluded, they clad themselves in rich silk mantles, to whose left shoulders were attached a double cordon, or strings of white silk, from which white tassels were pendent. This addition to the mantle was not regarded as a decoration, but a badge of gentle shame, which the knight was obliged to wear until some high emprise had been achieved by him. The proud calls of his knighthood were remissible, however, by his lady-love; for a fair and noble damsel could remove this stigma from his shoulder, at her own sweet will; for there were no limits to woman's power in the glorious days of chivalry.*

The young soldiers mounted noble war-steeds, and rode to the gate of the royal palace, where, dismounting, each of them was supported by two knights, and conducted with all proper marks of honour and respect into the presence of the King, who, sitting in royal magnificence, the throne being surrounded with the great officers of state, promoted them severally to the honour of knighthood. A great festival was then given in their honour, and they were permitted to sit down in their rich silk mantles in the King's presence; but they were not allowed to taste any part of the entertainment; for it was a feature in the simple manners of our ancestors, that new made knights, like new made wives, ought to be scrupulously modest and abstemious.*

After the royal feast was done, the young cavaliers divested themselves of their mantles, put on rich robes ornamented with ensigns of dependence on the King. The next day, when the King rode to Westminster in much state and solemn order, all these young knights whom he had just honoured with the order of chivalry, preceded him, riding with noble chevisance through the middle of the city; and so splendid was their appearance that the spectators (observes the old chronicler) seemed inebriated with joy.†

It is a pleasing and convincing proof of the chivalric spirit of Harry Monmouth, that he commanded Lydgate to translate into English the Destruction of Troy, in order that the public mind might be restored to its ancient military tone. He wished that the remembrance of the valiant dead should live, that the worthiness and prowess of the old chivalry and true knighthood should be remembered again.‡ Accordingly, the

* That the shoulder-knot of the knights of the Bath was worn only for a time, and on the principle of chivalry which induced men to place chains round their legs until they had performed some deeds of arms, I learn from Upton, a writer of great reputation in heraldic matters, who lived in the days of Henry VI. See his treatise De Re Militari, p. 10, quoted in the Appendix to Anstis's History of the Knighthood of the Bath.

* Thus, Chaucer:

"A custom is unto these nobles all,
A bride shall not eaten in the hall,
Till days four, other three at the least
Y passed, then let her go to feast,"

† MS. Norfolc. in Off. Arm. n. 15. See Anstis's Appendix to his History of Knighthood of the Bath, p. 24.

‡ "For to obeie without variaunce
My lordes byddying fully and plesaunce
Whiche hath desire, sothly for to seyn
Of verray knyghthood, to remember agayn

youth of England were on fire, and honour's thought reigned solely in the breast of every man.

"They sell the pasture now to buy the horse;
Following the mirror of all Christian kings,
With winged heels, as English Mercuries.
For now sits Expectation in the air,
And hides a sword, from heels unto the point.
With crowns imperial, crowns and coronets,
Promis'd to Harry and his followers."*

Certainly the march to Calais (after the taking of Harfleur) was never exceeded in heroic bravery by any imaginary exploit in romance. The attenuated condition of his army forbad all immediate prosecution of his ambitious aspirations for the French crown; but a direct return to England did not accord with his high and courageous spirit; and, treating the soil of France as if it were his own, he resolved to march to Calais. He professed neither desire nor fear to meet his enemies; and he pursued his march with firm and grave steps, openly declaring to the French heralds the destinations of his course. Political objects were suspended, but he secretly wished to raise the chivalric character of his people; and he had numbers and vigour yet remaining to have a joust to the utterance with his enemies. As at Poictiers so at Agincourt, the yeomen divided with the knights of England the glory of the conquest: but the battle of Agincourt was in itself more heroic, for the English themselves were the assailants, instead of, as in the former battle, waiting the attack.

Henry's disdain of the wish of having more men from England, — his noble cry, "Banners, advance!" when his few thousands were ranged against all the proud chivalry of France, — his rendering himself conspicuous by his crown, his armour, and his splendid tunic, — his knighting some brave Welsh soldiers, his personal defenders, even as they lay expiring; — these circumstances, vouched for, as they are, by the most faithful chroniclers, apparently belong to the romance rather than to the history of chivalry.

The worthyness, gif I shall not lye.
And the prowesse of olde chivalrie."
Lydgate, War of Troy.

* Henry V., Act ii., Chorus.

After the battle, he was as courteous* to his noble prisoners as the Black Prince had been on a similar occasion; and there was something very beautiful in his not permitting his battered helmet, with its royal crown, to be exhibited during the customary show at his public entrance into London.†

Henry V. was the last of our chivalric kings. Though he revived the fame of Edward III. and the Black Prince, yet immediately after his reign the glories of English chivalry began to wane.

In our subsequent wars in France, indeed, there were among our nobility many knightly spirits, — the Warwicks, the Talbots, the Suffolks, the Salisburys, all worthy to have been the paladins of Charlemagne, the knights of Arthur's Round Table. But they went not with the character of the age; they opposed, rather than reflected it. Chivalry was no longer a national feature in our wars when there was no sovereign to fan the flame.

Henry VI. was a devotee, and Edward IV. a voluptuary. The civil wars in England operated as fatally upon the noble order of knighthood as the civil wars in France had done in that country. In those contests, far fiercer than the national hostilities, there was a ruthlessness

* He was kind and courteous to them immediately after the battle, and indeed as long as their deportment merited his friendship. The duke of Orleans and four other princes of the blood royal were taken prisoners at the battle of Agincourt, and for a while lived on their parole. But when they forfeited the titles of knights and gentlemen, by endeavouring to deceive and betray Henry while he was negotiating with the parties that distracted France, he then removed them to close confinement in Pontefrac castle; nor did they obtain their liberty for many years. A great outcry has been raised against Henry for his conduct in this instance, — for his not showing a chivalric deportment to men who had forfeited their honour.

† Thus the Chorus in Shakspeare's Henry V. addresses the audience:

"So let him land,
And solemnly, see him set on to London.
So swift a pace has thought, that even now
You may imagine him upon Blackheath.
When that his lords desire him, to have borne
His bruised helmet and his bended sword,
Before him through the city: he forbids it,
Being free from vainness and self-glorious pride:
Giving full trophy, signal, and ostent,
Quite from himself, to God."

of spirit that mocked the gentle influences of chivalry. Accordingly it was asked in the time of Edward IV., "How many knights are there now in England that have the use and exercise of a knight? that is to say, that he knoweth his horse, and his horse him, ready to a point to have all things that belongeth to a knight; a horse that is according and broken after its kind, his armour and harness meet and fitting."*

"I would," continues the father of English printing, "it pleased our sovereign lord that twice or thrice in a year he would cry jousts of peace, to the end that every knight should have horse and harness, and also the use and craft of a knight; and also to tourney, and the best to have a prize, a diamond or jewel. The exercises of chivalry are not used and honoured as they were in ancient time, when the noble acts of the knights of England that used chivalry were renowned through the universal world. O ye knights of England, where is the custom and usage of noble chivalry? What do ye now but go to the bains and play at dice? Alas! what do ye but sleep and take ease, and are all disordered from chivalry? Leave this, leave it, and reade the noble volumes of St. Graal, of Launcelot, of Tristrem, of Galaod, of Perceval, of Perceforest, of Gawayn, and many more. There shall ye see manhood, courtesy, and gentilness."†

To this testimony of the decline of chivalry must be added the important fact, that in 1439 people petitioned parliament for liberty to commute by a pecuniary fine the obligation to receive knighthood. This change of manners did not occur, as is generally supposed, in consequence of the use of gunpowder; for during the civil wars in England artillery was seldom and but partially used in the field, and, except at the great battle of Tewkesbury, in the year 1471, that arm of power had no effect on the general issue of battles. The cavalry and infantry were arranged in the old system: the lance was the weapon of those of gentle birth, while the bow and the bill were used by people of inferior state. Comines, who wrote about the close of the fifteenth century, says, that the archers formed the main strength of a battle.*

Though the civil wars had injured, they had not altogether destroyed the spirit of chivalry. There was yet enough of it remaining among the people to have borne its old shape and appearance, if England had once more been possessed of a Black Prince or a Harry Monmouth. But we have no such sovereign; and the increasing use of gunpowder effectually prevented the return of chivalric customs in battle. The feelings of a nation are reflected in its literature; and we find that the taste of the English people was altogether in favour of romances and histories of chivalry, as Caxton's various publications prove. The declamation of Caxton against the degeneracy of the age, which has been already cited, must not be interpreted literally in all its points. Romance writers, like moralists, had before praised the past, at the expense of the present times. So early as the thirteenth century, Thomas of Erceldoune, called the Rhymer, had bewailed the depravity of his contemporaries, and had likened the degeneracy of his age to the change which the approaching winter must produce upon the appearance of the fields and groves,

"This semly somers day,
In winter it is nought sen:
This greves (groves), waxen al gray,
That in her time were grene:
So dos this world I say,
Y wis and nought at wene;
The gode bene al oway,
That our elders have bene
To abide."†

Caxton's mind was full of the high interest of chivalry, and it was very natural of him to lament that the same enthusiasm did not warm the hearts of others. But he must have considered the feelings of chivalry as dormant, and not extinct, or he would never have addressed the public in the manner he did at the close of his preface to his edition of the romances relating to Arthur and the knights of the Round Table. He printed the work, he says, "to the intent that noble men may see and learn the noble acts of chivalry, the gentle and

* Caxton, of the Order of Chivalry or Knighthood. † Ibid.

* Comines, vol. i., p. 31.
† Sir Tristrem, Scott's edition, Fytte first, st. 2

virtuous deeds that some knights used in those days, by which they came to honour, and how they that were vicious were punished, and oft put to shame and rebuke, humbly beseeching all noble lords and ladies, with all other estates of what estate or degree they be of, that shall see and read in this said book and work, that they take the good and honest acts in their remembrance, and to follow the same. Wherein they shall find many joyous and pleasant histories, and many noble and renowned acts of humanity, gentleness, and chivalry. For herein may be seen noble chivalry, courtesy, humanity, friendliness, hardiness, love, friendship, cowardice, murder, hate, virtue, and sin. Do after the good and leave the evil, and it shall bring you to good fame and renommée."

His question, how many knights of England were there in England that had the use and exercise of chivalry, could have been answered by many accomplished cavaliers. The King, at the very time when Caxton wrote, was giving licenses to his subjects to progress into foreign countries, and perform feats of arms; and foreign princes, barons, and knights, came into England, under royal protection, to grace our tilts and tournaments.* Every marriage, and other interesting circumstances in the lives of the nobility, was celebrated by knightly shows in honour of arms and of the ladies.

The forms of chivalry appeared more splendid than before, as chivalry approached its downfall. Henry VII., the least warlike of our sovereigns, created knights with remarkable brilliancy of ceremony; and the jousts and tournaments in the days of his son and successor would have graced the best ages of chivalry. But Henry VIII. had none of the virtues of a true knight, and his conduct to his wives was any thing but chivalric.† He displayed his great strength and activity of person in the tournament, because that amusement was one of English custom, but he would as readily have engaged in any other exercise more strictly gymnastic. He affected, however, to joust from true feelings of knighthood; for he used on these occasions to wear on his head a lady's sleeve full of diamonds. He was as famous for his tournaments as Edward III. had been for his battles. In many of the early years of his reign he was perpetually breaking spears, or fighting at barriers with a two-handed sword, and to his rank, if not to his skill, the prize was generally adjudged. But his skill was sometimes undoubted; for, like the knights of old, he occasionally fought in disguise,* and yet conquered; and he encountered, with similar success, men of other countries, who, for various reasons of affairs or pleasure, travelled to England.

The jousts and tournaments in the days of Henry VIII. are extremely interesting, as reflecting a state of manners different from those of earlier times. Tournaments were no longer simple representations of chivalry, but splendid pageants were united to them.

In June, 1512, a solemn tournament was kept at Greenwich, the King and Sir Charles Brandon undertaking to abide all comers. To this goodly show the ladies were the first that approached, dressed in white and red silk, and seated upon horses, the colours of whose trappings corresponded with those of the ladies' dresses. A fountain curiously made of russet satin, having eight mouths spouting water, then followed. Within this piece of splendour and ingenuity, sat a knight armed at all points. The next person in the procession was a lady covered with black silk dropped with fine silver, riding on a courser barded in a similar manner. A knight in a horse-litter then followed. When

* Raymer's Fœdera.

† Warton pleasantly observes, that had Henry never murdered his wives, his politeness to the fair sex would remain unimpeached.

* Holingshed, p. 805, 806, &c. Henry's passion for disguising himself was singular, and carried him beyond the bounds of chivalric decorum. "Once on a time the King in persom, accompanied by the Earls of Essex, Wiltshire, and other noblemen to the number of twelve, came suddenly in the morning into the Queen's chamber, all apparelled in short coats of Kentish kendall, with hoods on their heads, and hose of the same, every one of them carrying his bow and arrow, and a sword and a buckler, like outlaws, or Robin Hood's men. Whereat the Queen, the ladies, and all other there were abashed, as well for the strange sight, as also for their sudden coming, — and after certain dances and pastimes made, they departed. Holingshed, p. 805.

the fountain arrived at the tilting ground, the ladies rode round the lists, and so did the fountain, and the knight within the litter. Two goodly coursers caparisoned for the jousts, then were introduced. The two knights left the fountain and the litter and mounted them, the surprised spectators beholding the King and Sir Charles Brandon.

The challenge to all comers was then proclaimed by the heralds; and while the trumpets were sounding all the inspiring notes of chivalry, at one end of the lists entered Sir Thomas Knevet in a castle of coal black, and over the castle was written 'The dolorous Castle,' The Earl of Essex, the Lord Howard, and other knights splendidly attired, then pricked into the lists, and with Sir Thomas encountered the King and Sir Charles Brandon. The details of the tournament have not been recorded; the chronicler contenting himself with observing, that the King broke most spears, and that the prize fell to his lot.*

Henry displayed his joy at the birth of his son, Prince Arthur, by a solemn tournament. The court removed from Richmond to Westminster. The King himself determined to tourney, and he selected four knights to aid him. He styled himself "Cure Loial," the Lord William Earl of Devonshire was called "Bon Voloire," Sir Thomas Knevet, "Bon Espoir," and Sir Edward Nevill chose for his tourneying name "Valiant Desire." These four noble spirits were called "Les quatre chevaliers de la forrest Salvigne." Their names were written upon a goodly table, which was suspended from a tree, curiously wrought; the knights engaging to run at the tilt against all comers. Accordingly, by the prescribed time, a court in the palace was prepared for the games, and the Queen and her ladies were conducted to a gallery richly hung inside with cloth of gold, and on the outside with cloth of arras. A pageant preceded the sports of chivalry. It is described as representing a forest, with rocks, hills, and vales, with trees, herbs and flowers, made of green velvet, damask and silk. Six men clad as foresters stood at different parts; and in the midst of the forest was a castle apparently made of gold, and before the gate sat a gentleman splendidly apparelled, weaving a garland of roses for the prize. The spectators imagined that the pageant was drawn into the court by a lion and an antelope, who were led by men in the guise of savages. When the pageant rested before the Queen, the foresters blew their horns, and from different parts of the forest the four knights issued armed at all points and mounted on their war-steeds. Each knight carried his lance, a plume of feathers surmounted his crest, and his name was embroidered on the bases of gold which covered his horse. At the moment of these knights starting from the forest, and the court resounding with the noise of drums and trumpets, the Earl of Essex, the Lord Thomas Howard, and many other nobles, entered the court, and then the jousts commenced. But who deserved best that day, the historian has not mentioned. The next afternoon the Queen repaired to her gallery; and instead of the King and his aids being introduced in a pageant, they entered the court under splendid pavilions of cloths of gold and velvet. On the other side of the lists Sir Charles Brandon entered in the guise of a recluse or religious person, his horse being also caparisoned in the simplest form. No drum or other sound of minstrelsy ushered his approach; but he slowly and silently advanced to the Queen, and presented to her a writing, whose effect was, that if she pleased he would tourney in her presence, but if it suited her not, he would depart as he came. The Queen smiled and bowed assent; and Sir Charles, retiring to one end of the lists, threw aside the disguise of his splendid armour. The young Henry Guilford, enclosed in a device or a pageant made like a castle or turret, then approached the Queen, and obtained her leave to engage in the tilt. Next appeared the Marquis Dorset and Sir Thomas Bullen, like two pilgrims from Saint James, in tabards of black velvet, with palmers' hats on their helmets, with long Jacob's staves in their hands, their horse-trappings of black velvet, the harness of men and steeds being set with scallop shells of fine gold and strips of black velvet, every strip being also adorned with golden scallop shells. Next came

* Holingshed, p. 815.

the Lord Henry of Buckingham, Sir Giles Capell, and many other knights. The sports then commenced, and as on the preceding day the King won the prize. In the evening the ambassadors and the nobility supped with the royal family, and after the banquet the King with the Queen and lords and ladies entered the white-hall of the palace. Songs, dancing, and minstrels, succeeded, and in the midst of the merriment the King retired unseen. Soon afterwards the trumpets at the end of the hall began to sound, and a pageant upon wheels was brought in. A gentleman richly attired descended from it, and approaching the Queen in a supplicatory attitude, told her that in a garden of pleasure there was an arbour of gold, wherein were lords and ladies much desirous to show pastime to the Queen and court, if they might be permitted so to do. The Queen replied, that she was very desirous to see them and their pastime. A cloth of arras was therefore drawn from the front of the pageant, and rich representations of nature saluted the eye. Six ladies, dressed with more bravery than the dull chronicler can describe, were seen in the arbour, supported by the King and five gallant knights. The whole scene appeared one blaze of gold. After the applause which this splendour elicited had subsided, the lords and ladies descended from the pageant, the minstrels sounded their music of gaiety, and the whole court mixed in the dance. And the people, too, had their amusement; for some portion of the simplicity of ancient times remained, and royalty was not thought to lose any thing of its dignity by being presented to the public eye. The pageant was conveyed to the end of the palace, there to tarry till the dances were finished, and so to have received the lords and ladies again; but suddenly the rude and joyous people ran to it, and tore and rent and spoilt it; and the Lord Steward and his officers, seeing that they could not drive them away without a conflict and disturbance, suffered the pageant to be destroyed.*

The field of the cloth of gold has been so often described in works of ready access, that I should not be warranted in attempting to picture again its gay and sparkling scene. But some of its circumstances have not been sufficiently noticed; and they are so expressive of the chivalric feelings of the time that a history of chivalry would be imperfect without a description of them.

The whole ceremonial of the meeting between Henry VIII. and Francis I. was regulated by Cardinal Wolsey,

> "One certes, that promised no element
> In such a business."

And the principle which guided this right reverend cardinal of York was political subtlety, and not knightly liberality The English sojourned at Guisnes, the French at Ardres. On the morning of the first royal interview, the two kings and their numerous followers left their respective pavilions at the signal of a gun fired at Guisnes, and returned from Ardres. They slowly measured the way to the intermediate plain in the silence of apprehension; for the cardinal's ungenerous suspicions had spread through either host. Once each party halted, expecting an attack; and when the noise which occasioned the alarm died away, the procession recommenced its course, confident that the fears of the other side were greater than their own. The kings met, and so anxious were they to display their feelings of friendship that they embraced on horseback. They then dismounted, and having renewed their caresses, they went into a pavilion of golden cloth; nor did they separate till dinner and familiar conversation had frozen the etiquette imposed on their manners by the cardinal.

The next morning the two Queens interchanged visits, and spent some hours in dancing and other amusements. These interchanges of courtesies warmed the minds of the two sovereigns to chivalric generousness. One morning Francis rode to Guisnes with scarcely any attendance. He walked through the English guard, who drew back in astonishment, and he did not stop till he had reached the chamber where his brother monarch lay asleep. Francis soon awoke him; and Henry, immediately comprehending his motives, declared, in the spirit and language of chivalry, that he yielded himself his prisoner, and plighted his faith. He then threw round Francis'-

* Holingshed, p. 807, 808.

neck a collar of great value. and Francis gave him a bracelet of superior worth, each king entreating the other to wear the gift for his sake. The two monarchs then became brothers in arms; and with twelve companions undertook to deliver all persons at jousts, tourney, and barriers.

The chivalric exercises continued for five days, in the presence of the two queens and the nobility of England and France. French and English knights were the only part of the chivalry of Europe who answered the challenge: for chivalry could not then, as in former days, smooth down personal heats and feuds; and therefore no subject of the wide extended empire of Charles V. appeared on the field of the cloth of gold. The only weapons used were spears; but they were impelled with such vigour, as to be so often broken, that the spectators' eyes were scarred with splinters. Each day the challengers varied their harness and devices, and each day the two kings ran together so valiantly that the beholders had great joy.*

"Each following day
Became the last day's master, till the next
Made former wonders it's. * * *
* * * * The two kings,
Equal in lustre, were now best, now worst,
As presence did present them; him in eye,
Still him in praise; and being present both,
'Twas said, they saw but one; and no discerner
Durst wag his tongue in censure. When these suns
(For so they praise 'em) by their heralds challenged
The noble spirit to arms, they did perform
Beyond thought's compass; that former fabulous story,
Being now seen possible enough, got credit,
That Bevis was believed.†

There was a considerable portion of chivalry among the nobility of Henry VIII. In some respects, however, it partook more of the romance of the Troubadour than the genuine character of knighthood: for the tale that Lord Surrey travelled from court to court proclaiming the peerless beauty of his lady-love, and challenging all gainsayers to a joust *à l'outrance* is totally void of truth;‡ and it only appears that his Lordship fostered for the fair Geraldine a sentimental affection without distinct views. It was altogether a poet's dream; and the Italian muse, who was at that time worshipped in England, favoured such fond imaginings.

Much of the literature of the times was chivalric. Every noble spirit loved the Knight's Tale of Chaucer. The French and Spanish stories of warriors and dames were transfused into English; as was the fine Chronicle of Froissart by Lord Berners at the command of the King; and the vigorous, rich, and picturesque style of our language in those days was admirably adapted for a history of the most brilliant age of knighthood. That the spirit of chivalry was not extinct in the reign of Henry VIII. is evident from this work of Lord Berners, for the ordinary diction of the day was used; and it was to the full as expressive of the gallantry and grace of the olden time as the original work itself.

The education of our English gentry was nearly as chivalric then as at any previous period of our history. Boys were sent to school to learn to read at four years of age. At six they were taught languages and the first principles of manners: from ten to twelve dancing and music were added to their accomplishments, and politeness was particularly encouraged. At fourteen they were initiated into the sports of the field which prepared them for the ruder exercise of arms. At sixteen they were taught to joust, to fight at the barriers, to manage the war-horse, to assail castles, to support the weight of armour, and to contend in feats of arms with their companions. And there their education terminated.* When they went to battle, they demeaned themselves worthy of their education.

* Holingshed, p. 85, &c.

† Shakspeare, Henry VIII., Act i., scene 1.

‡ Dr. Nott, in his life of Lord Surrey, prefixed to the works of His Lordship and Sir Thomas Wyatt, has by the evidence of facts completely overthrown this pleasing tale.

* These curious particulars are to be gathered, as Dr. Nott remarks, from the following passage in Hardynge's Chronicle.

"And as lords' sons been set, at four year age,
At school to learn the doctrine of letture;
And after six to have them in language
And sit at meet, seemly in all nurture:
At ten and twelve to revel is their cure,
To dance and sing, and speak of gentleness:
At fourteen year they shall to field I sure,
At hunt the deer, and catch at hardiness.

In all the military expeditions of the English on the Continent, the soldiers of either army were continually challenging each other to break a lance for their ladies' sake. Sir John Wallop in his march with a British army to Landrecy, in the year 1543, went to the town of Terouenne, and, recollecting that the commandant was an old acquaintance, he addressed him in the true spirit of chivalry, that if there were any gentlemen under his charge willing to break a lance for their ladies' sake, six gentlemen should be sent from the English army to meet them. The challenge was accepted, the jousts were held, and, after this fine old chivalric mode of displaying his friendship, Sir John Wallop held on his course to Landrecy.*

"For deer to hunt and slay, and see them bleed
An hardiment giveth to his courage.
And also in his wit he giveth heed,
Imagining to take them at advantage.
At sixteen year to warry and to wage,
To joust and ride and castles to assail,
To skirmish als, and make sicker scurage,
And set his watch for peril nocturnal.

"And every day his armour to essay,
In feats of arms with some of his meynie;
His might to prove, and what that he do may
If that he were in such a jeopardy
Of war befall, that by necessity
He might algates with weapons him defend.
Thus should he learn in his priority
His weapons all, in armes to dispend."

See to the same effect, the Paston letters, vol. iii., 34, 35, &c.

The early part of the sixteenth century forms a very interesting æra of British chivalry; for it introduces to our notice James IV. of Scotland, a hero both of knighthood and romance. He was as expert and graceful in tournaments and jousts as any cavalier who was the theme of history or poetry. On occasion of his marriage with Margaret of England, his chivalric shows were splendid beyond example. He was wont to personate King Arthur, or to take the title and appearance of an imaginary creature, called the Savage Knight. His tiltyards reflected the glories of the last king of the Britons, and the knights of the Round Table, or represented a wild and romantic country, with Highlanders clad in savage dresses guarding the barriers. Like a knight of the by-gone time, he was a pilgrim as well as a soldier, and we will hope, for the purity of earlier days of chivalry, that his heroic predecessors did not often, like himself, turn aside from their pious peregrinations to wander amidst the bowers of castles, with ladies fair.

The romantic gallantry of his disposition was so well known, that cooler politicians used it to the purposes of their ambition. The French king, Louis XII., was abandoned by most of his allies, and was anxious to renew the ancient alliance of France with Scotland; yet England and Scotland were at that time at peace, and the two countries appeared to be united in friendship by the marriage of James with Margaret, the King of England's sister. But Louis knew the character of the man whose aid he required, and he played upon it with admirable dexterity. In 1504, he sent, as his ambassador to the Scottish court, Bernard Stuart, Lord of Aubigny, one of the most distinguished cavaliers of France. This envoy admirably supported the object of his master: he soon won the affections of James, and his discourses on wars and tournaments dis-

* This curious circumstance is mentioned in a journal of Sir John Wallop's expedition, which Dr. Nott dug out of the State-Paper Office. The whole passage is amusing. "July 31. Wallop advances to Bettune. Passing by Terouenne, he attempts to draw out the garrison of that place, but fails. The French defeated in a skirmish. Wallop says, that he sent a letter to the commandment of Terouenne, an old acquaintance, that if he had any gentlemen under his charge, who would break a staff for their ladies' sake, he would appoint six gentlemen to meet them. The challenge is accepted, and the conditions are fixed. Mr. Howard Peter Carew, Markham, Shelly of Calais, with his own two men, Cawverly and Hall, are the English appellants. They all acquit themselves gallantry at the jousts. Hall, at his first course, did break his staff galliardly, in the midst of the Frenchmen's cuirass. Markham stroke another on his head-piece, and had like to have overthrown him. Peter Carew stroke his very well and had one broken on him. Cawverly was reported to have made the fairest course; but by the evil running of the Frenchman's horse, which fled out of the course, he was struck under the arm, and run through the body into the back, and taken into the town, where he was well treated. I wish to God, said Wallop, the next kinsman I had, not being my brother, had excused him."

posed the King to love the chivalric French.

A few years afterwards Louis, still continuing to play on his chivalric feelings, made his wife, Anne of Britanny, choose James for her knight and champion, to protect her from all her enemies. The idea of winning by this scheme the Scottish King to the purposes of France originated with Andrew Forman, Bishop of Moray, the Scottish ambassador at Paris, who, to promote his own aggrandizement, would have sacrificed king and country.* The agent of the scheme was La Motte, the French ambassador at Edinburgh, who was as skilful as his martial predecessor, the Lord of Aubigny, in flattering James to his ruin. He presented him letters from the French Queen, wherein, taking the style of a high-born damsel in distress, she termed him her knight, and, assuring him she had suffered much blame in defence of his honour, she beseeched him to advance but three steps into the English territory with his army, for the sake of his mistress. These letters were accompanied by a present of 14,000 crowns, and a ring from her own finger.† The chivalry and vanity of James were roused by these appeals, and he became the willing tool of French ambition.

The circumstances which succeeded his allying himself with France fall not within my province to detail. The battle of Flodden Field was their crown and conclusion; and although there was nothing chivalric in the battle itself, yet a few matters which preceded it come within my subject. Indeed, in the times regarding which I am writing, chivalry was no longer a national distinction, and therefore cannot be marked in public affairs; its lights fell only upon a few individuals.

On the fifth of September, the Earl of Surrey,* who commanded the English forces, despatched a herald from Alnwick to the Scottish camp, offering James battle on a particular day, (Friday, the 9th of September, 1513,) and James, like a gallant knight, accepted the challenge. He then removed his camp from Ford,† and took a strong position on the ridge of Flodden hill, "one of the last and lowest eminences detached from the ridge of Cheviot." On the sixth, the English reached Woollerhaugh, a place within three miles of the Scottish camp, and observing the admirable position of the foe, the Earl of Surrey formed a scheme which, he hoped, would make them relinquish their advantage. Knowing the King's undaunted courage, and high sense of honour, he wrote a letter, subscribed by himself and all the great men in his army, reproaching him for having changed his ground, after he had accepted the offer of battle, and challenging him to descend, like a brave and honourable prince, into the spacious vale of Millfield, that lay between the two armies, and there decide the quarrel on fair and equal terms.‡ This scheme failed; for James was not at that moment so ridiculously romantic as to forego an advantage which his skill had obtained; and he only replied that he should expect the English on the day appointed for battle. Surrey would have been mad to have attacked him in his present position; and he, therefore,

* Pinkerton's History of Scotland, vol ii., p. 85, &c.

† Drummond, 140, &c. Buchanan, xiii., 25.

"For the fair Queen of France
Sent him a torquois ring and glove,
And charged him, as her knight and love,
For her to break a lance;
And strike three strokes with Scottish brand,
And march three miles on Southron land,
And bid the banners of his band
In English breezes dance.
And thus, for France's Queen he drest
His manly limbs in mailed vest."
Marmion, canto v.

* He was afterwards Duke of Norfolk, and great grandfather to the Earl of Surrey, who was mentioned by me, *ante*.

† It has been generally thought that James, forgetting both his own wife and the Queen of France, lost much time at Ford, in making love to a Lady Heron, while his natural son, the Archbishop of St. Andrew's, was the paramour of Miss Heron the daughter. Dr. Lingard (History of England, vol. vi., p. 31, n.) seems inclined to doubt this tale, because James had only six days to take three castles and a fair lady's heart. What time was absolutely necessary for these sieges and assaults, the learned Doctor has not stated. However, to speak seriously, the story has no foundation in truth; and it only arose from the beauty of Lady Heron, and the reputed gallantry of the Scottish King.

‡ Henry's History of Great Britain, book vi., ch. 1, part ii., s. 1.

on the morning of the 8th of September, formed his army into marching order, crossed the Till near Wooller, progressed towards Berwick, and rested at Barmore Wood. The Scottish nobles apprehended that it was the intention of the English to plunder the fertile country of the Merse; and they therefore importuned James to march to the defence of his own dominions; but the King declined, alleging that his honour was engaged to remain in his present station until the morrow, which was the appointed time for battle. On that morrow Surrey directed his course to the Tweed; but, suddenly changing his line of march, he repassed the Till at the bridge of Twissel. Before the army had entirely passed, Robert Borthwick, the commander of James's artillery, entreated the permission of his sovereign to destroy the bridge, and thus break the enemy's force; but the King gave a stern denial, declaring that he wished to have all his enemies before him, and to fight them fairly.* By this fatal folly James lost all the advantages of his position; for the English formed behind him, and Flodden was open and accessible to them. If personal bravery, independent of sageness, had been the character of a knight, James deserved all chivalric honours; for, disdaining the counsel to behold the battle afar off, he mingled boldly in the thickest of the press. The field was won by the English archers; but James did not live to repent the enthusiasm of his chivalry, which had cost his country so much blood, for he was killed within a lance's length of Lord Surrey. The romantic chivalry of James was deeply injurious to Scotland. She had, in his reign, attained a considerable eminence of national prosperity, but the defeat at Flodden hurled her from her station. The country was "left a prey to foreign influence and intrigue, which continued till it ceased to form a separate kingdom: her finances were exhausted, her leaders corrupted, her dignity degraded, her commerce and her agriculture neglected."†

* Pitscottie, p. 116, &c.
† Pinkerton, book xii.

CHAPTER XI.

THE LAST YEARS OF CHIVALRY IN ENGLAND.

The Chivalric Feelings of the Nation supported by Spenser—And by Sir Philip Sidney.—Allusions to Sidney's Life—Particularly his kindly Consideration.—Chivalric Politeness of the Age of Elizabeth.—The Earl of Oxford.—Tilts in Greenwich Park.—Sir Henry Lee.—Chivalry reflected in the popular Amusements.—Change of Manners.—Reign of James the First.—Tournaments ceased on Prince Henry's Death.—Life of Lord Herbert of Cherbury—Chivalric Fame of his Family—His Character.—His Inferiority to the Knights of yore.—Decline of Chivalric Education.—Important Change of Knighthood by the Parliament of Charles the First.—Application of Chivalric honours to men of civil Station—Knights made in the Field.—Carpet Knights.—Knights of the Bath.—Full Account of the Ancient Ceremonies of creating Knights of the Bath.

The reigns of Edward VI. and Mary present nothing to our purpose; but the Elizabethan age is fraught with interest. Our continued intercourse with Italy promoted anew the love for romance and allegory, which religious controversy had for some years been gradually stifling. Though classical literature had revived in Italy, the muse of chivalry was most fondly worshipped, and the mind delighted to wander amidst the enchanted garden of Armida. Our well travelled ancestors brought home with them the love for romantic poetry and allegory; and Spenser's genius, influenced by the prevailing taste of his day, chose Ariosto for his model, and painted the wild adventures of heroes and ladies. Chivalry was the supposed perfection of man's moral nature; and the English poet, therefore, described the chief private virtues exemplified in the conduct of knights: it being his wish, as he expressed his mind to Sir Walter Raleigh, to fashion a gentleman or noble person in valorous and gentle discipline. His principal hero, he in whom the image of a brave knight was perfected in the twelve moral virtues, was King Arthur; and the poet freely used the circumstances and sentiments in the romances relating to that British hero, and also the other popular tales of chivalry.

If poetry nourished the love of valorous knighthood, learning was equally its friend; and when Spencer addressed Sidney as the noble and virtuous gentleman, and most worthy of all titles of learning and chivalry, he spoke the feeling of his age, that the accomplishments of the mind were best displayed in martial demeanour. At the birth of Sidney, as Ben Jonson says, all the muses met. In reading the Arcadia, it is impossible to separate the author from the work, or to think that he has not poured forth all those imaginings of his fancy which his heart had marked for its own. He has portrayed knights and damsels valiant and gentle, placing all their fond aspirations of happiness in a rural life, and despising the pageantry of courts for the deep harmonies of nature. But Sidney's mind was chivalric as well as romantic; and he was so fond of reverting to the fabled ages of his country, that it was his intention to turn all the stories of the Arcadia into the admired legends of Arthur and his knights.* To modern taste the Arcadia of Sir Philip Sidney presents no charms: yet, by a singular contradiction, the author, who was the personification of his book, is regarded as the model of perfection.

"The plume of war! with early laurels crown'd,
The lover's myrtle, and the poet's bay."†

The popularity, however, of the Arcadia, in the Elizabethan age,‡ and the high reputation of the author, showed the sympathy of the world in those days for the romance of chivalry.

The few circumstances in the brief life of Sidney are too well known for me to be justified in detailing them: but I may remind my readers that he was born at Penshurst in Kent, in the year 1544; that he was accomplished in literature and chivalry by study and travel; that he was a courtier of Elizabeth, and yet could oppose her dearest fancies, if they were hostile to the interests of his country; that his opposition to her projected union with Anjou was spirited and well reasoned; that his love for his sister and his wife was the softening grace of that desire for chivalric valour which carried him with his uncle the Earl of Leicester to the plains of Flanders, in the year 1586; and when he received his mortal wound before the town of Zutphen, that he resigned a cup of water to the poor soldier whose lot he thought was more distressing than his own. His courage, his gallantry, and grace were his best known qualities, and those for which England and, indeed, Europe, lamented his death. His funeral in St. Paul's was a national one, the first instance in our history of honours of that description; and for many months afterwards not an individual in the court or city appeared in public, except in a garment of black: — in such high account were chivalric virtues held in the days of Elizabeth.

One feature of his character but little noticed by modern writers was very remarkable in those days, and will be better valued now than it was then. All who enjoyed the hospitality of Penshurst were equal in the consideration of the host: there were no odious distinctions of rank or fortune; "the dishes did not grow coarser as they receded from the head of the table," and no huge salt-cellar divided the noble from the ignoble guests.*

* So reported in the conversation of Ben Jonson and Drummond of Hawthornden.

† Thomson's Seasons. Summer, l. 1511.

‡ The Arcadia was popular so late as the days of Charles I., as may be learned from a passage in the work of a snarling satirist, who wanted to make women mere square-elbowed family drudges. "Let them learn plain works of all kind, so they take heed of too open seaming. Instead of songs and music, let them learn cookerie and laundrie; and instead of reading Sir Philip Sidney's Arcadia, let them read the Grounds of Good Huswifery. I like not a female poetess at any hand." Powell's Tom of all Trades, p. 47.

* This was the honourable distinction of the Sidney family in general, as we learn from Ben Jonson's lines on Penshurst.

"Whose liberal board doth flow
With all that hospitality doth know!
Where comes no guest but is allow'd to eat,
Without his fear, and of thy Lord's own meat.
Where the same beer and bread, and self-same wine,
That is His Lordship's, shall be also mine."
Gifford's Ben Jonson, vol. viii., p. 254.

The practice of making a distinction at the table by means of a salt-cellar was very proper in early times, when the servants as well as the master of a family with his wife and children dined at one long table. It became odious, however, when a baron made this mark of servility

The polite gracefulness of Sidney was not rare in this time; and there was not a courtier, who, if placed in similar circumstances to those of Sir Walter Raleigh, that would not have cast his handsome plush cloak in the mire to serve for the Queen, as a foot-cloth. Tournaments as well as masks were the amusements of the age. The prize was always delivered by Elizabeth, who never thought that age could deprive her of the privileges of beauty. Edward Vere, Earl of Oxford, was more skilful in these manly exercises of chivalry than all the other courtiers, even than Sidney, who, like a magnanimous knight, was eloquent in his praise.

"Having this day my horse, my hand, my lance,
Guided so well that I obtained the prize,
Both by the judgment of the English eyes,
And of some sent from that sweet en'my France:
Horsemen my skill in horsemanship advance,
Townsfolks my strength a daintier judge applies
His praise to sleight, which from good use doth rise:
Some lucky wits impute it but to chance,
Others, because of both sides I do take
My blood from them who did excel in this,
Think nature me a man of arms did make.
How far they shoot awry! The true cause is,
Stella look'd on, and from her heavenly face
Sent forth the beams which made so fair my race."

Astrophel and Stella, st. 41.

The friendship of Sidney for him for awhile was the only circumstance which we know to his honour, and it implies the possession of virtuous qualities in the Earl. A considerable portion of coxcombry belonged to most of Elizabeth's courtiers; and the noble Lord in question was distinguished, according to Stow, for introducing into this country embroidered and perfumed gloves.

The Queen's band of gentlemen-pensioners formed a perfect illustration of the chivalric principle of the dignity of obedience, for it was the highest ambition of the nobility to be enrolled among them. Their tilts in Greenwich Park would have done honour to the brightest days of chivalry. But still more select were the knights-tilters, a fraternity founded on the gallant resolve of Sir Henry Lee to appear in the royal tilt-yard on the anniversary of the Queen's birth in honour of Her Majesty. Some of these knights were preux chevaliers indeed. The Queen's glove accidentally dropped from her hand during a tournament, and the Earl of Cumberland had the good fortune to recover it. Fancying herself some dame of chivalry, she desired the Earl to retain it; and he with a gallant spirit, regarding it as the favour of a lady, had it set in diamonds, and always wore it on festival occasions in the high crowned hats which had superseded the helmet. For so polite was the court of Elizabeth, that

"Ne any there doth brave or valiant seem,
Unless that some gay mistress' badge he wear."*

From 1571 to 1590 Sir Henry Lee was the Queen's champion; and being then worn down with age and infirmity, he resigned his office to the Earl of Cumberland. The ceremony is admirably expressive of the romantic feeling of the time and the vanity of Elizabeth. It was partly a mask and partly a chivalric show. On the 17th of November, 1590. Sir Henry Lee and the Earl, having performed their services in arms, presented themselves to the Queen at the foot of the stairs under her gallery-window in the tilt-yard, Westminster, where Her Majesty was seated, surrounded by the French ambassador, her ladies, and the chief nobility. Soft music then saluted the ears of the Queen, and one of the royal singers chaunted these lines:

"My golden locks time hath to silver turn'd,
(Oh time, too swift, and swiftness never ceasing!)
My youth 'gainst age, and age at youth hath spurn'd;
But spurn'd in vain, youth, waneth by increasing:
Beauty, strength, and youth, flowers fading been,
Duty, faith, and love, are roots, and evergreen.

"My helmet now shall make a hive for bees;
And lovers' songs shall turn to holy psalms:
A man at arms must now sit on his knees,
And feed on prayers that are old age's alms,

separate his gentle from his noble friends. This was feudal pride, whereas chivalric courtesy would rather have placed the guests in generous equality about a round table.

* Spenser, *Colin Clout's come Home again.*

And so from court to cottage I depart:
My saint is sure of my unspotted heart,

"And when I sadly sit in homely cell,
I'll teach my swains this carol for a song:
'Blest be the hearts that think my sovereign well:
Curs'd be the souls that think to do her wrong.'
Goddess! vouchsafe this aged man his right,
To be your beadsman now that was your knight."

A pageant of a temple of the vestal virgins rose out of the earth. Certain rich gifts were taken from the altar by the attending virgins, and with a votive tablet, inscribed "To Eliza," was presented to the Queen. Sir Henry Lee offered his armour before a crowned pillar at the temple-gate, and then presented the Earl of Cumberland to the Queen, humbly beseeching her to accept him as her knight to continue the yearly exercises. Her Majesty having accepted this offer, the aged knight armed the Earl and mounted him on his horse. He threw over his own person a gown of black velvet, and covered his head in lieu of a helmet with a bonnet of the country fashion.*

The popular amusements of England corresponded with those of the court. "I remember at Mile-end-Green, when I lay at Clement's Inn, I was Sir Dagonet in Arthur's show," is the avowal of Master Shallow; and thus while tournaments were held by the court and nobility, other classes of society diverted themselves with scenic representations of the ancient chivalry. The recreations of the common people at Christmas and bridals, an author of the time assures us, consisted in hearing minstrels sing or recite stories of old times, as the tale of Sir Topas, the Reportes of Bevis of Southampton, Guy of Warwick, Adam Bell, and Clymme of the Clough, and other old romances or historical rhymes. And in another place the same author speaks of companies that were desirous to hear of old adventures, and valiances of noble knights in times past.† The domestic amusements of the age are thus enumerated by Burton: "The ordinary recreations which we have in winter are cards, tables and dice, shovel-board, chess-play, the philosopher's game, small trunks, billiards, music, masks, singing, dancing, ule games, catches, purposes, questions: *merry tales of errant knights*, kings, queens, lovers, lords, ladies, giants, dwarfs, thieves, fairies, goblins, friars, witches, and the rest."*

In one respect, however, manners underwent a great and distinct change. In a former chapter, it was mentioned that the Italians invented the long and pointed sword; and it seems from many scattered allusions to customs in works of continental history, that it gradually superseded the use of the broader weapons of knighthood. In Elizabeth's reign the foreign or Italian rapier was a very favourite weapon. "Sword-and-buckler fight begins to grow out of use," is the lament of a character in an old comedy. "I am sorry for it. I shall never see good manhood again. If it be once gone, this poking fight of rapier and dagger will come up, then a tall man, and a good sword-and-buckler man will be spitted like a cat or rabbit."† The allusions to this state of manners are more marked and numerous in Ben Jonson's "Every Man in his Humour," but with that comedy my readers are of course familiar.

For some of the early years of James I. tournaments divided with masks the

* Nicholls's Progresses of Queen Elizabeth, vol. iii., p. 41, &c.

† Puttenham, Arte of English Poesie, book ii., c. 9, and 19.

* Burton, Anatomy of Melancholy, p. 271. This passage brings to mind a corresponding one in Wilson's Arte of Rhetoricke, printed in 1553. "If there be any old tale or strange history, well and wittily applied to some man living, all men love to hear it. As if one were called Arthur, some good fellow that were well acquainted with King Arthur's book, and the knights of the Round Table, would want no matter to make good sport, and for a need would dub him knight of the Round Table, or else prove him to be one of his kin, or else (which were much) prove him to be Arthur himself."

† "The Two angry Women of Abingdon." The sword and buckler fighting was the degeneracy of the ancient chivalry; and Smithfield, which had shone as the chief tilting ground of London was in the sixteenth century, according to Stow, "Called Ruffians' Hall," by reason it was the usual place of frays and common fighting, during the time that sword and bucklers were in use. When every *serving-man*, from the base to the best, carried a *buckler* at his back, which hung by the hilt or pommel of his sword." Alas, for the honour of chivalry!

favour of the court. As soon as Prince Henry reached his sixteenth year, he put himself forth in a more heroic manner than was usual with princes of his time, by tiltings, barriers, and other exercises on horseback, the martial discipline of gentle peace.* After his death chivalric sports fell quite out of fashion.

"Shields and swords
Cobwebb'd and rusty; not a helm affords
A spark of lustre, which were wont to give
Light to the world, and make the nation live."†

This was the lamentation of Ben Jonson; and another poet thus describes, in the person of Britannia, the feelings of the nation:

"Alas who now shall grace my tournaments
Or honour me with deeds of chivalry?
What shall become of all my merriments,
My ceremonies, shows of heraldry,
And other rites?"‡

Military exercises being entirely disused, the mask, with its enchantments of music, poetry, painting, and dancing, was the only amusement of the court and nobility.

And now in these last days of chivalry in England a very singular character appeared upon the scene. This was Edward Herbert, afterwards Lord Herbert of Cherbury, who was born at Eaton, in Shropshire, in the year 1581. His family were of the class of gentry, and had for many years executed various royal offices of military trust. His grandfather was a staunch royalist in the days of Edward VI., and Queen Mary; and he gained fortune, as well as fame: for it appears that his share of plunder in the wars in the north, and of the forfeited estates of rebels, was the foundation of the family wealth.

The valour of the Herberts rivalled that of the romantic heroes of chivalry. Edward has proudly reverted to his great-great-grandfather, Sir Richard Herbert of Colebrook, as an incomparable hero, who twice passed through a great army of northern men alone, with his pole-axe in his hand, and returned without any mortal hurt. The courage which had been formerly displayed in the battle-field was as times degenerated reserved for private wrongs, and the patriot sank into the duellist. At the close of his life, Edward recollected with pleasure, that one of his brothers had carried with him to the grave the scars of twenty-four wounds, many of them the results of private brawls. Another brother was gentleman of the King's chamber, and the famous master of the revels; and he, too, had given several proofs of his courage in duels.

The infancy of Edward was so sickly that his friends did not think fit to teach him his alphabet till he was seven years old. He would have us believe, however, that he was wise though not early schoolled; for when an infant he understood what was said by others, yet he forebore to speak, lest he should utter something that was imperfect or impertinent. When he began to talk, one of the first inquiries he made was how he had come into the world. He told his nurse, keeper, and others, that he found himself here indeed, but from what cause or beginning or by what means he could not imagine. The nurse stared, and other people wondered at this precocious wisdom; and when he reflected upon the matter in after life he was happy in the thought, that as he found himself in possession of this life, without knowing any thing of the pangs and throes his mother suffered, when doubtless they no less afflicted him than her, so he hoped that his soul would pass to a better life than this, without being sensible of the anguish his body would feel in death.*

He won the acquaintance of the learned languages, and other branches of juvenile literature, with great ease; and when at the age of twelve he was sent to Oxford, he tells us that he disputed at his first coming in logic, and made in Greek the exercises required in his college oftener than in Latin. He married at the age of fifteen, and then applied himself more vigorously than ever to study, particularly the continental languages: but to fence and to ride the great horse were his principal ambition, for such were the exercises in which the chivalry of his time

* Wilson's Life of James, p. 52.

† Ben Jonson, Masque of Prince Henry's Barriers.

‡ G. Wither. Prince Henry's Obsequies. El. 31.

* Life of Edward Lord Herbert, written by himself, p. 16.

were educated; — and he aspired to fame in every pursuit. From the same feeling of vanity that urged him to publish his deistical dogmas, he complacently says of himself that no man understood the use of his weapon better than himself, or had more dexterously availed himself thereof on all occasions.*

In the year 1600, he removed with his wife and mother from Montgomery-castle (the seat of his ancestors) to London, and prompted by curiosity rather than ambition he went to court, and as it was the manner of those times for all men to kneel down before the Queen; he was likewise upon his knees in the Presence Chamber, when she passed by to the chapel at Whitehall. As soon as she saw him she stopped, and, swearing her usual oath, demanded, "Who is this?" Upon being made acquainted with his name and circumstances, the Queen looked attentively upon him, and again giving emphasis to her feelings by an oath, she said that it was a pity he was married so young, and thereupon gave him her hand twice to kiss, both times patting him on the cheek. He was made knight of the Bath by James I.; and with his usual vanity declares that his person was amazingly commended by the lords and ladies who attended the ceremony. The most handsome lady of the court pledged her honour for his, and then the strings of silk and gold were taken from his arm. These strings, as I have already mentioned, were worn by all the knights till they had achieved some high deed of arms, or till some lady of honour took them off, and fastened them on her sleeve, saying that she would answer her friend would prove a good knight. Like all other knights of the Bath he swore to do justice to the uttermost of his power, particularly to ladies and gentlewomen wronged in their honour, if they demanded assistance.

Soon after this circumstance, he was wearied both of literary and domestic pursuits, and he resolved to travel in foreign countries. His skill in fencing was now to be brought into play; for he tells us that in France, in his time, there was scarcely any man thought worthy of regard who had not killed another in a duel.* He went to Paris, and was hospitably entertained at the neighbouring castle of Merlon, by Henry de Montmorenci, second son of the great Constable Anne de Montmorenci.

An occasion for exercising his fantastic chivalry soon presented itself. A French cavalier snatched a riband from the bonnet of a young lady, and fastened it to his own hat-band. He refused to return it, and the injured damsel asked the English knight to get it restored to her. He accordingly advanced to the Frenchman, courteously, with his hat in his hand, and desired him to restore the riband. Meeting only with a rude denial, he replied he would make him restore it by force. The Frenchman ran away; but finding himself closely pursued, he turned round to the young lady, and was about to restore her the top-knot, when Sir Edward seized his arm, and said to her, "It was I that gave it." — "Pardon me," quoth she, "it is he that gives it me." Sir Edward observed, "I will not contradict you; but if he presumes to say that I did not constrain him to give it, I will fight with him." No reply was made, and the French gentleman conducted the lady back to the castle. Sir Edward was very anxious for a duel, but none took place; and he was obliged to please his conscience with the reflection, that he had acted agreeably to the oath which he took when inaugurated a knight of the Bath.†

On three other occasions, he sported his chivalry in the cause of the ladies; but the stories of these affairs are poor and uninteresting after this most delectable behaviour in the Montmorenci garden.

For many years Sir Edward lived in the court or the camp, in France or England, seldom visiting his wife in Montgomeryshire, and more frequently busied in private brawls (but his chal-

* Life, p. 46.

* Life, &c., p. 63. Sir Edward was very much annoyed at Paris by a Monsieur Balagny, who enjoyed more attention of the ladies than he did. They used one after another to invite him to sit near them, and when one lady had his company awhile, another would say, "You have enjoyed him long enough, I must have him now." The reason of all this favour was, that he had killed eight or nine men in a single fight, p. 70. This was the degeneracy of chivalry with a vengeance.

† Life p. 60.

lenges never ripened into duels) than engaged in philosophical meditation.

In the year 1614, while he was in the service of the Prince of Orange, a trumpeter came from the hostile (the Spanish) army to his with a challenge, — that if any cavalier would fight a single combat for the sake of his mistress, a Spanish knight would meet him. The Prince allowed Sir Edward to accept the challenge. Accordingly a trumpeter was sent to the Spanish army with the answer, that if the challenger were a knight without reproach, Sir Edward Herbert would answer him with such weapons as they should agree upon. But before this herald could deliver his charge, another Spanish trumpeter reached the camp of the Prince of Orange, declaring that the challenge had been given without the consent of the Marquis of Spinola (the commander), who would not permit it. This appeared strange to the Prince and Sir Edward; and on their thinking that the Spaniards might object to the duel taking place in the camp of the challenged, as it was originally proposed, Sir Edward resolved to go to the enemy, and give him his choice of place. He accordingly went; but Spinola would not suffer the duel to be fought. A noble entertainment greeted the Englishman, the Marquis condescending to present to his guest the best of the meat which his carver offered to himself. He expressed no anger that the challenges had been given; for he politely asked his guest of what disease Sir Francis Vere had died. Sir Edward told him, because he had nothing to do. Spinola replied, in allusion to the idleness of the campaign, "And it is enough to kill a General;" and thus impliedly excused any impatient sallies of his young soldiers.

Sir Henry Wotton, the ambassador of the King of England, having mediated a peace between the Prince of Orange and the Spaniards, our knight proceeded on his travels through Germany and Italy. He complimented a nun upon her singing, while all the other Englishmen present were delighted into silence: but he was always ready to speak as well as to fight for the honour of the knighthood of the Bath. "Die whensoever you will," said he to the young lady, "you need change neither voice nor face to be an angel!" These words, he assures us, were fatal, for she died shortly afterwards.

He went to Florence, and was more pleased with a nail, which was at one end iron, and the other gold, than by all the glories of painting and sculpture with which the Etrurian Athens was then fresh and redolent. He sojourned for some time at Rome, but hastily left the city when the Pope was about to bless him. This refusal of an old man's benediction proceeded from the vanity of his character. Though perfectly indifferent to Christianity, when he entered Rome he ostentatiously said to the master of the English college, that he came not to the city to study controversies, but to view its antiquities, and if, without scandal to the religion in which he had been born and educated, he might take this liberty, he would gladly spend some time there. A decorous submission to the usages of Rome would not have gained him the world's talk; and, therefore, he hastily quitted the Consistory when the blessing was about to be given, knowing that such a bold act of contempt on the religion of the place would be bruited every where.

The remainder of his adventures on the Continent is not worthy of record. He returned to England; and, in 1616, he was sent to France as the English ambassador. Previously to his setting off, he engaged to fight a duel, though the day fixed for the circumstance was Sunday; but when he arrived at Paris, on a Saturday night, he refused to accept an invitation of the Spanish ambassador for an interview the next morning, because Sunday was a day, which, as he alleged, he wholly gave to devotion. The spirit of duelling was far more powerful in his mind than the love of conformity to religious decencies; but it cost him nothing; indeed, it only aggrandised his importance to decline the visit of the Spanish ambassador on a Sunday. He remained some time in France, maintaining the honour of his country on all occasions; particularly with reference to the mighty question, whether his coachmen, or that of the Spanish ambassador should take precedence.

Sir Edward was instructed by his court to mediate between Louis XIII.

and his Protestant subjects; but, instead of conducting the affair with coolness and political sagacity, he quarrelled with Luines, the Minister of the French king. Complaints of his conduct were sent to England, and he was recalled. The death of the offended statesman happened soon afterwards, and Herbert was again despatched to France.

The next remarkable event in his life was the publication of his book, "*De Veritate*," whose object it was to show the all-sufficiency of natural religion. But he, who denied the necessity of a revelation to the human race, of matters concerning their eternal salvation, fancied that Heaven expressly revealed to him its will that his book should be published. Such are the inconsistences of infidelity!

"A godless regent trembling at a star!"

His amusing autobiography ends with an account of a noise from heaven, when he prayed for a sign of the Divine will, whether or not he should print his book.

Not many other circumstances of his life are on record. He was raised to the Irish peerage in 1625, and, afterwards, was created an English Baron, by the title of Lord Herbert of Cherbury, in Shropshire. He published another Latin work, in support of the cause of infidelity, and then gave to the World his History of the Reign of Henry VIII.; a book which has been always characterised, by writers who have never read a line of it, as a master-piece of historic biography; and if gross partiality for his hero, profound ignorance of human nature, imperfect acquaintance with his subject, and a pedantic style, constitute the excellence of memoir-writing, Lord Herbert is an author of the first class.

Though he had been raised to the peerage by the Stuarts, yet in the days of Charles I. we find him on the side of the parliament. Montgomery-castle was demolished by the King's troops, and the parliament made him a pecuniary compensation. He removed to London, died in 1648, and was buried in St. Giles's.

Such was Lord Herbert of Cherbury. His life may be placed in opposition to, rather than in harmony with, the heroes of early chivalric times. He had their courage, it is true, but he had none of their dignity and nobleness, none of their manly grace; and there was a fantastic trifling in his conduct, which their elevated natures would have scorned. He was no Christian knight: the superstition of the Chandos's and Manny's, gross as it was, is not so offensive to the moral sense as the craft and subtlety of Lord Cherbury's intellect, which refined Christianity into deism. We can admire the heroes of the days of Edward III., placing their swords' points on the Gospels, and vowing to defend the truth to the utterance; but how absurd was the fanaticism, and contemptible vanity, of him who expected that Heaven would declare its will that he should deliver to the world the vain chimeras of his imagination!

The history of English chivalry is now fast drawing to a close. We may mark the state of the system of chivalric education in the castles of the nobility. Every great lord, as his ancestors had been, was still attended by several of the inferior nobility and gentry, and such service was not accounted dishonourable. The boys were, as of old, called pages, though perhaps the age for this title somewhat stepped beyond the ancient limit.

But this was not the only change in that class of the chivalry of England. In former days pages had been the attendants of the great in the amusements of the chase and the baronial hall; and had sometimes shared, with the squire, the more perilous duties of the battle-plain. In the course of time, as the frame of society became more settled, the arts of peace smoothed the stern fierceness of chivalry, and the page was the honorary servant of the lord or his lady, in the proud ceremonial of nobility, and never mixed in war. He continued to be a person of gentle birth, and his dress was splendid; circumstances extremely favourable to that singular state of manners which permitted a woman, without any loss of her good name, to follow him she admired in the disguise of a gentle page, and gradually to win his affections by the deep devotion of her love. Poetry may have adorned such instances of passion, for the subject is full of interest and

pathos; but the poets in the best days of English verse so frequently copied from the world around them, that we cannot but believe they drew also in this instance from nature. This form of manners was romantic; but it certainly was not chivalric: for in pure days of chivalry the knights, and not the damsels, were the wooers. — But every thing was changed or degraded.

The general state of the page in the last days of chivalry may be collected from one of the dramas of Ben Jonson, where Lovel, a complete gentleman, a soldier, and a scholar, is desirous to take as his page the son of Lord Frampul, who was disguised as the host of the Light Heart Inn at Barnet:

"*Lov.* A fine child!
You will not part with him, mine host?
"*Host.* Who told you
I would not.
"*Lov.* I but ask you.
"*Host.* And I answer,
To whom? for what?
"*Lov.* To me, to be my page.
"*Host.* I know no mischief yet the child has done,
To deserve such a destiny.
"*Lov.* Why?
"*Host.* * * * * *
Trust me I had rather
Take a fair halter, wash my hands, and hang him
Myself, make a clean riddance of him, than ———
"*Lov.* What?
"*Host.* Than damn him to that desperate course of life.
"*Lov.* Call you that desperate, which by a line
Of institution, from our ancestors,
Hath been derived down to us, and received
In a succession, for the noblest way
Of breeding up our youth, in letter's arms,
Fair mien, discourses, civil exercise,
And all the blazon of a gentleman?
Where can he learn to vault, to ride, to fence,
To move his body gracefuller, to speak
His language purer, or to tune his mind
Or manners, more to the harmony of nature,
Than in these nurseries of nobility?
"*Host.* Ay that was when the nursery's self was noble,
And only virtue made it, not the market.
That titles were not vented at the drum,
Or common outcry, goodness gave the greatness,
And greatness worship: every house became
An academy of honour, and those parts
We see departed, in the practice now
Quite from the institution."*

Something must be abated from this censure, for the speaker was a disappointed man, and therefore querulous. But whatever might have been the education of the page, the character itself was lost in the political convulsions in the time of Charles I. So many of the old institutions of England were then destroyed, that we need not be surprised that the one should not escape, which had long survived its purpose and occasion. At the restoration of the monarchy the ancient court-ceremonial was revived, and therefore the page was a royal officer; but he is scarcely ever mentioned in the subsequent private history of the country; and his duties at the court were altogether personal, though gentilitial, and had no reference at all to military affairs.

The military features of chivalry had been rudely marred in the wars between the houses of York and Lancaster, and by the days of James I. not a lineament remained. The graceful sports of chivalry had been sustained by the bold and vigorous Henry VIII., and romance could not but be pleasing to a maiden queen. With Prince Henry the tournament died. Mightier questions than those which knighthood could resolve were before the world; and there was nothing in the bearing of the friends of Charles I., misnamed Cavaliers, to which the character of chivalric can be applied.

The reign of Charles I. is, however, in one respect, a memorable epoch in the history of English knighthood. By the ancient constitution, as we saw in the last chapter, the King had the power of compelling his vassals to be knighted. In all ages, however, whether of the high power or the decline of chivalry, many persons, considering the duties and charges of the honour, had been wont to commute it by a fine; and this custom had often whetted the avarice of monarchs. Elizabeth was the last of our sovereigns who enriched her

* Act i., scene 1, of the play whose title I shall transcribe: "The New Inn: or, the Light Heart; a comedy. As it was never acted, but most negligently played by some, the KING'S SERVANTS; and more squeamishly beheld and censured by others, the KING SUBJECTS, 1629. Now at last set at liberty to the Readers, His MAJESTY'S Servants and Subjects, to be judg'd of, 1631."

exchequer by receiving these commutations. Charles I. endeavoured to augment his revenue by similar means; but the spirit of the age was hostile to his claim; and certainly, as the military system had changed, it was absurd and unjust that the burden should survive the benefit of the ancient system. The people triumphed, and Charles conceded a prerogative which was only known as a means of public oppression. By a statute passed in the sixteenth year of his reign, (cap. 20,) the right of compelling men to receive knighthood was abolished.

One branch of English chivalry, namely, knighthood as connected with property, knighthood as the external symbol of feudalism, was thus put an end to. But knighthood still continued as an honourable distinction. In this, the most interesting part of the subject, a great change had taken place: but it is impossible to mark the exact time of its occurring. We only know that even in the time of the Lancastrian princes knights could not, of their own free will, add new members to the order of chivalry, and that link of honourable equality, which used to bind all men of gentle birth in one state, was broken. The whole power of creating knights was usurped by the crown. The first step, which apparently led to this usurpation, was made even in the purest age of chivalry, the reign of our Edward III.: for at that time civil merit was rewarded by chivalric distinctions. The judges of the courts of law were dignified with knighthood.*

In the subsequent reigns of the Lancastrian princes, it seems to have been regarded as a well established custom, that men who deserved highly of the commonwealth should be honoured with some title above the state of a simple gentleman. Chivalry, as the great fountain of honour, was again resorted to, and the title of esquire was drawn forth. It was then applied to sheriffs of counties, serjeants-at-law, and other men of station; and afterwards courtesy added it to the names of the eldest sons of peers, of knights, and many others.

* Dugdale, Origines Juridiciales, c. 39. Serjeants at law were not knighted till the reign of Henry VIII., c. 51.

The honour, like the rest of the chivalric honours, was personal, not hereditary; and in strictness could be enjoyed only by virtue of creation, or as a dignity appurtenant to an office. The mode of creation was copied from the investiture of a knight. The person who was to be admitted into the squirehood of the country knelt before his sovereign, who, placing a silver collar of scollop shells mixed with esses round his neck, cried, "Arise, Sir Esquire, and may God make thee a good man."*

This right of conferring chivalric honours upon persons of civil station was exercised by the sovereigns only, and it furnished the pretence of their assuming the right of judging upon what occasions it should be conferred on men whose profession was war. The custom of creating knights in the field of battle by the general in command prevailed in England so late as the reign of Queen Elizabeth. Robert, the second son of Sir Henry Sidney, and brother of the famous Sir Philip, was knighted by Leicester, for his chivalric deportment at the battle of Zutphen. Essex, while commanding in Spain and Ireland, distributed chivalric honours with such profusion, that the Queen, who was always jealous of her power, made his conduct, on this subject, the matter of one of the articles of accusation against him.

Knighthood, when conferred in the field, was ever held as a very honourable distinction. When men, who were undistinguished by valour,† were raised to chivalric rank, they were called Carpet Knights, as we are taught by the old ceremonials; and society always used the expression contemptuously, as we learn from our dramatists, who are as good witnesses for the customs of their times as romancers had been for those of earlier days. "He is knight, dubbed with unhacked rapier, and on carpet consideration," is the character which Sir Toby Belch gives of his friend Sir Andrew Aguecheek. In a passage of

* Ferne's Blazon of Gentry, p 100. See, too, Camden's Brittannia "on the degrees in England," p. 234.

† Thus Lord Bacon says, "There be now for martial encouragement some degrees and orders of chivalry, which nevertheless are conferred promiscuously on soldiers and no soldiers," &c. Essays on the true greatness of Kingdoms.

surpassing beauty, Fletcher has described the characters of the chivalric and the carpet knight.

"Oh the brave dames
Of warlike Genoa! They had eyes to see
The inward man, and only from his worth,
Courage, and conquests, the blind archer knew
To head his shafts, or light his quenched torch;
They were proof against him else! No carpet knight
That spent his youth in groves or pleasant bowers,
Or stretching on a couch his lazy limbs,
Sung to his lute such soft and pleasing notes
As Ovid nor Anacreon ever knew,
Could work on them, nor once bewitch'd their sense;
Though he came so perfum'd, as he had robb'd
Sabea or Arabia of their wealth,
And stor'd it in one suit."

The order of knighthood was indeed wretchedly degraded in the days of James I., if we can allow any truth to the remarks of Osborne. "At this time the honour of knighthood, which antiquity reserved sacred, as the cheapest and readiest jewel to present virtue with, was promiscuously laid on any head belonging to the yeomanry (made addle through pride, and a contempt of their ancestors' pedigree,) that had but a court friend, or money to purchase the favour of the meanest, able to bring him into an outward room, when the king, the fountain of honour, came down, and was uninterrupted by other business; in which case it was then usual for him to grant a commission for the chamberlain or some other lord to do it."

The carpet, or ordinary knights, must not be confounded with knights of the Bath, though both classes were knights of peace. Knights of the Bath had always precedence of knights-bachelors, without any regard to dates of creation. The Knights of the Bath were men of rank and station, or distinguished for military qualities. They were created by our sovereigns at their coronation, or on other great occasions, from the time of Henry V., when I last adverted to the subject, to so late a period as the reign of Charles II., who, before he was crowned, created sixty-eight knights of the Bath. When queens were sovereigns, a commission was granted to a nobleman to create knights; and the commission of Queen Elizabeth to the Earl of Arundel is so rich in thought, and dignified in style, that I cannot resist the pleasure of transcribing it. After the usual salutations, "To all men," the Queen declares as follows: "Whereas, we, minding to proceed to the solemnity of our coronation in such and like honourable sort as in the coronation of our progenitors hath been accustomed, and as to our estate and dignity appertaineth, have, both for the more adornment of the feast of our said coronation, and for the nobility of blood, good service, and other good qualities, of many our servants and other subjects, resolved to call certain of them to the order of knighthood. We let you wete, that for the special trust and confidence which we have reposed in our right trusty and right well-beloved cousin and counsellor, Henry Earl of Arundel, Lord Steward of our household, we have appointed, and by these presents do appoint and authorise him for us, and in our name, and by our authority, not only to do and exercise every thing and things to be done and exercised in our behalf, for the full making of those knights of the Bath, whom we have caused to be specially called for that purpose, but also to make and ordain such and so many other persons knights, within the time of two days next ensuing the date hereof, as by us shall be named, or by himself shall be thought meet, so that he exceed not in the whole the number of thirty," &c.*

The ceremonies of creating those knights furnishes us with such an accurate picture of the manners of our ancestors, that, though I have touched upon the subject before, I shall, without apology, describe its minutest features. When an esquire came to court to receive the order of knighthood, in time of peace, after the custom of England, he was worshipfully received by the officers of the court, the steward, or chamberlain, if they were at the palace, or else by the marshals and ushers. Two esquires, sage, and well nourished

* Fletcher, Fair Maid of the Inn, Act i., scene 1.

* Rymer's Fœdera, vol. xv., p. 497.

in courtesy, and expert in deeds of knighthood, were assigned as his teachers and governors. If he arrived in the morning, he was to serve the King with water at dinner, or else to place a dish of the first course upon the table; and this was his farewell to his personal duties of esquire. His governors then led him to his chamber, where he remained alone till the evening, when they sent a barber to him, who prepared his bath. Water was not yet put into it, but the esquire was, who sat, wrapped in white cloths and mantles, while his beard was shaved, and his head rounded. All this being done, the governors went to the King, and said to him, "Most mighty Prince, our Sovereign Lord, it waxeth nigh unto the eyen, and our master is ready in the bath." The King then commanded his chamberlain to take into the chamber of him who was to be made knight the prowest and wisest knights about the court, in order that they might instruct and counsel the esquire, touching the order of knighthood.

The chamberlain, preceded by minstrels singing and dancing, and accompanied by the chosen cavaliers, went to the door of the esquire's room. When the governors heard the sound of minstrelsy, they stripped their master and left him naked in the bath. The music ceased, and the chamberlain and his knights entered the room. After paying much worship and courtesy to each other, he to whom precedence was allowed advanced to the bath, and, kneeling down, whispered these words in the ear of the esquire: "Right dear brother, may this order bring great honour and worship unto you; and I pray that Almighty God may give you the praise of all knighthood. Lo! this is the order: Be ye strong in the faith of the Holy Church, relieve widows and oppressed maidens, give every one his own, and, above all things, love and dread God. Superior to all other earthly objects, love the King, thy sovereign lord; him and his right defend unto thy power, and put him in worship."

When the esquire was thus advised, the knight-counsellor took in his hand water from the bath, and threw it gently on the shoulder of his young friend. The other knights counselled and bathed him in a similar manner, and then, with the first knight, left the chamber. The governors took the esquire out of the bath, and laid him on a bed "to dry." When the process of drying was finished, he was taken out of bed, and clothed warmly; and there was thrown over him a cope of black russet, with long sleeves, and the hood, like that of a hermit, sewn on the cope. The barber had the bath for his fee, and the operation of shaving was paid for separately, agreeably to the estate of the esquire; and if there was any dispute about the sum, the King's Majesty's judgment was looked to.

A joyous company of knights, with squires dancing and minstrels singing, entered the room, and with light pace end gay deportment led their friend into the chapel. There they were refreshed with wines, spices, and sweetmeats; and the knights-counsellors, being thanked by the esquire for their great labour and worship, departed. The governors, the officers of arms, and the waits, remained in the chapel with the esquire. It was his duty to pass the night in prayer to Almighty God that he might worthily receive the honour, and discharge all the offices of knighthood. A taper of wax was always burning before him.

When the morning dawned a priest entered the chapel, and the more solemn duties of religion were proceeded with. Shriving, matins, the mass, and the communion, were performed, the esquire, during the principal ceremonies of the sacrament, holding the taper in his hand, with a penny stuck in the wax, near the light; and, finally, he offered them to the priest, the taper to the honour of God, and the penny to the honour of him that should make him a knight. His governors then took him from the chapel, and laid him in his bed, divesting him of his hermit's weeds.

After some time for refreshment had been allowed him, the governors went to the King, and said, "Most victorious Prince, our master shall awake when it so pleaseth your majesty." The King accordingly commanded the party of knights, esquires, and minstrels, to go into the chamber of the esquire, and

awake him. They went, and said to him, "Sir, good day: it is time to arise." The governors raised him in his bed; the most worthy and the most sage knight presented him his shirt, the next cavalier in consideration gave him his breeches, the third his doublet, the fourth his robe of red taffeta, lined with white sarcenet; and, when he was thus partially clothed, two others lifted him out of bed. Two donned his hose, which were of black silk, or of black cloth, with soles of leather, two others buttoned his sleeves, another bound round him a girdle of plain white leather, an inch broad. The combing of the head, and putting on the coif, were each performed by a knight. Another gentle cavalier also gave him his mantle of red tartayn, crossed with white on the breast, and fastened with a lace of white silk, from which depended a pair of white gloves. How his white-feathered white hat got upon his head I know not; for the grave ceremonial is altogether silent about the matter.

The dressing being concluded, the esquire was placed on horseback, and led by the knights into the hall of the King, preceded by a young gentle esquire, also on horseback, and carrying by its point a sword, in a white scabbard, with gilt spurs hanging upon the cross-hilt. The Marshal of England assisted the candidate for knighthood to alight, and led him into the hall, where he sat at the head of the second table, surrounded by his counselling knights, his sword-bearer, and governors. The King, on entering the hall, demanded the sword and spurs, and they were given to him by the chamberlain. The King gave the right spur to one of the noblest peers about him, commanding that lord to place it on the right heel of the esquire. The lord knelt on one knee, and, taking the esquire by the right leg, put the foot upon his knee, and not only affixed the spur to the heel, but made a cross upon the knee of the esquire and kissed it. Another lord attached the left spur to the left foot with similar ceremonies. The King then, out of the meekness of his high might, girt the sword round the esquire. The esquire raised his arms, and the King, throwing his arms round the neck of the esquire, smote the esquire on the shoulder with his right hand, kissing him at the same time, and saying, "Be ye a good knight."

The new-made knight was then conducted by his counselling knights into the chapel, upon whose high altar he laid his sword, offering it to God and Holy Church, most devoutly beseeching Heaven, that he might always worthily demean himself in the order. He then took a sup of wine and left the chapel, at whose door his spurs were taken off by the master-cook, who received them for his fee; and in the fine style of old English bluntness reminded him, that "if he ever acted unworthily of his knighthood, it would be his duty, with the knife with which he dressed the meats, to strike away his spurs, and that thus by the customs of chivalry he would lose his worship." The new-made knight went into the hall, and sat at table with his compeers; but it did not deport with his modesty to eat in their presence, and his abashment kept him from turning his eyes hither and thither. He left the table after the King arose, and went to his chamber with a great multitude of knights, squires, and minstrels, rejoicing, singing, and dancing.

Alone in his chamber, and the door closed, the knight, wearied by this time with ceremony and fasting, ate and drank merrily. He then doffed much of his array, which was distributed among the officers of the household, and put on a robe of blue with the white lace of silk hanging on the shoulder, similar to that which was worn in the days of Henry V.; for however degenerated the world might have become, they could not for shame's sake despise all the forms of chivalry. The ceremony of inauguration concluded by expressions of thanks and courtesy. The knight went to the King, and kneeling before him, said, "Most dread and most mighty Prince, I gratefully salute you for the worship which you have so courteously given to me." The governors thus addressed the knight: "Worshipful Sir, by the King's command we have served you, and that command fulfilled to our power; and what we have done in our service against your reverence we pray you of your grace to pardon us. Furthermore, by

the custom of the King's court, we require of you robes and fees becoming the rank of King's squires who are fellows to the knights of other lands."*

CHAPTER XII.

PROGRESS OF CHIVALRY IN FRANCE.

Chivalry in Baronial Castles.—Chivalry injured by Religious Wars.—Beneficial Influence of Poetry and Romance.—Chivalric Brilliancy of the Fourteenth Century.—Britany.—Du Guesclin.—Romantic Character of his early years.—His knightly conduct at Rennes.—Gallantry at Cochetel.—Political Consequences of his Chivalry.—He leads an Army into Spain—And Changes the Fortunes of that Kingdom.—Battle of Navaret.—Du Guesclin Prisoner—Treatment of him by the Black Prince—Ransomed—Is made Constable of France.—Recovers the Power of the French Monarchy.—Companionship in Arms between Du Guesclin and Olivier De Clisson.—Du Guesclin's Death before Randon—His Character.—Decline of Chivalry—Proof of it.—Little Chivalry in the Second Series of French and English Wars.—Combats of Pages.—Further Decay of Chivalry.—Abuses in conferring Knighthood.—Burgundy—Its Chivalry.—The Romantic Nature of the Burgundian Tournaments.—Last Gleams of Chivalry in France—Life of Bayard.—Francis I.—Extinction of Chivalry.

The high rank of France among the civilised states of Europe in the middle ages decides the country to which our attention should be next directed in tracing the history of chivalry. Every French baron graced his nobility by the honour of knighthood, and was surrounded by a band of cavaliers. Kings, and even queens, had a certain number of knights who composed their court and accepted their pay; and the conferring of royal honours upon other men than possessors of mere wealth or rank had a powerful effect in promoting the virtues, whatever they might be, of the times. Merit was not considered, as a landed estate, to be altogether hereditary, and the personal nature of chivalry became a check upon the exclusiveness of aristocratical pride.*

The moral influence of the chivalric code in supporting justice and diffusing gentleness of manners is not very perceptible in the early ages of France; for the chroniclers of those times chiefly mark the general political circumstances of the decline of the house of Charlemagne, the establishing of a feudal aristocracy, and the rise of a new monarchy by the spirit and ambition of Hugh Capet.

In the eleventh century chivalry became a distinguishing feature in the national character of France, for the crusades began at that time; and France, above all other countries of the west, was influenced by their spirit. As every knight vowed to support the church, he readily enough became a soldier in those wars which the clergy declared were essential to the well-being of religion. The Holy Land presented a noble field for the display of his virtue: his love of adventures might be gratified by his long and toilsome journey thither; and if the shores of Palestine drank his blood, he gained a crown of martyrdom instead of a victor's laurel.

The sword of the cavalier was too often drawn by the church; and in the persecution of the Albigenses the knighthood of France forgot all the generous liberality and mercy of their order. But although the crusades against ferocious Turks and erring Christians took from chivalry much of its gracefulness and beauty, yet a restoring power was found in that love for poetry and romance which for some ages had been spreading itself over the world. Human nature, in Europe, appears to have been sunk to the lowest possible degree of depression at the time when the Roman empire was in its last days of decay. We corrupt our admiration of classical ages into a superstitious idolatry, when we affirm that the revival of the energies of the human intellect took place in consequence of the discovery of a few Greek and Latin manuscripts. The storm from the north in earlier times was the greatest moral blessing which mankind had ever known. It swept

* British Museum, Cottonian MSS. Nero, c. ix., folio 168. The assumption of dignity by the squire-governors, in order to get greater largesses, is amusing enough: but no knights of other lands were present to chastise them for their insolence.

* Du Cange, Gloss. ad Script. Med. Œvi. in verb. Milites Regis.

away those institutions which were no longer sustained by virtue and genius; and the settlement of the Gothic kingdoms was the commencement of the new glories of the world. The successors of the Romans were not entirely occupied in the fierce struggles of ambition. A new intellect was impressed upon Europe, wild as nature before it is tamed into artificial society, but rich, vigorous, and beautiful. As the new states of the west took a firm and enduring shape, as the tendency of human nature to improvement gradually became visible, intellectual talent was more and more esteemed. If in the twelfth century the plains of Europe were covered with armed knights, the castles were filled with poets who sang the joys both of war and love; and although the brave guests of Charlemagne and his paladins against the Saracens were the theme of many a minstrel's lay, and tended to promote religious wars, yet the same romantic rhymers described the other duties of the chivalric character, and set knightly gentleness and gallantry at the highest pitch of chivalric virtue. That from their own viciousness, or in base compliance with their lords' passions, they were often gross in their descriptions and depraved in their morality, are circumstances sufficiently true; but still the general tendency of the poetry and romance of the chivalric ages was to improve the manners of the time. To right the oppressed, to succour woman in distress, formed the burden of many an ancient song; and when chanted to the minstrel's harp in a baronial hall, it won the mind of the feudal noble from those deeds of blood which the superstitious declared were the only duties of a knight.

The amusements of chivalry aided romance in seeking o'er the rugged looks of war; for tournaments became more and more the national amusement as the world escaped from the darkness of barbarism. The crusades closed with the thirteenth century; and in the succeeding age that fine spirit of chivalry, which the expeditions to Palestine had checked, shone with unclouded brilliancy. When the plains of France were one vast tilting ground for the French and English knights, stern fanaticism did not draw the sword. In the crusades, romantic aspirations after woman's smiles seldom inspired the hero's chivalry, but in the wars of Edward III. in France, every cavalier fought for the honour of his lady-mistress as well as for the ambition of his King. In those days that great principle of chivalry, the companionship of knights, was fully felt as an influential motive to action. Therefore the cavalier was courteous to his foe; he waited the leisure, and saluted the other, before he placed his spear in its rest: he did not demand of his captive a ransom more heavy than his estate could well furnish; and in no case did he inflict cruelties beyond the necessary pains of war. The display of chivalry was as brilliant as its spirit was noble; and it was a great beauty to behold banners and standards waving in the wind, horses barded, and knights and squires richly armed. But as I collected in a former chapter the most striking circumstances regarding the chivalry of those times, I shall pass on to the next interesting page in knightly story.

It contains the life of a hero, whose chivalric courage materially influenced the fortunes of the French monarchy. He sprung, too, from a country that was full of romantic associations. When the Saxons had achieved the conquest of England, many of the subjugated people crossed the sea to France, and settled in Brittany: so numerous, indeed, was the colony, that the historians of that province people it entirely from England.* The ancient language on this island was certainly spoken in Armorica; and all our history and romance were known and cherished there as well and as fondly as in Wales and Cornwall, the other receptacles of oppressed Britons. In after ages both the French and English chevaliers turned their eyes to Brittany with respect and veneration, as the preserver of the fame of Arthur, and of the knights of the Round Table,

* Du Chesne, Hist. Franc. Script. vol. ii., p. 148. The assertion, however, is not strictly correct; for so early as the fourth century Armorica had been colonised from Wales. Argentré, Hist. de la Bretagne, p. 2. A connexion ever since subsisted between Armorica and this island; and when the Britons were oppressed, they repaired to the Continent for refuge.

whose history was a chief source of romantic fiction.

And now, in the fourteenth century, a cavalier appeared who was worthy to have broken a lance with

"Uthers's son,
"Begirt with British and Armorick knights!"

Bertrand du Guesclin, a Breton, of gentle rather than noble family, was a knight in whom the love of military glory burnt with a pure and bright flame. He was born at the chateau of De la Motte de Broen, near Rennes, in Brittany, in the year 1320. Nature had so little graced his personal exterior, that even to the partial eye of a mother he seemed rather a clown than a gentleman. Some tinge of melancholy in his nature was mistaken for ill-tempered gloom, and his disposition to taciturnity was fostered by neglect and contempt. He grew rude, violent, and morose; and his parents would not entertain the notion of educating him for a knighthood, the wonted distinction of the eldest son of a gentleman. But the disposition of Bertrand's mind was invincible; and he encouraged it by practising with energy and perseverance all the boyish exercises which were the faithful mirrors of war; he practised them, too, in opposition to the will of his father, who never failed to chastise him when he witnessed any display of his nature's bent. He appeared as an unknown knight at a tournament at Rennes, and won the palm of victory from a regularly educated cavalier. The path of military glory now lay before him. Soon afterwards he entered the service of Charles of Blois, who knighted him; and he speedily distinguished himself by several chivalric circumstances.

The town of Rennes was blockaded by the Duke of Lancaster with such ability, that a surrender at discretion was looked for by the English. In full confidence of success, Lancaster vowed that he would not quit the place until he was its master. In this embarrassing conjuncture, one of the citizens offered to pass through the camp of the enemy, to deceive the Duke by false intelligence, and, finally, to apprise Charles of Blois of the danger which hung over the place. With great skill and firmness he performed his promise. He repaired to the camp of the Duke, and painted with affected *naïvete* the distress of the besieged, who founded, he said, their only hope of safety on the succour of a French troop that was expected in two days. The tale was credited; and while the Duke, hastily collecting his choicest knights, rode at speed to meet the rescue, the townsman of Rennes, from his simple unwarlike appearance, was allowed at his free will to pass through the camp. At some distance from the English station he encountered Bertrand du Guesclin, and described the position of affairs. In a moment, the valiant Briton knight formed and executed his resolve: he waved his pennon, and many hardy soldiers pressed around him. They dashed into the English camp; and, after displaying the power of their chivalry, they seized large stores of provisions, and proudly marched with them into the famished town of Rennes.

Soon afterwards, the wearied and mortified English returned to their camp. Surprised at the destruction which had been committed in his absence, the Duke inquired the cause; and was told that the name of the knight who had executed so bold a measure was Du Guesclin. Lancaster, like a gallant cavalier, could admire boldness even in a foeman, and he sent a herald into the town requesting that he might behold the man who had so singularly distinguished himself.

Accordingly on the next morning, Du Guesclin went to the enemy's camp, his personal safety being secure under the word of English chivalry. He was conducted into the tent of the Duke, who received him with perfect courtesy, which the knight answered by assuring him that he was at his command in all things that did not militate against the service of his own chief.

The Duke then demanded the name of his lord, and Du Guesclin replied, Charles of Blois, to whom by right appertained the duchy of Brittany.

An English knight observed, "*Messire Bertrand, avant que ce vous dites se termine arrive, il en couterâ cent mille têtes.*"

"*Eh bien,*" answered Du Guesclin,

"*qu'on en tue tant qu'on voudra, ceux qui demeureront auront la robe des autres.*"

This repartee amused the Duke, who, pleased at the martial frankness of Du Guesclin, wished to engage him in his service. But he declined all his offers; and after jousting with a knight who thought little of his valiancy, he returned to Rennes.

The winter approached; a season more terrible to those without than to those within the walls. Du Guesclin repulsed every assault; and Lancaster would have retired, if his honour had not been pledged to take the town. Du Guesclin's ingenuity assisted him in this exigency. It was agreed that Lancaster should enter Rennes armed, his standards should be planted on the walls, and after this satisfaction of his conscience he should raise the siege. The treaty was faithfully executed. The Duke entered Rennes, remained there some hours, and then quitted it; hardly, however, had he left the gate, when the citizens contemptuously cast his standards into the ditch. This indignity wounded him deeply; but being an honourable observer of his word, he would not betray his resentment, or permit his army to avenge this insult to their leader and their nation.*

Du Guesclin soon afterwards entered the service of John, king of France, with a considerable band of Breton knights and squires, whom the fame of his chivalry had drawn to his standard. He remained a royal knight till the death of the king in 1364, and then became a soldier of his successor Charles V. Before the coronation of that monarch, Du Guesclin proved himself worthy of being his cavalier, by a circumstance which entitled him also to national gratitude. The authority of the French, in Normandy, was disputed by some lords of that duchy, who were aided by the English and the Navarrese. The troops of Navarre encountered the French near Cochetel; but instead of maintaining their position on a hill, they descended into the plain, deceived by a feigned retreat of Du Guesclin. Then it was that the Breton ranged his men-at-arms; and their inequality in number to the foe was more than supplied by the reflection with which Du Guesclin animated them, that it behoved the chivalry of France to ornament with laurel the crown of their new sovereign.

Only one circumstance of the battle merits description; and, indeed, it is the only intelligible one in the mêlée of the knights. Thirty Gascon gentlemen had united themselves in strict fraternity of enterprise and peril to take prisoner John de Grailly, the commander of the Navarrese. Accordingly, when the fight began, they advanced with serried shields into the thickest of the press. They were beaten back; but they soon renewed the charge, and their prowess at length prevailed: for the Navarrese knights had not formed themselves into a band for the defence of their commander, and his person was therefore imperfectly protected. His capture decided the fate of the day. The battle of Cochetel is remarkable, not only as gracing a new king but as animating the courage of the French which had been dispirited by repeated defeats during the two preceding reigns.*

In the same year Du Guesclin, by permission of his sovereign, aided his former friend, Charles de Blois, in establishing his rights over Brittany. The opponent of Charles was John de Mountfort, and a destructive war had been seemingly closed by the peace of Landes. But the Countess of Penthievre, the wife of Charles, disdained any compromise of her rights, and her tears and reproaches induced him to cancel the treaty. The war was renewed; the English siding with de Mountfort, and the French with Charles. The battle of Auray decided the cause. Charles of Blois was slain; and in his last moments he lamented that his ambition had been fatal to so many brave men. Du Guesclin was made prisoner by a squire of Sir John Chandos, the commander of De Mountfort's troops;† but he scarcely felt the pain of imprisonment, so courteously did the English knight deport himself.

Such was the state of Du Guesclin when Europe once again became a scene

* Velly, Hist. de la France, vol. v., p. 132—136.

† D'Argentré, Histoire de Bretagne, livre vii., c. 15, Paris, 1618.

* Velly, Hist. de la France, vol. v., p. 313, &c.

of chivalry; and its fortunes was as much influenced by his gallant spirit, as, a few years before, they had been swayed by those knights who had assailed and defended the French crown. The peace of Bretigny had terminated the contest between France and England, and the interesting point of political consideration was Spain. A long course of oppression and tyranny had alienated from Peter, King of Castile, the affections of his people, and stigmatised his name with the epithet, Cruel. His murdering his nobility and his brothers would have passed unnoticed out of Spain; but he imbrued his hands in the blood of his wife, Blanche of Bourbon, and she was sister of the French queen. The indignation of Charles V. of France was roused at this last crime; and the chivalric gallantry of his court loudly echoed his feelings. An army and a leader both were wanting; for most of the knighthood of France had been slain in the late wars. At that moment Du Guesclin was regarded by the court of France as the great stay of knighthood; and his love of military adventures, and his aspirations for high emprises, seconded the wish of the King, that he would revenge the death of his sister. These military qualifications of chivalry formed the character of Du Guesclin; for he who had been rudely stamped by nature, who little regarded lovers' lays and ladies' bowers, could scarcely sympathise with the gallantry of the court of France. But for the heroism of Du Guesclin the enterprise would have perished in its bud. France was covered with soldiers, the disbanded mercenaries of the late wars. Charles V. regarded them with suspicious eyes; his power was not adequate to annihilate them, or even to punish them for the violation of his subjects' peace; and, skilful prince as he was, he made no attempt to remove them peaceably from his states. It was only to a real genius in war that they would submit; and Du Guesclin, above all other men of his age, was capable of guiding their martial energies. The king ransomed him from Chandos for one hundred thousand franks,* and invested him with the command of the enterprise. Du Guesclin met the mercenaries at the table of carousal, and the occasion of festivity was a favourable one for communicating his scheme. I cannot believe, with some writers, that the unchivalric conduct of Peter stimulated the heroism of these adventurers. Among, them, indeed, were many soldiers of fortune, generous and noble minded; and such men would sympathise with virtue; but most of them were mere military ruffians, who defied, and were the disgrace of, the law. The promise of two hundred thousand livres from the king of France was the lure for their enterprising themselves, and I need not dwell upon their hope of common military plunder. It is amusing to observe how fondly superstition clings about the heart of man; for these daring marauders declared that they could not cross the Alps till they had received absolution from the Pope for their former sins. Du Guesclin promised to procure it; and then the joyousness of the soldier resumed its ascendency, and they cried, that they had more confidence in him than in all the bishops of France or at Avignon.

Towards that city of Italian prelates they repaired, after having been admitted into the presence of the French king. They astonished the legate of the terrified Pope by declaring that they wanted absolution and two hundred thousand livres. With these opposite demands his holiness prudently complied; and Du Guesclin crossed the Pyrenees, his soldiers being now called the White Companions, from their wearing on their shoulders a white cross, to testify that they had taken up arms only to abolish Judaism, and put down Peter, who was the supposed supporter of it.* Du Guesclin was accompanied into Spain by many noble Spaniards, whom the cruelties of Peter had, some while before, banished from their own country. Among them was Henry of Trastamarra, the son of Leonora de Guzman, the mistress of Peter's father. The hopes of Castile were now directed to Henry;

* Froissart, c. 230.

* Memoires de Du Guesclin, vol. iv., c. 16. The mode by which the Queen came by her death was never certainly known. One common story was, that she had been murdered by a party of Jews employed by the King, and hence he was considered a patron of Judaism itself.

for any defect in the legitimacy of his title was amply supplied by his talents and virtues. Du Guesclin supported the general feeling of the time; he drove the king from the throne, and seated Henry upon it.

The deposed monarch fled to Corunna, embarked, with his three daughters, on board the first ship which the shadow of his former power enabled him to command, and sailed to Bayonne. He knew that the Black Prince was in Bordeaux, and he lay before him his wrongs. Edward, hearing of his purpose, and resolving to do him honour, issued out of the city, accompanied by divers knights and squires, and went and met the king, and did him great reverence, both in word and deed. After the Prince had well feasted him, they rode together to Bordeaux, Edward, like a courteous knight, giving his friend the right, or side of honour. When they reached the city, the king was conducted to a fair chamber, ready apparelled for him; and, after changing his soiled dress for a robe of splendour, he went to the princess and the ladies, who received him right courteously.*

But few entreaties were necessary, before Edward promised the best exertions of his chivalry to restore him to his throne. The rights of legitimacy were his pretext; for he said that "it was not fit a bastard should hold a realm in heritage, and put his brother, the rightful inheritor of the land, out of his own realm; the which things all kings and kings' sons should in no wise suffer, nor consent to, for it was a great prejudice against the state royal." The Prince, as Froissart says, was then in the lusty flower of his youth; and he was never weary nor well satisfied with war, since the first beginning that he bore arms, but ever intended to achieve high deeds of chivalry.* "The people of Spain," observes Froissart in another place, "had great marvel of the Prince's intention, and there was much communing thereof. Some said the Prince took on him the enterprise for pride and presumption, and was, in a manner, angry of the honour that Sir Bertrand of Du Guesclin had gotten, in conquering of the realm of Castile, in the name of King Henry, who was by him made king."† And if the principles of human nature and chivalry should still leave any doubt on our minds regarding Edward's motives, his treatment of Du Guesclin, when the noble Breton became his prisoner, would remove any obscurity.

His council in vain endeavoured to dissuade him from his purpose, though these good and sage imaginative lords pleaded well the cause of justice. "Sir," they said, "ye have heard it observed, divers times, he that embraceth too much holdeth the weaklier. It is for a truth that ye are one of the Princes of the world most praised, honoured, and redoubted, and hold on this side of the sea

* This is Froissart's story, c. 231, and far more natural than the account in the Memoires de Du Guesclin (which Mr. Turner has placed in the text of his History of England). The memoir-writer gives a long melo-dramatic story of Peter's application to the Prince — of his tears and sobs, and other expressions of grief. The tale goes on to relate, that when the Prince was won to espouse his cause, his Princess, who was at her toilette, was much displeased, that he should have been imposed upon by a man so criminal as the Spanish King. Edward, fancying his martial prerogative infringed, exclaimed, "I see that she wants me to be always at her side. But a prince who wishes to immortalize his name, must *seek* occasions to signalise himself in war, and must by his victories obtain reward among posterity. By St. George, I *will* restore Spain to its right inheritor." Mr. Turner says, "That although this account is given by an enemy, yet as the circumstances correspond with the known character of Edward, they seem entitled to our belief." History of England, vol. ii., p. 178. Now, for my part, I do not believe one word of the pretty stories of the tears and the toilette. The Memoirs of Du Guesclin are a good authority for the life of their hero; but Froissart is the historian of the other side of the question, and the hero of his tale (if sometimes he loses historic dignity in the partiality of biography) is Edward. Froissart was acquainted with every circumstance that happened in the English army, and his account of the matter is far more rational than that of Du Guesclin's historian. It is expressive of the character of Edward and his times. Here we see the gentle knight yielding the place of honour to his friend, and the lady of the knight treating the guests sweetly and graciously. The toilette-scene is altogether omitted; and even if it had been inserted in the chronicle, I should reject it as false: for it was not characteristic of Edward's noble mindedness to speak to his Princess with petulance and ill humour.

* Froissart, liv. i., c. 231, 232.

† Ibid., c. 232.

great lands and seigniories, thanked be God, in good rest and peace. There is no king, near nor far, who at this time dares to displease you; so renowned are you of good chivalry, grace, and good fortune. You ought, therefore, by reason, to be content with what you have, and seek not to get any enemies. Sir, we say not this for evil. We know well that the King, Don Peter of Castile, who is now driven out of his realm, is a man of high mind, right cruel, and full of evil conditions; for by him have been done many evil deeds in the realm of Castile; and he hath caused many a valiant man to lose his head, and brought cruelty to an end, without any manner of reason; and so by his villain deeds he is now put out of his realm: and also, besides all this, he is enemy to the church, and cursed by our holy father, the Pope. He is reputed, and hath been a great season, a tyrant; and, without tittle of reason, hath always grieved and made war with his neighbours, the King of Arragon and the King of Navarre, and would have disinherited them by puissance; and also, as the bruit runneth throughout his realm, how he causeth to die his wife, your cousin, daughter to the Duke of Bourbon. Wherefore, Sir, you ought to think and consider that all this that he now suffers are rods and strokes of God sent to chastise him, and to give example to all other Christian kings and princes, to beware that they do not as he hath done."

Such were the counsels of the Gascon and English knights who attended Edward; but his resolution was formed, and he prepared for war. He drew from the White Companies those of his valiant liegemen, who, for want of other chevisance, had joined Du Guesclin; and, in England, when his purpose was bruited, all the youthful chivalry was on fire to join the hero of Cressy and Poictiers.

He commenced his march with thirty thousand soldiers. It was winter when they passed through the valley of Roncesvalles; and, while the snow drove in their faces, they cheered their spirits by singing the songs in which the minstrel-muse had celebrated the deeds of Charlemagne's paladins. At Pampeluna their distressful march was relieved by the King of Navarre, whose aid they had purchased; and the Prince of Wales proceeded to Castile. The battle of Navaret decided the contest. The common people of Spain, who composed the first ranks of Henry, fought so bravely with their slings, that the Englishmen were sorely troubled; but Edward's archers drew their bows right yeomanly, and soon checked their fury. Henry had on his side more than a hundred thousand men in harness, from Castile, Portugal, and other states; and well and chivalrously did they sustain his cause. The better-appointed force of Edward gradually prevailed, though King Henry's troops fought to the bravest point; for, as they had placed him on the throne, they felt their honour engaged to fight for him to the uttermost. The battle, in all its press and din, was fought between the troops of Du Guesclin and those of Sir John Chandos. The noble Breton was taken prisoner, and the English remained masters of the field. Don Pedro was restored to his throne, and Edward somewhat redeemed his previous conduct, by inducing the King to grant a general pardon and amnesty. The ingratitude of Pedro was the consequence of the Black Prince's exertions in his favour; and I need not dwell upon such a natural circumstance.*

To furnish his troops with those arrears of pay which Peter should have satisfied, Edward was obliged to tax the possessions of the English in France. Between the people of England and the French there had been long-enduring jealousies: there was no community of ideas and manners between them; and the principle of obedience more naturally rested on a French than on an English sovereign. The demeanour of the Black Prince was not that of a courteous and gentle knight: his haughtiness lost him many friends; and his impolicy of giving all the offices of state in Gascony and Aquitain to Englishmen was bitterly complained of, and resented by the lords

* The Memoirs of Du Guesclin and Froissart, and a few passages in Mariana, have furnished this account of the Spanish war. In the general outline I have been anticipated by the popular historians of England; but I have introduced a great many circumstances essential to my subject, and which did not come within the scope of their design.

of those countries, who had perilled themselves, to the loss of their estates, in his cause.

On the other hand, the English were not backward in reproaching the Gascons. Certain knights of England once told the Black Prince, that he little knew the mind of these people, nor how proud they were. "They do not love us, and never did," continued these counsellors. "Sir, remember ye not how highly and greatly they bore themselves against you in the city of Bourdeaux, when King John of France was first carried thither? They said then, and maintained plainly, that by them only ye attained to achieve the taking of the King; and that right well appeared, for you were in great treaty with them for the space of four months, ere they would consent that the French king should be carried into England. First, it behoved you to satisfy their minds to keep them in love."* Edward's attempt at taxation exasperated the angry feelings of his subjects, and was the great and immediate cause of their revolt to the French King.

Edward detained Du Guesclin in prison longer than was consistent with the feelings of generosity, which were wont to warm the breast of a gentle knight. Yet Edward could state the reciprocal duties of conqueror and captive with accuracy; that the former ought not to exact too high a sum, and that the latter should not attempt to escape without paying his ransom. A cavalier, using the freedom of a festive hour, commented on this observation, by saying, that the world was blaming him for his severity towards one of his prisoners. Edward's sense of honour was touched by this remark, and he summoned Du Guesclin to his presence. The hero appeared before him, dressed in his coarse prison garment; and in reply to some unknightly merriment of the Prince, on the rudeness of his appearance, he said, that it remained with the pleasure of the conqueror when he should be better clothed; that for some time he had only rats and mice for his companions, and, as he added with affecting simplicity, "even to the songs of the birds I have been a stranger."

Edward offered him freedom on condition of his swearing not to war in favour of France or of Henry of Trastamarra, the candidate for the Spanish throne. Du Guesclin could not consistently with honour comply with these conditions; and Edward, stung by the recollection that the world had impeached his bravery and generousness, declared that, to show he dreaded no man, Du Guesclin should be restored to his liberty on paying a proper ransom. The noble Breton then required to be released on his parole, in order that he might fetch the necessary sum. Edward, touched by his spirited demeanour, resumed all his generous and chivalric feelings, and declared that Du Guesclin should name his own ransom; and instead of fixing it at ten thousand or twenty thousand livres, the captive hero proudly mentioned sixty thousand florins. The Prince was astonished at his apparent presumption, and asked him by what means he could pay so large a sum. "The Kings of France and Castile," he replied, "are my friends, and will never fail me in a case of necessity. I know a hundred knights of Brittany who would sell their possessions for my liberation; and there is not a woman sitting at her distaff in France who would not labour with her own hands to redeem me from yours." Du Guesclin was then liberated on his parole of honour, and people gazed with curiosity and respect upon a man who had so noble a sense of his own dignity.*

This liberation took place in the year 1368, and the Breton immediately entered into the service of Henry of Trastamarra. Peter had renewed his cruelties when the Black Prince seated him on the throne, and his tyranny again provoked the Castillians to rebellion. The power of Henry slowly rose, and as soon as Du Guesclin and his Gascons took the field, he once more became king. Soon afterwards our knight was recalled by Charles V. to France, and placed at the head of his chivalry by the title of Constable. He entered Paris amidst general acclamations, the people saluting him with cries which hitherto had been appropriated to kings. He went to court, where the King, in the presence of his nobles, declared, that he chose him to

* Froissart, book i., c. 233.

* Memoires de Du Guesclin, p. 255, &c.

command his armies, and therefore gave him the sword of Constable. Du Guesclin then, with the modesty of a true knight, implored his sovereign to honour with this dignity some one who was more worthy of it than himself. But Charles declared that there was not a knight in France who did not acknowledge the superior worship of Du Guesclin, and therefore he commanded him to accept the office. Du Guesclin yielded; but fearing the courtiers of Paris more than his country's enemies, he entreated the King not to credit any tales which might be circulated to his prejudice, without first hearing his defence.*

Du Guesclin now began to achieve the high emprise of reannexing to the crown of France those provinces which the gallantry of the Black Prince had wrested from it. Charles could not give him many troops, but the noble knight sold his estates in order to raise men-at-arms, and his wife parted with the ornaments becoming her station, in order to purchase lances and harness. He was soon surrounded by four thousand soldiers. They were chiefly levied in Normandy, and their rendezvous was Caen. Du Guesclin threw an air of chivalry over his emprise, for he introduced the usage of fraternity of arms. He chose for his own brother, Olivier De Clisson, or Du Guesclin, a knight whose name is mentioned with honour in all the great battles of the time. These two Breton cavaliers signed at Pontoison the act of their fraternity, whereby they engaged to defend the estate, life, and honour of each other.†

Du Guesclin then fell upon the English at Pontvelain with the force of thunder: most of them were taken prisoners; and Sir Robert Knowles, their leader,

* D'Argentré, Historie de Bretagne, liv. vii., c. 15.

† Labineau, Hist. De Bretagne, vol. ii., p. 538. The treaty itself is so curious, that a life of Du Guesclin would be imperfect without it. "A tous ceux que ces lettres verront, Bertrand du Guesclin, Duc de Mouline, Connestable de France, et Olivier, Seigneur de Clisson, salut. Sçavoir faisons que pour nourrir bonne paix et amour perpetuellement entre nous et nos hoirs, nous avons promises, jurées et accordées entre nous les choses qui s'ensuivint. C'est à savoir que nous Bertrand du Guesclin voulons estre alliez, et nous alljons à tourjours à vous Messire Olivier, Seigneur de Clisson contre tous ceulx qui pevent vivre et mourir, exceptez le Roy de France, ses freres, le Vicomte de Rohan, et nos autres seigneurs de qui nous tenons terre: et vous promettons aidier et conforter de tout nostre pouvoir toutesfois que mestier en aurez, et vous nous en requerrez. Item, que ou cas que nul autre seigneur de quelque estat ou condition qu'il soit, à qui vous seriez tenu de foy et hommage, excepté le Roy de France, vous voudroit desheriter par puissance, et vous faire guerre en corps, en honneur, et en biens, nous vous promettons aidier, defendre, et secourir de tout nostre pooir, se vous nous en requerrez. Item, voulons et consentons que de tout et quelconques proufitz et droitz, qui nous pourront venir, et echoir dorenavant, tant de prisonniers pris de guerre par nous ou nos gens, dont le proufitz nous pourroit appartenir, comme de pais raençonné vons aiez la moitié entierement. Item, au cas que nous sçaurions aucune chose qui vous peust porter aucune dommage ou blasme, nous vous le ferons sçavoir et vous en accointerons le plutost que nous pourrons. Item, garderons vostre corps à nostre pooir commo nostre frere. Et nous Olivier, Seigneur de Clisson, voulons estre, alliez, et nous allions à toujours à vous Messire Bertrand du Guesclin dessus nommé, contre tous ceulx qui pevent vivre et mourir exceptez le Roy de France, ses freres, le Vicomte de Rohan, et nos autres seigneurs de qui nous tenons terre, et vous promettons aidier, et conforter de tout nostre pooir toutefois que mestier en aurez et vous nous en requerrez. Item, que au cas que nul autre seigneur de quel que estat ou condition qu'il soit, à qui vous seriez tenu de foi, ou hommage, excepté le Roy de France, vous voudroit desheriter par puissance, et vous faire guerre en corps, en honneur ou en biens, nous vous promettons aidier, defendre, et secourir de tout nostre pooir, si vous nous en requerrez. Item, voulons et consentons que de tous ou quelconques proufitz et droitz qui nous pourront venir et echoir dorenavant, tant de prisonniers pris de guerre par nous ou nos gens, dont le proufit nous pourroit appartenir, comme de pais raençonne, vous aiez la moitié entierement. Item, au cas que nous sçaurions aucune chose qui vous peust porter dommage aucun ou blasme, nous vous la ferons sçavoir, et vous en accointerons le plutost que nous pourrons. Item, garderons vostre corps à nostre pooir comme nostre frere. Toutes lesquelles choses dessusdites, et chacune d'icelles, nous Bertrand et Olivier dessus nomée avons promises, accordées, et jurées, promettons accordons et jurons sur les saintz evangiles de Dieu corporellement touchiez par nous, et chascun de nous, et par les foys et sermens de nos corps bailliez l'un à l'autre tenir, garder, enteriner et accomplir l'un à l'autre, sans faire, ne venir en contre par nous, ne les nostres, ou de l'un de nous, et les tenir fermes et agreables à tous jours. En temoing desquelles choses nous avons fait mettre nos seaulz à ces presentes lettres, lesquelles nous avons fait doubler. Donné à Pontoison, le 24 jour d'Octobre l'an de grace mille trois cens soixante et dix.

fled to Brittany, and concealed his head for shame, during the rest of his life in the castle of Derval.* The Black Prince was then at Bourdeaux, enfeebled by sickness: he had wasted his constitution in the peninsular war; for the climate of Spain was not so favourable to the health of Englishmen in those days as it has been found in later times. Instead of being able to gird on his armour and display his chivalry, Edward had scarcely strength to follow the counsel of his leeches to return to England. He left the Duke of Lancaster to preserve the English dominion in France from total ruin.

The year 1371 was a blank in the chivalric history of Du Guesclin, but the following spring he continued his attempt to subjugate Poictou.. Many cities were sacked; and the abhorrence with which the cruelties of Olivier de Clisson were regarded by his own army may warrant the conjecture that inhumanity was not general. At the close of 1372, Poictou was entirely subdued. In the next year, Du Guesclin continued his conquests, and Guienne became the subject of his victories. The Duke of Lancaster was the successor of the power, but not of the chivalry, of the Black Prince; and De Mountfort, whom Edward sent to France as the opponent of Du Guesclin, not only recovered nothing, but lost much of Brittany; and thus by the genius and fortune of one chivalric hero, all the bright visions of glory created in the fervid imaginations of our Edwards were blighted, and France recovered her station among the high powers of Europe.

Du Guesclin continued in the service of Charles. The last years of his life it is impossible to describe, so contradictory are his biographers. Some declare that the calumnies of Parisian courtiers deprived him of the favour of Charles, and that he lost his office of Constable. However this may have been, it is certain that in the year 1380 he commanded the French troops at Auvergne, and went to lay siege to Randan, a little fortress some leagues from Mendes, in the Govandau, between the sources of the Lot and the Alleir. The place, until then so little known, immediately became famous in French history, for the loss which France sustained before its walls of one of her prowest knights. Du Guesclin, who, according to the wont of chivalry, had vowed not to sheath his sword while an enemy's lance was raised, pressed the siege with vigour, when he was attacked by a malady which was soon found to be mortal. He beheld the approach of death with Christian intrepidity, and he died while exhorting the knights around his bed to the duties of devotion to God, loyalty to the King, and mercy to those who were the objects of war. It was his wish to be buried at Dinan, in Brittany, but the King commanded the abbey of St. Denys to be the place;* and in kindness and gratitude, he was anxious that a lamp should always hang over the tomb, in order that posterity might never lose remembrance of his great deeds.† The

* Argentré, viii., 3, 4.

* Voltaire says, that Bertrand Du Guesclin was the first person over whom a funeral oration was delivered, and who was interred in the church destined for the tombs of the kings of France. He adds, "Son corps fut porté avec les mêmes cérémonies que ceux des souverains; quatre princes du sang le suivaient ses chevaux selon la coutume du temps, furent présentées dans l'église à l'évêque que officiait, et qui les bénit en leur imposant les mains. Les détails sont peu importants; ils font connoitre l'esprit de chevalerie. L'attention que s'attiraient les grands chevaliers célèbres parleurs faits d'armes s'étendait sur les chevaux qui avoient combattre sans eux." Essai sur les Mœurs, c. 78.

† Anselme in his Palais de l'Honneur, gives an amusing account of the chivalric rules for sepulchral monuments. They were better observed in France than in any other country, and even there they were not very scrupulously attended to. "They are," however, as Gough remarks (Sepulchral Antiquities, vol. i., p. cxvii.), "a curious specimen of monumental punctilio. Knights and gentlemen might not be represented by their coats of arms, unless they had lost their lives in some battle, single combat, or rencontre with the prince himself, or in his service, unless they died and were buried within their own manors or lordships; and then to show that they died a natural death in their beds, they were represented with their coat of armour ungirded, without a helmet, bareheaded, their eyes closed, their feet resting against the back of a greyhound, and without any sword. Those who died on the day of battle, or in any mortal rencontre, on the victorious side, were to be represented with a drawn sworn in their right hand, and a shield in their left, their helmet on, which some think ought to be closed, and the visor let down, in token that they fell fighting against their enemies, having their coat of arms girded over their arms, and at their feet a lion. Those who died in prison, or before they had paid their ransom, were

epitaph, on account of its simplicity, deserves mention. "Ici gist noble homme Messire Bertrand Du Guesclin, Comte de Longueville, et Connétable de France, qui trepassa au chastel neuf de Randan en Gisaudan, en la Sénéchaussée de Beauncaire, le 13 jour de Juillet, 1380. Priez Dieu pour lui."*

Such was the life of a simple Breton gentleman, who, with no advantage of birth, no powerful patronage, but with only his good sword to speed him, raised himself to the highest rank in the French nation, and his was one of the numerous instances in the middle ages where the personal merit of chivalry was of more avail than the hereditary right of aristocracy. In many of the essentials of knighthood, in lofty daring, sageness, and generosity, he was as preux a chevalier as the English Chandos' and Mannys; but there was none of that gallant grace over this darling of French chivalry, which distinguished the heroes of Edward III. He was so sensible of his own personal plainness that he never cultivated the pleasing amenities of chivalry; but his modesty did not pass unrewarded:† for the ladies of Brittany were so deeply read in the romances of their country, that they loved only men who were famous for martial deeds. Du Guesclin was twice married: of the first of his wives nothing is on record; the other is said to have been a woman of beauty, fortune and wit. She was an heiress in Brittany, and Charles of Blois promoted the union, hoping to attach him to his court. Her reputation as a prophetess was extensive, and her prediction of his success in a particular battle being verified, her vanity became interested in his fate. She had her days of good and of evil fortune, and if historians have written his annals faithfully, Bertrand often repented, both as a soldier and a husband, when he did not regard her counsels.*

The history of France after these circumstances was the struggle between the ruling powers and the people regarding the right of taxation. The civil wars that devastated France and Flanders, in consequence of this dispute, bore none of the character of chivalry; for monarchical and aristocratical haughtiness disdained to consider as their companions in arms those whom they called the rascal-rout, the base-born rabble. It was only wars of ambition that were graced and softened by chivalric generosity; and therefore all was blood, and horror, and confusion, when the houses of Orleans and Burgundy distracted France with their feuds. The pages of Monstrelet, the chronicler of the events to which I have alluded, form a gloomy contrast to the splendid scenes of Froissart. The field, indeed, continues to gleam with lances, and banners and pennons wave in the wind, but the spirit of ho-

represented on the tombs without spurs or helmet, without coats of arms or swords, only the scabbard girded to, and hanging at their sides. Those who fell in the battle or rencontre on the side of the conquered were to be represented without coats of arms, the sword at the side and in the scabbard, the visor raised and open, their hands joined on their breasts, and their feet resting against the back of a dead and overthrown lion. The child of a governor, or commander in chief, if born in a besieged city, or in the army, however young he died, was represented on the tomb, armed at all points, his head on his helmet, and clad in a coat of mail of his size at the time of his death. The military man, who at the close of his life took on him a religious habit and died in it, was represented completely armed, his sword by his side on the lower part; and on the upper the habit of the order he had assumed, and under his feet the shield of his arms. The gentleman who had been conquered and slain in the lists, in a combat of honour, ought to be placed on his tomb, armed at all points, his battle-axe lying by him, his left arm crossed over the right. The gentleman victorious in the lists was exhibited on his tomb, armed at all points, his battle-axe in his arms, his right arm crossed over the left."

* Argentré, Hist. de Bretagne, liv. viii. Velly in an. and Memoires de Du Guesclin, ad fin.

† "Jamais, *disoit il*, je ne serai aimé ne conveis (bienvenu)

Ainçois serai des dames très toujours éconduits,
Car biençais que je suis bien laid et malfettis,
Mais puis que je suis laid être veux bien hardis."

Vie du Connetable de Guesclin.

* Chastelet, Hist. de Du Guesclin, p. 33. There were no children of either of these marriages. Du Guesclin, however, left a son, *par amors*. The last male heir of this family died in the year 1783, an officer in the French army. In the time of Napoleon, a Madame de Givres asserted and proved her descent from the Constable, and Bonaparte granted her a pension of 6000 francs a year.

nour and courtesy no longer hung over them—and the prostrate soldier sued for mercy in vain. Knights were created before and after battles: tournaments, jousts, and other splendid shows were held; and as the essence of chivalry decayed, its splendour seemed to brighten. An affair in Liege, in the year 1408, will show the manner of warfare when chivalry was on the wane. John, Duke of Burgundy, John of Bavaria, the lords of Hainault and Orange, and other princes, appeared in arms to succour the Bishop of Liege, brother-in-law of the Duke of Bavaria, whom the Liegeois had expelled from the city. Instead of following the counsel of the new bishop and his father the Lord de Pier-vves, of remaining within the walls, and wearing out the enemy by a defensive war, the Liegeois, when the bells of the city announced break of day, left their fortifications, resolved to give battle to the well appointed lines of Burgundy. Their numbers were fifty thousand; but except some pieces of artillery, five or six hundred men armed like cavalry, and a few score of stipendiary English archers, they were the disorderly population of the city. Their confidence of success was exalted to madness; and when the hour of battle arrived, they would not suffer their nominal leader, the Lord Pier-vves, to take any means of prudence. It is curious to mark the difference of character in the two parties. There was a wild frantic kind of courage in the Liegeois, inspired by the consideration that they were fighting for their lives and liberties. Their foemen had no such deep-seated enthusiasm; they moved to battle as sportively as to a joust; while their commanders were gaily exhorting their men-at-arms to behave themselves gallantly against the enemy, a rude and ignorant people, who had rebelled against their lord, and who confidently trusted in their superior numbers for success. "If the warriors of Burgundy," (concluded the martial orators,) "will dash into career with knight-like courage, victory will be theirs, and they will gain everlasting honour."

The cannon of the Liegeois did not check the advance of the chivalry; and though the burghers endured well and courageously the close encounter, yet the prudence of their general was verified, that they could oppose no effectual resistance to the nobles and gentlemen trained to war and armed in proof. After an hour's struggle, the line of the Liegeois being charged in rear by a detachment of horse, six thousand of them quitted the ranks, and fled towards a village distant half a league from the field of battle. The cavalry charged them several times, beating down and slaying them without mercy.

The main body of the Liegeois was yet unsubdued; and for half an hour the noise of the war-cries was dreadful; the Burgundians and Hainaulters shouting under their banners, "Our Lady for Burgundy!" "Our Lady for Hainault!" and the Liegeois ringing the air with the cry "St. Lambert for Pier-vves!" The detachment of horse returned, and fell upon the rear of the Liegeois, and pierced it through; a great slaughter was made, for none were admitted to ransom. Near the banner of the Duke of Burgundy, where the conflict raged with most fierceness, the Lord of Pier-vves and his two sons (one was the new bishop) fell, and no consideration for their chivalry or religious profession saved them from death. The coolness of the Duke of Burgundy excites the praise of the historian; and no apology is thought necessary for his conduct, when on being asked, after the defeat, if they should cease from slaying the Liegeois, he replied, "Let them all die together; let no prisoners be made; let none be admitted to ransom."*

Such was the spirit in which war was conducted where the humanising influence of chivalry was unfelt; and I shall not attempt to detail the more horrid crimes of the sacking of towns.

In the short war between France and England in the reign of our Henry V., nothing peculiarly chivalric can be marked in the conduct of the French. The great second series of our wars with France, though not characterised by knightly splendour, is not without knightly interest. France could seldom

* Monstrelet, vol. ii., c. 3. The battle between the Burgundians and Dauphinois, in August, 1421, was fought with similar cruelty. Vol. v., c. 62.

boast of braver cavaliers than Dunois, Lahire, and the chevalier Poton de Saintrailles. During the memorable siege of Orleans, at the request of the English, the festivities of Christmas suspended the horrors of war, and the nativity of the Saviour was commemorated by the sound of martial music. Talbot, Suffolk, and other ornaments of English chivalry, made presents of fruits to the accomplished Dunois, who vied with their courtesy by presenting to Suffolk some black plush he wished for as a lining for his dress in the then winter season. The high-spirited knights of one side challenged the prowest knights of the other, as their predecessors in chivalry had done. It is observable, however, that these jousts were not held in honour of the ladies, but the challenge always declared, that if there were in the other host a knight so generous and loving of his country as to be willing to combat in her defence, he was invited to present himself.

History has preserved to us one circumstance, which is interesting, because it marks the change of manners in the attendants on the cavaliers. We have seen that in early times each knight had his squire, who gave arms to his lord, and frequently mingled in the battle himself. The knight now had only his page, who buckled on his armour, and rendered similar acts of personal service; and instead of generous emulation of the enterprises of cavaliers, a mock combat was held between the striplings of the two armies. Each party had its leader and its standard. Their shields were made of osier twigs, and the javelins were blunted. On the first day the advantage was with the French, but on the second, the English youths bore away the standard of their antagonists, and the reputation of victory was theirs.*

After this national contest chivalry continued to decline in France. The civil wars had left that country one universal scene of vice and misrule, and the people looked to the King for some measure of protection. So exhausted were the nobility by their wars with England, that they declared their want of power to lead into the field the customary number of knights; and they therefore prayed a remission of military duty. Charles willingly granted this petition; and no opposition was made to his establishing a force which he might either use against the barons themselves or the nation's enemies. The importance of mercenaries had been extending itself ever since the reign of Philip Augustus, when they were first introduced; for the old levies of feudatories and vassals had in France, as in England, been found insufficient for the great purposes of war. But the new bands of stipendiary adventurers were never a very important branch of the French military force, for the kings could not pay for many; and these hired soldiers were commonly infantry or lightly armed horse, who could not contend in the battle-field with mail-clad knights and squires. National feelings favoured the constitutional levy; and the kings endeavoured to render the country's chivalry of sufficient service by enlarging the time of their attendance. St. Louis increased the period of military duty from forty days to two months, and Philip the Fair doubled the time determined by St. Louis.

Such was the state of affairs in France, when, in the year 1444, Charles established fifteen companies of cavalry. Each company consisted of one hundred lances, and each of these men-at-arms had his archers, a coutiller or soldier, whose weapon of offence resembled a knife rather than a sword, and his personal attendant the page. Every one of these followers served on horseback, and the whole force amounted to nine thousand cavalry. This was intended to be a permanent establishment; and it was understood that the soldiers should be paid out of the state finances, and should not, like the mercenaries of former times, subsist by plunder. These companies of ordonnance have ever been regarded as the foundation of the French standing army. Here, then, closes the public military history of chivalry in France. The new soldiers were stipendiaries, not cavaliers: they were not educated for chivalry: they had not

* All these curious particulars of ancient manners are contained in the Histoire de Jeanne d'Arc, of M. Le Brun des Charmettes.

passed through the ranks of page and squire; and not being necessarily gentlemen by name or arms, their deeds could not be similar to those which sprang from the oath of the cavalier. This new military force caused the feudatories of the crown no longer to bring their vassals with them to war, except in certain extreme cases, where the arriere ban was summoned, and then the appearance was but a faint picture of the ancient chivalry. Thus the usage of banners and pennons ceased, and with them the great distinctions of bannerets and knights, because those titles no longer conferred honour and command.* The title of knight lost its military character; and, instead of being bestowed with religious solemnities, after a long and painful education, it was often given to very young men without any martial training whatever, when they first stepped from their father's castles into the busy scenes of life. There was another circumstance which sullied the glory of knighthood; —I mean the bestowing of its title upon persons who were not of the military class. The exact time when this innovation upon chivalry took place it is impossible to ascertain, and I wish not to weary my readers with profitless antiquarian researches. Knights of the law, as distinguished from those of arms, were known in the thirteenth century; and when once the clergy, who exercised the judicial functions, began to assume military titles, (which they did from their spirit of engrossing every thing that was honourable,) the matter soon grew into a custom: the lawyers claimed the privilege of wearing gold, and in every point asserted the equality of the law with the chivalry of the country.† By degrees the title of knighthood began to be applied to men distinguished for their learning, or talents, or who for less honourable causes were favoured by the King. This application of chivalric honours to persons who were not within the order of chivalry, was viewed with a jealous and malignant eye by the military knights, who were not satisfied with the consideration in which they were held when other classes of society copied their titles, and shone by the reflection of martial glory. Their fierce minds felt no respectful sympathy for the literary and intellectual awarders of justice, and they wished that the lance of the knight-errant should continue to be the only refuge of the injured. In effect the title of knight became of little estimation, and in the history of France, through the fifteenth century, we seldom read of the conferring of the order of chivalry upon soldiers in the field of battle.

Chivalry thus decayed in France, before gunpowder became the chief instrument of death. Though artillery had been known so early as the battle of Cressy, it did not immediately come into general use. During the last half of the fourteenth century, the French used it in sieges, and sometimes in the field. But still, when Charles VII. established the companies of ordonnance already mentioned, the strength of the army was cavalry. Soon afterwards the French armies began to consist of infantry; for the soldiers of France were mercenaries, and they were drawn from Switzerland, a country which from its poverty and mountain-form could not boast of many knights and plumed steeds.

Whilst chivalry was losing its martial vigour in the French monarchy, some of the nobility of France preserved it in their castles in all its stateliness and grace. But the records of those times are so faint and imperfect, that any thing beyond the mere circumstance of their general chivalry cannot be learned.

The annals of Burgundy are somewhat more satisfactory. The Dukes of Burgundy became sovereigns of Flanders, and impressed on that country a character of chivalry and romance. Tournaments, jousts, and other knightly shows, graced the wealth of the Flemish cities, at the time when the commercial cities of Italy were distinguished for classic elegance and taste. The court of the Dukes of Burgundy was so high in fame for the lofty daring and gallant grace of chivalric emprise, that when Constantinople fell under the Moslem

* Daniel, Histoire de la Milice Francaise, liv. iv., c. 1. Monstrelet, vol. viii., c. 46. Velly, tome v., p. 394.

† Boutillier, La Somme rurale, compillée par lui, p. 671. Abbeville, 1486.

yoke, the hearts of the noble Burgundian knights glowed with the bold and pious desire of recovering the metropolis of eastern Christendom. The desire perished, for it was not supported by the other powers of Europe; and Burgundy, deprived of its hope of leading the lances of the West, in a cause so well worthy of them, is only interesting in the history of chivalry for its gracefulness and splendour. To present the reader with detailed statements of all its martial games would be tedious and unprofitable; but one of them possesses considerable interest, as displaying a very singular state of manners, and proving that the romances, and tales of chivalry, were often realised.

In the year 1468, the sister of Edward IV. of England married Charles, Duke of Burgundy. The banquets and balls which testified the general joy were varied by a martial exercise called the Passage of the Tree of Gold. It was held in the market-place at Bruges, which, on that occasion, exchanged its wonted appearance for one of chivalric gaiety. The ground was unpaved, and sanded like a royal tilt-yard; and galleries were erected around for the reception of the nobles and dames of Burgundy and the wealthy merchants of Flanders. A door, at one end of the lists, painted with a tree of gold, was defended by the Bastard of Burgundy, who jousted with such cavaliers as, by the permission of the ladies, were allowed to deliver the knight of the Tree of Gold of his emprise. According to the humour of the times, many knights appeared in fantastic disguises. One knight, though young and lusty, approached the lists in a litter, and presented every mark of feebleness and age. He requested leave to joust for that once only, and declared that he would then retire to some peaceful cell, and forget, in devotion and penitence, the vain delights of war.

At another time, the dames and damsels were informed that a noble knight, who wished to joust, was without the lists; but that he would not present himself to the ladies of Burgundy until they perfectly knew his tale. All his life he had loved a lady of Sclavonia; and although she had not altogether accepted him as her servant, yet she had encouraged him to hope. His mental sufferings for her love deserved compassion; but she, forgetting that feminine virtue, and continuing her pride, had not treated his devotion as it merited; and he, therefore, for the nine months which preceded his appearance at Bruges, had lived among rocks and mountains, a prey to melancholy. When, however, the lady heard of this unquestionable proof of his passion, she repented of her ingratitude, and had sent to him a damsel-errant, who was now his guide. She had beguiled the tedious way to Bruges by telling him that the pleasures of love could only be reached by labours, desires, and sufferings; that pain gave a zest to enjoyment, and that the greatest offence against love was despair. The lady had bade him hope; the damsel-errant had counselled him to go upon some chivalric quest, in order to dissipate his melancholy; and she had promised to accompany him, in order to deliver the tale of his adventures to his lady mistress.

The dames and maidens of Burgundy accorded permission to this zealous servant of love to attempt the emprise of the Passage of the Tree of Gold. He was preceded into the lists by three men, dressed like Moors, and a lady followed, mounted on a white palfrey, and dressed, as the people thought, like a damsel-errant. She led the knight, who bestrode a cheval de lance, and afterwards came four nobles, clad in the habits of Sclavonia, with the words "Le Chevalier Esclave" worked on their robes. He jousted with a knight who supplied the place of the Bastard of Burgundy, but with what degree of gallantry history is silent.*

I now return to France, whose chivalry, even in the last days of its existence, is interesting; for if ever the bright glory of one man could have changed the manners of his age, the knight without fear and without reproach would have revived the chivalric fame of his country. Pierre Terrail, or Du Terrail, known under the name of Bayard, was born in the year 1476, at the chateau of Bayard, in Dauphiny.

* Memoires d'Olivier de la Marche, vol. ix. c. 2, of the Collection des Memoires relatifs à l'Histoire de la France.

His family was of ancient and noble race, and boasted that their ancestors had fought at the battles of Cressy and Poictiers. His own father had been so severely wounded in the service of his country, that he quitted the army before the usual time of retiring. He passed the evening of his life in Dauphiny, occupied in the education of his children, of whom Peter was the only one that aspired to military glory. His wishes were grateful to his father; and his uncle, the Bishop of Grenoble, promised to introduce him to the Duke of Savoy. In his paternal home Peter Bayard had learned some of the duties of the page of early chivalric times: like him he administered to his father and his guests at table; and he had acquired admirable skill in horsemanship. The Bishop took the youth to Chambery, the then residence of the Duke, and by the grace of manner with which he attended his uncle at the dinner-table, and by a fine display of horsemanship, the Duke regarded him with kindness, and placed him in his service. Bayard was then about thirteen years old. Not many months afterwards he became an attendant of the King of France; for the Duke of Savoy, preferring Bayard's interest to his own, wished to advance his fortunes. Charles VIII. put him into the household of the Signeur de Ligny, where he remained till he was seventeen years old, when he was called into the class of the gentlemen of the royal court. Besides acquiring the military exercises of his time, he graced his imagination with fairy and romantic tales: he was a knight in spirit and purpose, and he now aspired to gain the favour of the ladies by the prowess of his chivalry. A very few days after he had quitted his office of page, he broke a lance in a joust with one of the most distinguished cavaliers of the day, and his fame was bruited over all France. He remained all his life in the service of the French kings. The theatre of his exertions was Italy; but, as a very able pen has lately traced the revolutions of that interesting country,* I need not follow him through all his chevisance.

Such matters as display the points of his personal character, and show the remaining chivalric features of the time, come, however, within my province. In 1501, he alone sustained on a narrow bridge the efforts of two hundred cavaliers, who attacked him. It was then that he obtained from the king a device having for its emblem a porcupine, with the words "*Vires agminis unus habet.*" At the taking of Brescia, he received a dangerous wound, and he remained awhile in a private house. When he was about to depart, his hostess wished to present him with two thousand pistoles for the gratitude she felt at his having preserved her honour and her fortune; and he accepted the money only for the purpose of giving it to her daughters, as their marriage portions. So highly was he esteemed, that Chabannes, a marshal of France, and Humbercourt, and D'Aubigny, general officers, all of higher rank and older service than Bayard, fought under his orders. Yet he never rose to high commands. His greatest dignity was that of lieutenant-general of Dauphiny.

But the most amusingly characteristic story of Bayard regards his gallantry. When he was page to the Duke of Savoy, he loved one of the attendants of the Duchess; but the passion either was not mutual, or was not graced with any character of romance, for a few years afterwards the damsel married the Seigneur de Fleuxas. Bayard met her at the house of the widow of his first master, the Duke of Savoy. During supper, the lady of Fleuxas praised the chivalry in tournaments of her early admirer in such high terms, that he blushed for very modesty; and she added, that as he was now residing with a family who had been the first to cherish him, it would be great blame in him, if he did not prove himself as gallant a knight as he had done before. The answer of Bayard was that of a polite cavalier; for he requested her to tell him what he could do that would please the good and honourable assembly, his lady of Savoy, and, above all the rest, her fair self. She advised him to hold a tournament. "Truly," replied Bayard, "it shall be done as you wish. You are the first lady whose beauty and grace attracted my heart. I know that my salutations of

* Perceval's History of Italy, vol. ii., c. 8.

you can only be those of courtesy, for I should lose my labour were I to solicit your love; and I would rather die than accomplish your dishonour." He then prayed her to give him one of her sleeves, for he said that he should have need of it in the approaching tournament. The lady accordingly took it from her dress, and he attached it to his.*

The martial pastime was held, and after the supper which succeeded, it was inquired to whom should the prizes (the sleeve and a ruby) be given. The knights, the ladies, and even those who had tourneyed with him, accorded it to Bayard. But he declared that the honour was not his; but that if he had done anything well, Madame de Fleuxas was the cause, for she had given him her sleeve. He, therefore, prayed that she might be permitted to act according to her judgment and prudence. The Seigneur de Fleuxas knew too well the noble character of Bayard to feel any jealousy at this compliment to his wife, but with the other judges of the tournament he immediately went to her and related the matter. She was delighted at Bayard's gallantry, and declared that as he had done her the honour to avow that her sleeve had made him gain the prize, she would preserve it all her life for the sake of his love. The ruby she gave to the cavalier, who had next distinguished himself to Bayard.

And thus lived the knight without fear and without reproach, till the retreat of the French out of Italy in 1524, when he was fatally wounded by a stone discharged from a harquebouze. He fell from his horse, crying, "Jesus, my Saviour, I am dead." He kissed the cross-handle of his sword; and there being no chaplain present, he confessed himself to his esquire, who then, by the knight's command, placed him against a tree, with his face turned towards the enemy; "because," said Bayard, "as I have never yet turned my back to the foe, I will not begin to do so in my last moments." He charged his esquire to tell the King, that the only regret he felt at quitting life was the being deprived of the power of serving him any further. The Constable of Bourbon, as he was pursuing the French, found him in this state, and assured him that he pitied his lot. But Bayard replied, "It is not I who stand in need of pity, but you who are carrying arms against your King, your country, and your oath." The news that he was mortally wounded quickly spread, and excited the deepest grief in the minds of both armies, for he was a valiant soldier and a generous foe. After a while he was removed to a tent and placed on a bed. He was shriven by a priest, and soon afterwards died, as, with true Christian piety, he was imploring his God and his Saviour to pardon his sins, and to show him mercy rather than justice.* He was buried at a convent of Minims, half a league from Grenoble, the principal town of his native country.

During some of the last years of his

* The old French, in which this dialogue was held, is exceedingly interesting and expressive. "Monseigneur de Bayard, mon amy, voicy la premiere maison ou avez esté nourry, ce vous seroit grand honte si ne vous y faisiez congnoistre, aussi bien qu'avez fait ailleurs. *Le bon chevalier respondit*, Madame, vous savez, bien que des ma jeunesse vous ay aymée, prisée et honorée, et si vous tiens à si saige et bien enseigné, que ne voulez mal à personne, et encores a moy moings, que à un autre. Dites moy, s'il vous plaist que voulez vous que je face pour donner plaiser à Madame ma bonne maistresse, à vous sur toutes, et au reste do la bonne et belle compaignée qui est ceans. *La dame de Fleuxas lui dit alors.* Il me semble, Monseigneur de Bayard, mais que je ne vous ennuye point, que ferez foit bien de faire quelque tournoy en ceste ville, pour l'honneur de Madame qui vous en scaura tres bon gré. Vous avez ici alentour force de vos compaignons gentils-hommes François et autres gentils-hommes de ces pays, lesquels s'y trouveront de bon cœur, et j'en suis asseurée. Vrayment, *dit le bon chevalier*, puis que le voulez il sera faist. Vous estes la dame en ce monde qui a premierement acquis mon cœur à son service, par le moyen de vostre bonne grace. Je suis asseuré que je n'en auray jamais que la bouche et les mains, car de vous requirir d'autre chose je perdrois ma peine, aussi sur mon ame j'aymerois mieulx mourir que vous presser de deshonneur. Bien vous prie que me veuillez donner un de vos manchons. Car j'en ay à besongner. La dame qui ne savoit qu'il en vouloit faire le lui bailla, et il le meit en la manche de son pourpoint, sans faire autre bruit." Memoires, vol. xiv., p. 397.

* The Memoires of Bayard, by one of his secretaries, have furnished me with the chief facts in this account of Bayard. A very excellent English translation of them has been published in two vols. post 8vo. The Memoires Du Bellay (Paris, 1572,) have supplied some deficiencies in the narration of the loyal serviteur.

life, his fine and chivalrous spirit found a kindred soul in Francis I., who, it is remarkable, was the only French sovereign graced with any share of the character of chivalry. For, while the Plantagenets of England had shone as brilliantly by chivalric as by regal splendour, the Capetian princes of France could not present a king that displayed any powers beyond the ordinary qualities of royalty. The valiancy, the liberality, the fine, open, and manly countenance, and the lofty form of the King, were altogether those of one of Charlemagne's paladins. His imagination was coloured with the gay and lively tints of romance, and so fondly did he dwell upon the fabulous glories of old, that in many a sportive moment he arrayed himself in the guise of the antique cavalier. But here our panegyric must cease; for no preux knight would, like Francis, have pledged his solemn word to observe a treaty, and immediately afterwards have violated it. However unkingly and unknightly Charles V. might have deported himself in treating Francis in prison with severity, and although the terms of the treaty of Madrid were such as no noble victor would have imposed, still the obligation of the pledge of Francis's word should have been felt as sacred. A noble cavalier, a Chandos or Du Guesclin, would have disdained to obtain his liberty by signing a treaty which he intended to break as soon as he should leave his prison. "All is lost, Madam, except our honour," as the French King wrote to his mother after the battle of Pavia; a generous, chivalric expression; and scarcely could it have been expected that he was the man who would have thrown away that honour.

The last faint gleam, however, of the sun of military chivalry in France fell upon Bayard and his sovereign, Francis; for after the battle of Marignan, in 1515, when they fought together against the Swiss, the King was, at his own request, knighted by the cavalier without fear and without reproach. After giving the accolade, Bayard addressed his sword, "Certainly, my good sword, you shall hereafter be honoured as a most precious relic, and never shall be drawn except against Turks, Moors, and Saracens." He then twice leaped up for joy, and plunged his trusty weapon into his sheath.*

Soon after the days of Francis I. the title of knighthood became an empty name: it was preserved as the decoration of nobility and lawyers; and from respect to the ancient glories of their nation, kings received it at their baptism.† Montluc, that man of blood, was the last French soldier who received it in the field of battle. The accolade was given to him by the Duke d'Anguien, after the engagement of Cérisolles, in 1544.

The amusements of chivalry were soon abolished. The accidental death of Henry II. in a tournament,‡ in the

* Memoires de Bayard, in the great collection of French Memoires, vol. xv., l. 458. "Et puis après par maniere de jeu, cria haultement l'espée en la main dextre: tu es bien heureuse d'avoir aujourdhui à un si verteux et puissant roy donné l'ordre de chevalerie Certes ma bonne espée vous serez moult bien reliques gardée et sur toutes autres honorée. Et ne vous pourteray jamais, si ce n'est contre Turcs, Sarrasins, ou Maures, et puis feit deux faults, et après remeit au fourreau son espée." This sword has been lost.

† This mode of receiving knighthood had, however, been stealing into a custom for some time. The earliest instances I have ever met with was in the case of an infant son of Charles VI. (A.D. 1371), who was knighted by Du Guesclin, a cavalier who, one would think, was sufficiently jealous of the honour of chivalry. After the ceremonies of Baptism, Du Guesclin drew his sword, and putting it naked into the hand of the naked child (nudo tradidit ensem nudum), said to him, "Sire, I give you this sword, and put it into your hand; and pray God that he will give you such a noble heart that you may prove as true a knight as any of your illustrious ancestors." So, too, Monstrelet, in his account of the events in the year 1433, says that the Duchess of Burgundy was delivered of a son at Dijon, who was knighted at the font. Vol. vii., p. 147.

‡ Part of Segar's account of this tournament is too interesting to be omitted, "At the fourth course, by marvellous misadventure, the King became hurt with a splinter of the adversary's lance, which pierced his eye so deep as thereby his brain was much bruised. Thus was the nuptial feast disturbed, and joy converted to sorrow. Such is the state of worldly things: gladness is ever followed by sadness, and pleasure accompanied by pain. The rest of the troops who were ready to run were with that accident marvellously amazed, and not knowing what to do, every man let fall his lance, and cursed such triumphs. Some pressed to carry his person home, and others (as touched to the heart) shut their eyes from seeing a spectacle so miserable. The ladies likewise and gentlewomen of the

year 1559, did much to indispose the minds of the people from chivalric sports; and when in the following year Prince Henry de Bourbon Montpensier was killed, in consequence of his horse falling under him, while careering round the lists, tournaments ceased for ever; and with their abolition, as Voltaire says, the ancient spirit of chivalry expired in France; for that country after the death of Henry II. was plunged in fanaticism, and desolated by the wars of religion. The spirit did not survive the forms of chivalry; for the intercourse with Italy introduced into France new opinions and feelings. Machiavelian politics banished the open, manly demeanour of chivalry; and the most disgusting profligacy equally distinguished the ladies. It is amusing to observe that, long after the extinction of chivalry in France, the apparent homage and devotion of chivalric love still continued, although it was no longer sustained by virtue. Love, sublimed into idolatry, breathes in every page of the heroic romances which succeeded the romances of chivalry, and reflect the feelings of the nation; and so late as the reign of Louis XIV. a ruffled and powdered French general whose soul was not illumined by a single gleam of the character of a preux chevalier, would fancy himself the very pink of sentiment, and sigh at the feet of his mistress,

"Pour meriter ton cœur, pour plaire a vos beaux yeux.
J'ai fait la guerre aux rois, je l'aurois fait aux dieux."

court turned their faces from beholding, and closed their eyes with tears. To conclude, the whole number of courtiers were stricken with sorrow not explicable. The citizens, also, and, generally, all the subjects of that kingdom, were perplexed to see the tragical event of that disastrious triumph, which was intended to congratulate a new peace and honourable alliance. The form and face of the city was thus converted from exceeding joy to unspeakable sorrow: some held up their hands to heaven, others made haste to the churches, and every one, with abundance of sighs and sobs, cried out beseeching God to grant the King's recovery; as if every man's well doing had thereon depended. Then the physicians and surgeons, not only of France but of the Low Countries, came thither to show their skill, using all art and endeavour that might be; but the splinters of the lance had pierced the King's eye so deeply, as the tenderness of the place could not suffer it to be taken out nor seen (the brain also being pierced), no means there were to cure the wound. The King, therefore, tormented with extreme pain, fell into a burning fever, whereof at the end of eleven days he died. In all which time he did never weep, nor speak any words that might be imputed to pusillanimity; but most magnanimously took leave of life. Only this he said, that seeing he was destined to die in arms, he would have been much better contented to have lost his life in the field than in those domestic pastimes." Segar, of Honour, lib. iii., c. 40.

CHAPTER XIII.

PROGRESS OF CHIVALRY IN SPAIN.

General Nature of Spanish Chivalry.—Religion and Heroism.—Gallantry.—Blending of Spanish and Oriental Manners.—Its beneficial Tendencies.—Peculiarities of Spanish Chivalry.—Forms of Knighthood.—Various Ranks of Knights.—Spanish Poetry.—Heroes of Chivalry.—Pelayo.—Bernardo del Carpio—And incidentally of Charlemagne's Expedition into Spain.—The Life of the Cid.—His early ferocious Heroism.—His singular Marriage.—Enters the Service of King Ferdinand.—The Cid's Chivalric Gallantry.—He is knighted.—Death of King Ferdinand.—The Cid becomes the Knight of Sancho, King of Castile.—Mixture of Evil and Good in the Cid's Character.—Supports the King in his Injustice.—The Cid's Romantic Heroism.—Sancho's further Injustice opposed by him.—Death of Sancho.—Instance of the Cid's virtuous boldness.—Character of Alfonso, Successor of Sancho.—Story of his Chivalric Bearing.—The Cid's second Marriage.—Is banished from Alfonso's Court.—Becomes the Ally of the Moors.—But recalled.—Is banished again.—Singular Story of the Cid's unknightly Meanness.—Fortunes of the Cid during his Exile.—The Cid's chivalric Nobleness and Generosity.—Is recalled by Alfonso.—The Cid captures Toledo.—And Valentia.—Story of Spanish Manners.—The Cid's unjust Conduct to the Moors.—The unchivalric Character of the Cid's Wife and Daughters.—The Cid recalled by Alfonso.—The Marriages of his Daughters.—Basely treated by their Husbands.—Cortez at Toledo to decide the Cause.—Picture of Ancient Manners.—Death of the Cid.—His Character—Fate of his good horse.—Spanish Chivalry after his Death.—Gallantry of a Knight.—The Merits of Missals decided by Battle.—Passage of Arms at Orbigo.—Knights travel and joust for Ladies' Love.—Extinction of Spanish chivalry.

SPANISH chivalry awakens the most splendid and romantic associations of the mind. Europe, with her active courage,

— her jealousy of honour, — her superior religion; — Asia, with her proud and lofty deportment, — her fervid and sublimated imagination, and the magnificent ceremonial of her pomp, — formed the knight of Spain, and, in consequence of this influence of Orientalism on his character, he represents the stateliness of chivalry as perfectly as the English cavalier its adventurousness, and the French its gaiety.

There was an interesting blending of religious enthusiasm and romatic heroism in the Spaniard. His warm and creative imagination transformed the patron-saint of his country into a knight. He always saw St. James at his side, mounted on a stately white horse, and fighting the battles of Christianity and Spain; and, as if these chivalric exploits were not sufficient, he represented him as the professed and powerful champion of distressed damsels; for he supposed that this celestial ally had freed the nation from paying the annual tribute of a hundred Christian virgins to their infidel enemies.*

Spain, too, appears to our fancy as the very land of chivalric love — of love which was bred amidst difficulties and dangers, where the undistinguishable throng of "hopes and fears that kindle hope" gave a more imaginative cast to the feelings than can be known in the more settled frame of modern society. There was not only the feudal baron violating the laws of courtesy, as in other countries, but bands of Moors were careering over the plains, who did not think that woman was an object utterly unworthy of a perilous quest. Here, then, all the beautiful romance of knight-errantry might be realised; and in the breast of the rescued damsel love would spring from gratitude.

The germs of chivalry existed in the minds of the Visigoths, who overthrew the dominion of the Romans in Spain. Military investiture, respect for women, and the sports of hawking and hunting, were the new circumstances in Spanish character and manners: but in the times of those wretched barbarians, the Visigoths, it is in vain to search for the perfect development of the chivalric character. Chivalry appears only in few and fitful gleams in those dark times; and her golden light did not shine in full and bright display till the days of the Arabians; and, throughout their long reign of seven centuries, it had a very remarkable effect on circumstances and characters. As its glory was personal, chivalry abated much of the fierceness of a religious or a national war; for the cavalier could admire, even in an enemy, qualities which it was his own pride and ambition to possess.

The nations met in the graceful encounter of the tournament, as well as in more perilous battle-field; and the interchange of chivalric courtesies, when the image of war was exhibited, could not but mitigate the ferocity of real hostilities. At the Moorish or Christian festivals, a gallant soldier of the opposite religion would appear, and challenge the bravest of his adversaries to maintain the superiority of his nation and faith; and in maintaining that cause the cavaleresque deportment of the combatants was admired, when the avowed object of their encounter was forgotten; for the object of the assembly was amusement; and the eye and fancy were addressed in these gentle exercises and proofs of arms.*

The people of the two religions insensibly mingled, and each adopted something of the thoughts and manners of the other. If the Christian taught the Moors to use the lance of courtesy, the Christian learned from the Moors to throw the cane, which was afterwards such a favourite Spanish amusement. From them, too, the knights of Spain adopted the javelin, and used it instead of the lance. They were wont to hurl it as forcibly as any Asiatic or Grecian heroes could have done; for a greater

* Warton justly observes, that the apotheosis of chivalry, in the person of their own apostle, must have ever afterwards contributed to exaggerate the characteristical romantic heroism of the Spaniards, by which it was occasioned, and to propagate through succeeding ages a stronger veneration for that species of military enthusiasm to which they were naturally devoted. Warton, Diss. on the Gesta Romanorum.

* Painters are as good witnesses for manners as romance writers; and in Murphy's Arabian Antiquities of Spain there is an engraving from a picture in the Alhamrā, representing a martial game wherein both Moors and Christians contended.

defence than what was afforded by mail and a quilted jacket was required to resist the stroke.*

The poets who lived in the chivalric days of Spain invariably gave the moral and personal costume of chivalry to the Arabian as often as to the European. Thus Calaynos, the Moor,† is as much celebrated in the romances of Spain as the Cid himself; and it was the general confession that the knights of Granada were gentlemen, although Moors.‡ This amalgamation of character formed the basis of those unions between the Arabians and the Spaniards which are so frequently recorded in the history of the Peninsula, and which strike the reader as incredible. It has been thought for the glory of the nation to represent the struggle as of ceaseless duration for seven long centuries, and too fierce to allow of the sheathing of the sword: but these alliances were so common, that Spain often presented the appearance of a number of petty states, each attempting to draw the other into its vortex, rather than the general cause of the Cross warring against the Crescent. Independently of these alliances there was scarcely a Christian cavalier of fame who did not in the course of his military career wield his good sword in the ranks of the Musselmans.

Among the blessings which sprang from this free intercourse, religious toleration was not the least valuable one. Spain, which in later times has been so remarkable for the cruelties of its bigotry, was in early days the only country of Europe where religious liberty could breathe. Since the Moors and Christians often treated each other as separate powers, mutual toleration ensued, and this liberal feeling in the minds of the Christians extended itself beyond the pale of their Moorish subjects and allies. The fathers of the reformation were the Albigenses, many of whom were sheltered by the kings of Arragon, while their brethren were persecuted to death in France. No church, save that of England, was in such continued opposition to the papacy as the Spanish; and in every great dispute it espoused the cause of the heretics, as the asserters of the liberty of the human will were always called.

The humanities of chivalry were not limited to toleration or mercy, to the mosque or the field of battle, but Moors and Christians often lived in the same town, and commingled social charities. Friendships were formed, and, maugre the declamation of bigots, dearer affections attached the two nations. The knight was, in consequence of the obligations of his chivalry, the friend of the distressed; and when beauty pleaded, his heart forbad him from inquiring in what religion the damsel had been educated. The passion of love in the breast of the Spanish cavalier was not more fervid or intense than in the breast of the cavalier of any other country. If the Spaniard be considered as a Goth by birth, and an Arab by education, still his natural and artificial circumstances formed but the same character of passion; for both the Goth and the Arab adored as well as loved their mistress, and regarded her as a divinity as well as an object of affection.

There was a gravity, perhaps a jealousy, both qualities of Oriental origin, about the conduct of the Spanish knight, which were foreign to the nature of the chivalry of other countries. The expression of his feelings was unlike theirs. Bold metaphors, rich and varied imagery and glowing sentiments, are mixed with the simple development of passion; and these orientalisms of his verse are not the elaborate and artificial ornaments with which fiction dresses up her image of passion; but as the mind of the Spaniard had been trained by the Arab, it became natural to him to nourish his affection in the splendid dreamings of the East. If he borrowed ideas and fancies from the Moor, it must be remembered that he likewise freely communicated the character of his own system. In no Mohammedan country was woman so high in moral rank as in Spain. The Musselman woman was not passion's

* Froissart, vol. ii., c. 44.

† Calaynos, however, went out of fashion, not for want of merit in the hero, but by reason of the form of the verse in which he was celebrated. Thus the phrase, *Este no vale las coplas de Calainos*, passed into a proverb. Sarmiento, Memorias para la Historias de la Poesia, y Poetas Espanoles, p. 228.

‡ Caballeros Granadinos
Aunque Moros hijos d'algo.

object, but, like the lady in chivalry, she was the origin of honour; for she sat in the tournament as the judge of valour, and the Moorish knight received the guerdon of triumph from her hands. Asiatic jealousy abated something of its nature and its forms in Spain; for there women mingled with man in social intercourse, and her beauties were not always shrouded by a vail.*

The forms of chivalric initiation in Spain were similar to those in other countries. The bath — confession — vigil in a church — mass — the spurs — the girding with the sword — the accolade, — these were the chief ceremonies. The knight by his oath expressed willingness to die either for the defence of his law, or of his king or country.† The sword was then ungirt from him by some person of honour, who by so doing was supposed to become his padrino, or godfather, in chivalry, and to confirm the knighthood thus bestowed. No circumstance could ever justify the cavalier in bearing arms against his padrino. He was, on the contrary, to defend him by his sword and his council to the utmost of his ability, and to be everything to him, as a *man* was to his lord in feudal relation.

These were the ancient ceremonies; but they were simplified in subsequent times. The mere dubbing was then held sufficient; and, by a law of Ferdinand and Isabella, in 1476, it was ordained that it should be at the pleasure of the King to use the old forms or not, and that the dignity of knighthood should be equally illustrious if they were omitted.

The highest class of knights in Spain was formed of the Knights of the Spur, the Cavalleros de Espuela d'Orada. They were always hidalgos, or gentlemen of birth of three descents. Kings' sons were of this class of knighthood; and no one was crowned till he had been invested with the order.‡

Among the privileges of a knight of the Golden Spur, it is curious to notice that no person could sit at table with him except one of his own rank; no one of an inferior order was permitted to deny the infallibility of his opinion, and to contradict him: and for offences against the state, a knight of this class was to be beheaded, and not put to death in the vulgar mode.

The circumstances in his conduct which were punishable with degradation are interesting, as descriptive of Spanish manners. It was thought necessary to forbid him from stealing the arms of another knight, from selling his own, or losing them at play, or giving them to courtesans. The punishment of degradation, as consequent on the admission of improper persons into the order, is intelligible and just; his girdle and spur-leathers were also to be cut, if he exercised any trade; except, indeed, in captivity, when he was kindly permitted to support his life by the best means of his ingenuity.*

The other class of knights was formed of cavalleros Armados, who enjoyed most of the privileges of nobility. A knight of this rank was free from the payment of taxes and tribute; and so were the knights of the Golden Spur, not, however, as knights, but as hidalgos. The cavalleros d'Armados were always made by the king's own hand; but the right of creating cavalleros d'Espuela d'Orada existed in the will of every cavalier of the order, though it was usually exercised only by the king.

These were the two bodies in which the chivalry of Spain was arranged. The title of Cavallero was also given to every man who was a soldier, in consequence of holding his lands by a military and feudal tenure; but he was not, from that circumstance, necessarily a knight. Regarding chivalry as an order of merit, the cavalleros d'Espuela d'Orada and the cavalleros d'Armados were the only two chivalric knights in Spain.

There were some interesting circumstances in Spanish chivalry. Thus, in Catalonia, besides the squire who bore his shield and lance, each knight was attended by an armed man, whose title was, companion of the Knight, and who was considered as a gentleman that followed the art of chivalry. He was also attached to the knight by feudal relations;

* For proofs of this circumstance, I must again refer the reader to the engravings in Murphy's Arabian Antiquities of Spain.

† Pur su ley, pur su Sennor natural, pur su terra, Partidas, cited by Selden, Titles of Honour, part ii., cap. 4.

‡ Partidas, l. ii., tit. 21, lib. 36, tit. 2, &c.

* Selden, Titles of Honour, part ii., c. 3.

for the knight was compelled to grant him land, or rent, in fealty. A knight who was entitled to be attended by this companion was a knight by creation, a miles vero; and he who had not received the order of chivalry, although a hidalgo, was considered as a knight minor, whom, indeed, chivalry would have disowned, but that his birth, rank, and fortune, made him a part of the military state.*

It is curious to notice that, by the general laws of Spanish chivalry, it was usual for every knight to embrace a newly-made knight the first time he met him, in honour of faith and love; and that it was contrary to those laws for one knight to affront another, unless he should first send his defiance or publication of that breach of the bond of companionship.

The pillars of Spanish chivalry were of the same quality and character as those of other countries. Spain had her military orders, her institutions of Calatrava, Saint James, and Alcantara; while the militia of the Temple and the friars of the Hospital were richer in possessions in Spain than in any country of the West. She had also her ballads and romances, in prose and verse, descriptive of the wars and loves of chivalry: but I cannot discover, with some writers, that the chivalric muse sung either a sweeter or a higher strain in Spain than in France or England. Her minstrelsy, indeed, was peculiar, and so was her national character. On one side, longings for patriotic independence, and consequent hatred of the Moors; on the other the loves and friendships of humanity, unaffected by difference of religion or country. The Troubadour chanted his lays of love and war in Spain; and his appeals found a ready way to the heart in Arragon; for of that part of the Peninsula the Provençal was the vernacular dialect.

Spain is rich in her heroes, both of romance and chivalry. The Spaniard will not acknowledge that the Moor was, for a moment, left in tranquil possession of his conquest; and he points to a hero, named Pelayo, as collecting the remnants of the Christians in the mountains of Asturias, immediately after the general triumph of the Moorish arms. He resisted the Moors till his three hundred followers dwindled to thirty. His enemies then left him to perish, for hitherto his food had only been honey, found in the crevices of the rocks. But in after time, the folly of this disdain was seen; for these thirty men were the nucleus round which the scattered Spaniards collected.*

* Tomich, Conquestas de los Reyes de Aragon e los Comtes de Barcelona, 1534, folio 23.

* Our English translators of ancient Spanish poetry need not think, as they are inclined to do, that they are worshipping a shade in Pelayo. The Arabian History of Spain by Ahmadu-bn Muhammadi-bn Musa Abu Bakr Arrázy, a writer of the fourth century of the Hegira, attests his existence in the manner stated in the text. This author, whose name I will not again attempt to transcribe, is one of the authorities of Mr. Shakspeare, whose able dissertation on the History of the Arabs in Spain accompanies Murphy's splendid work on the architecture of that country. Great expectations have always been entertained of the illustrations of Arabic-Spanish history which the Escuriel manuscripts could furnish. The work of Casiri encouraged the most ardent hopes of a successful result of more patient inquiry; and nothing could promise better than the circumstance that his very learned and intelligent successor in the librarianship, D. José Antonio Conde, was engaged in the work. The results of his labours were published at Madrid in 1820 and 1821. I have not been able to meet with a copy of his work in the original Spanish, but I have found it mixed up with other matter in a French book, entitled "Histoire de la Domination des Arabes et des Maures en Espagne, et en Portugal, depuis l'Invasion de ces Peuples jusqu'a leur Expulsion définitive; redigée sur l'Histoire traduite de l'Arabe en Espagnol de M. J. Conde. Par M. de Marlés." 3 vols. 8vo. Paris, 1825. From the preface of M. de Marlés it appears that D. Conde's book is entirely the tale of the Arabic Historians, and not the judicious results of a critical comparison between these writers and the Spanish chroniclers. M. de Marlés has endeavoured to supply the deficiency, and to write a history of Spain from Mariana and others on the one hand, and D. Conde's Arabians on the other. He has entirely failed: for a more feeble work was never written. Much of the fault rests with his authorities; for his history is only another proof of what we possessed a thousand instances before, that sufficient materials do not exist for the compilation of a good and complete Spanish History. The insufficiency of D. Conde's book to all real historical purposes appears in every page. Something, indeed, has been gained on the subject of the Moorish civil wars and dissensions, but such details are without interest. Little or nothing has been added to our stores on the subject of Pelayo, Charlemagne's invasion, the Cid, or the conclusion of the Moorish history; all points where information is so much wanted. These remarks

Truth does not cast many gleams on Bernardo del Carpio, the next in time and rank of Spanish knights. If we may credit the historians of his country, it was he who nourished, in the Asturias, the plant of national liberty; for when Alfonso the Chaste would have made the land over which he ruled part of the dominions of Charlemagne, the nobility, headed by Bernardo, repelled the invader, and annihilated the French peerage at Fontarabbia. Much of this, perhaps the whole, is the mere dreaming of national pride, not deserving regard: but when I find mingled with the story the assertion that Bernardo gained the alliance of some of the Moors, and that, in after parts of his life, he fought also under Moorish banners, I accept these circumstances as valuable, and consider them as indications of general principles and manners, whoever may be the hero of the tale.

Of the far-famed expedition of Charlemagne into Spain, little or nothing is known, though some French writers have defined the extent of his dominion in that country with the precision with which the political changes of modern times can be traced. Tradition, song, and history, unite in proving that he went into Catalonia and Arragon; but it does not seem that he established any government in those countries; and his march was rather the wild adventure of a knight than the grave purpose of kingly ambition. The Spaniards, as we have seen, claim the honour of defeating him in the valley of Ronscesvalles; but the Arabs also assert their title to the same feat of chivalry: and still further to embarrass the matter, it has been contended, with equal plausibility, that the French under Charlemagne were, worsted by the Navarrese and people of Aquitain; and thus that the French of the Adour and the Garonne defeated the French of the Seine. The land between the Ebro and the Pyrenees, and called the Spanish March, was governed, some centuries before the twelfth, by the counts of Barcelona, who owned the feudal sovereignty of the kings of France. This territorial acquisition has been generally referred to the sword of Charlemagne, not, however, on sound historical proof, but rather from the practice of monkish chroniclers, of honouring that emperor with all the deeds of arms which could not accurately be ascribed to any other warrior.

In the life of Count Fernan Gonsalez fiction and fact are blended beyond all power of extrication; and we must descend to the eleventh century for a genuine picture of the Spanish cavalier. No one is dearer to the proud recollections of a Spaniard than the Cid Rodrigo Diaz de Bivar; for it was by the valour of his arms that the momentous question of superiority between the two great powers in the Peninsula was decided as every Christian and Spanish heart could have wished. The honour of his chivalry is bright and pure; for to swear by his knighthood, affé de Rodrigo, is still the most solemn form of a Spaniard's asseveration.

The marriage of Don Diego Laynez, a Castilian gentleman, and Donna Teresa Rodriguez, daughter of a count and governor of Asturias, was followed in the year 1026 by the birth of a son at Burgos, who was called Rodrigo Diaz, and of Bivar, from the conquest made by his father of a town two leagues north of Burgos; but he was more generally designated as the Cid, from the Asiatic title, Es Sayd, (my Lord,) which five Moorish emirs whom he conquered gave him, and which his king confirmed.* Indeed, from the number of his victories over the Moors, he emphatically merited this title.

While yet a youth, he gave an earnest of his martial and ferocious disposition. His father had been insulted by a blow from Count Don Gomez, Lord of Gormaz, but he was unable, from old age and infirmities, to take vengeance, and he mourned in solitude and dishonour. Rodrigo, in order to restore peace to his father's mind, defied and fought the mighty man of arms: he slew him, and returned to his home with the head of the vanquished hanging at his saddle-bow. His father was seated at table with dinner, untasted, before him. Rodrigo presented to him the head, which he called the herb that woul drestore his father's appetite. The

apply only to Conde's researches into the political and civil history of Spain while under the dominion of the Moors, and not to his inquiries into the literary history of the Arabs.

* Chronicle, i., 30.

old man embraced his son, and, placing him at the head of his table, declared that he alone was worthy of being at the head of the house of Layn Calvo. His father soon afterwards died. Rodrigo next distinguished himself by beating back an invasion of five Moorish emirs who had fearfully ravaged the country; and instead of treating them with severity, he gave them liberty, receiving their submission and tribute.*

The Cid's affair with Gomez was productive of an interesting circumstance, and illustrative of the manners of that remote and singular period. Ximena, the daughter of the Count, required of Don Ferdinand, King of Castile, the strange boon of Rodrigo of Bivar in marriage, alleging as her reason, that his possessions would one day be greater than those of any man in the Castilian dominions. She declared that the power of pardon rested in her breast; and, like other amatory enthusiasts, she gave a colouring of religion to her wishes, by urging that the marriage would be for the service of God. The King consented, and summoned the Cid to his court; who, on receiving the message, incontinently dighted himself full gallantly, and, accompanied by many knights and other armed peers in festival guise, he repaired to the King at Valentia. Ferdinand received him with so much honour as to excite the envy of the courtiers. The purpose of the summons was communicated, and Rodrigo had no difficulty in consenting to marry the lady whose father he had killed. The marriage was celebrated; and the satisfaction of the King is peculiarly marked, for he made him large grants of land, being aware of his military prowess, and thinking that by this marriage he had secured his allegiance.† The Cid took his bride home, and commending her to the kindest care of his mother, he went towards the Moorish frontier; for, in order to give a zest to his martial pleasures, he had vowed not to solace himself with Ximena's love till he had won five battles in the field.

He was soon called to be the champion of his king; for a quarrel between Don Ferdinand and his brother Don Ramirio, king of Arragon, regarding the city of Caldhorra, was to be decided by arms. The Cid and the other champion, Don Martin Gonzales, entered the lists, and the judges placed them in such situations that the sun and wind favoured neither. They careered so fiercely against each other that their lances broke, but in the closer encounter of swords the Cid prevailed; he slew his adversary; and the judges declared that the city of Caldhorra belonged to Don Ferdinand.

This victory was rewarded by the gratitude of the king, and the envy of the courtiers; and the latter, in the bitterness of their rage, endeavoured to plot with the Moorish emirs, the subjects of the Cid, for his destruction. But the Moors not only disdained the alliance, but revealed the meditated treason to their lord. Many of the conspirators were banished; but regarding one person, the chivalric gallantry of the conqueror prevailed over his just resentment. The wife of the Count Don Garcia prayed for the pardon of her lord: she fell at the knees of the Cid, but he would not listen to her until she rose. She requested him to command the Moorish emir, into whose country she and her husband were sentenced to be banished, to treat them with mildness and benevolence. The Cid spoke according to her will; and the King of Cordova, for the love he bore that hero, treated them kindly, and gave Cabra to Garcia as a habitation. As far as Garcia was concerned this kindness was misplaced; for he made war upon his benefactor, the King of Cordova, till the Cid went and punished him. The circumstances attending this punishment will be told in a subsequent and very interesting part of our hero's life.

The Cid then assisted his sovereign in wresting Viseu, Lamego, and other cities from the Moors. There were no

* Chronicle, i., 4.

† The circumstances about the marriage are so contradictory to modern usages, that the whole story has been regarded as a fable. Abundant evidence, however, of the marriage exists; as that competent judge of Spanish manners, Mr. Southey, observes, "The circumstances of the marriage are not to be disbelieved for their singularity: had such circumstances appeared incredible or repugnant to common feeling, they would have been invented; — whether they be true or false, they are equally characteristic of the state of manners."

circumstances of his valour so remarkable as the cruel vengeance of Ferdinand on a man taken at Viseu, who had slain King Don Alfonso, his wife's father. He cut off the foot which had pressed down the armatost, or instrument by means of which the cross-bow was charged, he lopt off the hands which had held the bow and fitted the quarrel, and plucked out the eyes which had taken the mark. The archers then made a butt of the living trunk.* Thus, whatever might have been the influence of chivalry on the mind of the Cid, it certainly had not tempered the ferocity of his Gothic sovereign.

Coimbra was one of the new conquests, and in that city Rodrigo was knighted. The ceremony was performed in the church of Saint Mary, which had once been the great mosque of Coimbra. The King girded on the sword and gave him the kiss, but not the blow, for the Cid needed no remembrancer of his duties. The ladies were his honourable attendants on this august occasion. The Queen gave him his horse, and the Infanta, Donna Urraca, fastened on his spurs. His names, Rodrigo Diaz, were now compressed into Ruydiez, agreeably to a frequent custom at investiture, which in so many respects was similar to baptism. By permission of the King he then exercised the privileges of his new rank by knighting nine noble squires. By this time the vow of the Cid was performed, and he retired awhile from the court to the society of his wife.

Ferdinand soon afterwards died, having, contrary to the principles of the nation's constitution, divided his kingdom among his children. This breaking up the interests of the Gothic monarchy was most unwise; for the Goths were a fierce race, and, in the cause of ambition, brother had shed brother's blood.† The Cid went into the service of Don Sancho, King of Castile, the eldest son of the late sovereign; and in all his wars, whether with Christians or Musulmans, he deported himself after his wonted manner: and his great feats of arms won so entirely the heart of the King that he made him his campeador, or officer, whose duty it was to mark the place for the encampment of the host.

Sancho expressed his purpose of possessing himself of what he chose to consider his inheritance,—the whole kingdom of his late father. His iniquitous design was manfully opposed by one of his counsellors, who nobly declared that there was not a man in the world who would advise him to break the command of his father, and the vow which he had made to him. Sancho then turned to the Cid, stating to him, singularly enough, that he solicited his advice, for his father had charged him upon pain of his curse not to act without his judgment. The Cid replied, that it would ill behove him to counsel his sovereign to contradict the will of the late king. Sancho rejoined, with admirable casuistry, that he did not think he was breaking his oath to his father, for he had always denied the justice of the partition, and the oath alluded to had been forcibly extorted. The Cid found the King was resolute in his purpose; and in the conflict of duties which the circumstances gave rise to, his martial spirit overcame his virtue, and he determined to continue his soldier.

He prevailed upon Sancho, however, not to pass into the territory of Don Garcia, his brother, King of Gallicia, unless he obtained the love and license of his brother, Don Alfonso, King of Leon. Numerous battles were fought, without, however, wearing any chivalric feature, and therefore not within my purpose to describe. In all of them the green pennon of the Cid floated conspicuously and triumphantly; and his achievements were so far beyond mortal comparison, that he was called the fortunate Cid—he of good fortune—he that was born in a happy hour. On one occasion Sancho was taken prisoner, but he was rescued by the Cid; and the circumstances are illustrative of the romantic character of the age. Thirteen knights were bearing the king away, when the Cid, alone and lanceless, for he had shivered his weapon in the battle, galloped after them. He cried to them, "Knights, give me my lord, and I will restore yours to you." They scornfully bade him avoid contending with them, or they would make him prisoner

* Chronicle, i., 13. † Ibid. ii., 1.

too. "Give me but a lance, and, single as I am, I will rescue my lord from all of ye," was the heroic rejoinder of the Cid; adding, with increased energy and confidence, "By God's help, I will do it." The chivalric request could not be denied by cavaliers, and they gave him a lance. But such was the spirit and force with which he attacked them, that he slew eleven of the thirteen; on the two survivors he had mercy; and thus he rescued his king.*

Don Sancho became king both of Gallicia and Leon, confining his brother Garcia in irons as if he had been a traitor, and compelling Alfonso to seek for brotherly affection among the Moors. He robbed also his sister, Donna Elvira. Still his ambition was not satisfied; the little town of Zamora, belonging to his sister, Donna Urraca, was wanting to fill the measure of his desires. He despatched the Cid to her on the painful office of requiring Zamora for a price or in exchange, and of communicating the king's purpose of seizing it by force in case she did not accede to his wishes. The great men of Zamora dissuaded the Infanta from surrendering the place: their courageous spirits declared that they would rather eat their mules and their horses, yea, their very wives and children; and the danger of yielding was shadowed out to her in that dark proverbial manner in which the Spaniards often conveyed their wisdom. "He who besieges you on the rock," they said, "will soon drive you from the plain."

The Cid returned to the King with the answer which this counsel dictated. Sancho, in his anger at the failure of the embassy, reproached his campeador with unskilful management of his task; for his conscience told him that he who, like the Cid, had been bred up in the same house with Urraca, must have felt some compunctions at requiring her to give up the right of her inheritance. The campeador did not defend himself by stating that he had discharged his duty as an advocate for the King's purposes; he only declared that he had discharged faithfully his bidding as a true vassal; but he added, that he would not bear arms against the infanta, nor against Zamora, because of the days that were past.*

Incensed at this opposition to his authority, Sancho banished his faithful campeador, who joined King Alfonso in the Moorish territories, with twelve hundred horse and foot, knights and squires, all men of approved worship. Alarmed at this defection of his bravest cavaliers, the counsellors of Sancho advised him to revoke his edict: it was revoked: the campeador returned, but he would not bear arms against the Infanta nor Zamora, because of the days that were past. The King attacked the town, and lost his life in the attempt. There were circumstances about his death that impeached both his brother Alfonso and his sister Urraca. The Castilians murmured their suspicions; but when Alfonso came to be crowned, the Cid was the only man of sufficient virtue and spirit to decline doing homage. Much astonishment was expressed in the countenances of the courtiers and prelates, who had already kissed the hands of Alfonso; and when he was called on by the sovereign-elect to perform his acknowledgment, he boldly declared that all who were then present suspected that by his counsel the King, Don Sancho, had come by his death, "and therefore I say," he continued, "unless you clear yourself of this, as by right you should do, I will never kiss your hand, nor receive you for my lord."

The King expressed his pleasure at these sentiments, and swore to God and to St. Mary that he never slew his brother nor took counsel for his death; neither did his death please him, though Sancho had taken his kingdom from him. Alfonso then desired his courtiers to describe the means by which he might clear himself. They replied that he and twelve of his knights, as his compurgators, must take that oath in the church of St. Gadra, at Burgos. Accordingly, the King and his knights repaired to Burgos, in whose church of St. Gadra mass was celebrated before the royal family, the nobility, and the people.

* Chronicle, ii., 17.

* These last few words are judiciously placed in the Chronicle of the Cid by Mr. Southey. They are not contained in the ancient chronicles and ballads, but they are referred to by some, and implied in all.

The King then took a conspicuous station near the altar. The Cid left his place, and, opening the Gospels, he laid the book upon the altar. The King placed his hand upon the volume; and the Cid said to him, with a seriousness of manner approaching to sternness, while the people attended with the intensest curiosity, "King Don Alfonso, you appear in this place to swear on the subject of your brother's death. You swear that you neither slew him, nor took counsel for his death: say now, you and these hidalgos, your friends and compurgators, if ye swear this?" And the King and his knights answered, "Yea, we swear it." The Cid continued, "If you knew of this matter, or commanded that it should be performed, may your fate be similar to that of your brother. May you die by the hand of a villain, in whom you trust; one who is not a hidalgo; one who is not a Castilian, but a foreigner." The King and his knights cried, "Amen." But Alfonso's colour faded, and the Cid, marking this sign of guilt, repeated the oath to him. The King assented, but again his countenance paled. A third time did the Cid press him, for the laws of Castile allowed this reiteration; and once more did the King's language and countenance contradict each other. But the compurgation was now completed, and the Cid was compelled to do homage.*

Alfonso is a very interesting character among the kings and knights of Spain. Whatever participation he might have had in his brother's death, such foul conduct did not sully his general dealings. Justice was so admirably administered in Castile, that the people expressed their joy in the beautiful sentence, — that if a woman were to travel alone through his dominions, bearing gold and silver in her hand, no one would interrupt her path, whether in the desert or in the peopled country. He was the friend of the distressed, the supporter of the weak, the strength of the nation. In his conduct to Alimayon, the Moorish King of Toledo, we may find displayed, in a very interesting manner, the frank dealing, the ingenuousness, the noble confidence, the honour of a cavalier, beautifully coloured with romantic thought. Alfonso was allied with Alimayon, that mighty sovereign of the Moors; but the treaty, instead of being the free union of two equal and independent authorities, had been extorted from Alfonso when the chance of war had thrown him into Alimayon's power. It was, of course, obligatory on the honour and faith of Alfonso; and though he respected his ally, his chivalric pride whispered the wish that his friendship had been obtained by some other mode. In the second year of his reign, Alfonso marched towards Toledo, hearing that the territories of Alimayon had been invaded by the King of Cordova. He made no proclamation of his purpose, and Alimayon, not assured of his motives, sent messengers to him, reminding him of their alliance. The King detained the messengers. He then pursued his course to Olias; and the King of Cordova, divining his purpose, broke up his encampment before Toledo, and fled. Alfonso left his army at Olias, and, accompanied only by five knights and Alimayon's messengers, he rode to Toledo. He was met and greeted by his brother-sovereign, who kissed his shoulder, and thanked him for his truth in coming to his deliverance, and for remembering their mutual oath. The Moorish people expressed by their songs and atabals the love which the Christians bore their lord, but the Castilians severely blamed Alfonso for his implicit faith in the honour of a Moor. Alimayon returned with Alfonso next day to the Christian camp. An entertainment, worthy of the splendour of chivalry, was furnished forth: but while the kings were at table Alimayon was astonished at seeing some armed knights gradually surrounding the tent. His brother-sovereign bade him suspend his curiosity till the conclusion of the feast: the Moor did so; and Alfonso then reminded him that their alliance had been formed when he was in his power at Toledo, but now, as Alimayon was in his power, he required an exoneration of that oath and covenant. Alimayon could not but comply; and agreeably to the form, both Moorish and Christian, acquitted him of his promise, in expressions thrice repeated. Alfonso then called for the book of the Gospels, and said to him, "Now that you are in my power, I

* Chronicle, iii., 10, 11.

swear and promise to you, never to fight against you nor against your son, but to aid you against all the world. The oath which I formerly made was forced from me, and therefore not obligatory on my conscience and conduct; but I cannot violate the present oath, for I make it now that you are in my hands, and I can treat you as I please." The alliance was then settled on a firmer basis than ever; and Alfonso, after making the King of Cordova feel the might of his power, took his course to Castile.*

Return we now to our Cid. His wife Ximena was dead; and Alfonso, in order to attach him to his person, married him to his own niece, also a Ximena. The marriage was celebrated on the 19th of July, in the year 1074. For some years the achievements of the Cid were confined to the duties which were imposed on him as King's champion. Questions of territory between Alfonso and the Moors were generally decided by single combat, and the Cid was always victorious. These circumstances should have cemented the friendship of the King and his campeador: but the courtiers, by their well-weaved plots, succeeded in driving into banishment their most formidable rival in the affections of their sovereign. The Cid took refuge with the Moorish King of Saragossa, and continued in that part of Spain for some years the subject and soldier of the Moors, fighting their battles against the Christians; but always showing mercy to the vanquished. Mercy, indeed, to those whom he conquered in the field was a prevailing feature of his character, which he displayed without regard to religious peculiarities: for in his previous battles in the cause of Alfonso he had often released his prisoners unransomed.

The Moors from Africa invaded Spain. In the extremity of his distress, Alfonso recalled the Cid, who soon drove back the enemy. For a considerable time that leader enjoyed the gratitude of his sovereign, and was the soul of the Christian army; and then circumstances arose which his enemies ingeniously perverted to his injury. Alfonso was gone into Andalusia against the Moors, unaccompanied by the Cid, whom sickness retained at home. He recovered, however in time to meet and repel a Moorish invasion on the other side; and he retaliated on them as far as Toledo. Here the king complained to Alfonso of the campeador's violation of the oath and covenant between them. Alfonso was astonished and displeased; and suffering his mind to be influenced by the suggestions of the Ricos-omes, all his hatred of the Cid returned in its pristine force. He saw nothing in him now but the avenger of Don Sancho's death. He summoned him to Burgos; but the Cid replied that he would meet him between that town and Bivar. They accordingly met, and the campeador would have kissed his hand in homage; but the king repulsed him, angrily saying, "Ruydiez, quit my land." The Cid instantly pricked his mule on to another piece of ground, and replied, "I am now, sir, upon my own land, and not upon yours." The King then commanded him to depart from his state forthwith, not even allowing him thirty days' time, the usual license of the hidalgos.

The moment of his banishment was not an unhappy one, for it was then that he discovered his strength; many knights and other valiant men-of-arms resolving, with his cousin-german, Alvar Fanez, to accompany him through desert and peopled country, and spend their wealth, and garments, and horses in his service. But the joyous exultation of this consciousness of power was soon checked by the grief of quitting his own home; — the deserted hall, the perches without hawks upon them, the porch without its seats, no cloaks hanging down the walls: — all these signs of desolation brought tears into his eyes, and he exclaimed, "My enemies have done this:" but soon recovering his Christian resignation, he cried, "God be praised for all things." He passed through Burgos, where the people could not receive him, for the King had prohibited them to do so; and he whose sword had been girt on in a happy hour, was condemned to pitch his tents upon the sands.

The chivalric history of the Cid is now varied by a circumstance which has not its parallel in the life of any other cavalier on record. He was deeply dis-

* Chronicle, iii., 13—16.

ssed for present money, and he ob-ined some by means not recommended any code of knighthood. He filled ro chests with sand, and persuaded two ews, who had confidence in his honour, at their contents were gold. He had een accustomed to sell to these men s Moorish spoils, and he demanded on ie present security the sum of six hun-red marks. The money was delivered. he negotiation was conducted on the art of the Cid by his friend, Martin ntolinez, who received a handsome resent from the Jews; but the Cid, the oble-minded lofty cavalier, was the au-ior of this unknightly piece of craft; nd he consoled his conscience by the eflection that he acted more from ne-essity than inclination, and that in time ie would redeem all. In order to avoid letection he made the Jews promise not o open the chests for a year, but retain hem only as a security.

One little trait of the Cid's coolness ind cunning must be noticed. The Jews, n their joy at the excellence of the bar-gain, were disposed to generosity, and offered the Cid a red skin, Moorish and honourable. The Cid accepted it, tell-ing his friends he would consider it as a gift if they had bought it; otherwise they should add its value to the loan.*

The Cid then went to Cardina; and, after bidding farewell to his wife and children, he quitted gentle Castile, and went into the Moorish territory. He battled with the Moors and vanquished them, sparing, however, those who were the allies of Alfonso. In particular, he won a great victory over them in a sally which he made from the castle of Alco-cer, wherein he was besieged by them. The Cid of Bivar was known by his green pennon and gilt saddle. He charged his standard-bearer, Pero Ber-muez, not to venture forward before he commanded. The circumstances of the battle are described in the translation of the old poem of the Cid with astonishing spirit:—

"The gates were then thrown open, and forth at once they rush'd,
The outposts of the Moorish host back to the camp were pushed:
The camp was all in tumult; and there was such a thunder,
Of cymbals and of drums, as if earth would cleave in sunder.
There you might see the Moors arming them-selves in haste,
And the two main battles how they were forming fast,
Horsemen and footmen mixt, a countless troop, and vast.
The Moors are moving forward, the battle soon must join.
'My men stand here in order, rang'd upon a line!
Let not a man move from his rank before I give the sign.'
Pero Bermuez heard the word, but he could not refrain:
He held the banner in his hand, he gave his horse the reign:
'You see yon foremost squadron there, the thickest of the foes,
Noble Cid, God be your aid, for there your banner goes!
Let him that serves and honours it show the duty that he owes.'
Earnestly the Cid call'd out, 'For heaven's sake be still!'
Bermuez cried, 'I cannot hold;' so eager was his will.
He spurr'd his horse, and drove him on amidst the Moorish rout;
They strove to win the banner, and compast him about,
Had not his armour been so true, he had lost either life or limb;
The Cid called out again, 'For heaven's sake, succour him!'
Their shields before their breasts, forth at once they go;
Their lances in the rest, levell'd fair and low;
Their banners and their crests waving in a row;
Their heads all stooping down towards the saddle-bow.
The Cid was in the midst, his shout was heard afar,
'I am Rui Diaz, the champion of Bivar:
Strike among them gentlemen for sweet mercy's sake.'
There where Bermuez fought amidst the foe, they brake
Three hundred banner'd knights: it was a gallant show.
Three hundred Moors they kill'd—a man with every blow:

* Chronicle, iii., 17--22. Müller, in his Dissertation on the Cid, speaks as positively that the money was repaid, as if the receipt in full for all demands, authenticated by the city of Burgos, were lying on his table. There is no evidence of the repayment in the ancient writers; and when we consider that the Jews were always treated in Spain far worse than the Musulmans, we cannot conclude that the Cid would consider men whom he had cheated as entitled to justice.

swear and promise to you, never to fight against you nor against your son, but to aid you against all the world. The oath which I formerly made was forced from me, and therefore not obligatory on my conscience and conduct; but I cannot violate the present oath, for I make it now that you are in my hands, and I can treat you as I please." The alliance was then settled on a firmer basis than ever; and Alfonso, after making the King of Cordova feel the might of his power, took his course to Castile.*

Return we now to our Cid. His wife Ximena was dead; and Alfonso, in order to attach him to his person, married him to his own niece, also a Ximena. The marriage was celebrated on the 19th of July, in the year 1074. For some years the achievements of the Cid were confined to the duties which were imposed on him as King's champion. Questions of territory between Alfonso and the Moors were generally decided by single combat, and the Cid was always victorious. These circumstances should have cemented the friendship of the King and his campeador: but the courtiers, by their well-weaved plots, succeeded in driving into banishment their most formidable rival in the affections of their sovereign. The Cid took refuge with the Moorish King of Saragossa, and continued in that part of Spain for some years the subject and soldier of the Moors, fighting their battles against the Christians; but always showing mercy to the vanquished. Mercy, indeed, to those whom he conquered in the field was a prevailing feature of his character, which he displayed without regard to religious peculiarities: for in his previous battles in the cause of Alfonso he had often released his prisoners unransomed.

The Moors from Africa invaded Spain. In the extremity of his distress, Alfonso recalled the Cid, who soon drove back the enemy. For a considerable time that leader enjoyed the gratitude of his sovereign, and was the soul of the Christian army; and then circumstances arose which his enemies ingeniously perverted to his injury. Alfonso was gone into Andalusia against the Moors, unaccompanied by the Cid, whom sickness detained at home. He recovered, however, in time to meet and repel a Moorish invasion on the other side; and he retaliated on them as far as Toledo, whose king complained to Alfonso of the campeador's violation of the oath and covenant between them. Alfonso was astonished and displeased; and suffering his mind to be influenced by the suggestions of the Ricos-omes, all his hatred of the Cid returned in its pristine force. He saw nothing in him now but the avenger of Don Sancho's death. He summoned him to Burgos; but the Cid replied he would meet him between that town and Bivar. They accordingly met, and the campeador would have kissed his hand in homage; but the king repulsed him, angrily saying, "Ruydiez, quit my land." The Cid instantly pricked his mule on another piece of ground, and replied, "I am now, sir, upon my own land, and not upon yours." The King then commanded him to depart from his state forthwith, not even allowing him thirty days' time, the usual license of the hidalgos.

The moment of his banishment was not an unhappy one, for it was then that he discovered his strength; many knights and other valiant men-of-arms resolving, with his cousin-german, Alvar Fanez, to accompany him through desert and peopled country, and spend their wealth, and garments, and horses in his service. But the joyous exultation of this consciousness of power was soon checked by the grief of quitting his own home: — the deserted hall, the perches without hawks upon them, the porch without its seats, no cloaks hanging down the walls: — all these signs of desolation brought tears into his eyes, and he exclaimed, "My enemies have done this:" but soon recovering his Christian resignation, he cried, "God be praised for all things." He passed through Burgos, where the people could not receive him, for the King had prohibited them to do so; and he whose sword had been girt on in a happy hour, was condemned to pitch his tents upon the sands.

The chivalric history of the Cid is now varied by a circumstance which has not its parallel in the life of any other cavalier on record. He was deeply dis-

* Chronicle, iii., 13—16.

essed for present money, and he ob-ined some by means not recommended ı any code of knighthood. He filled wo chests with sand, and persuaded two ews, who had confidence in his honour, ıat their contents were gold. He had een accustomed to sell to these men is Moorish spoils, and he demanded on he present security the sum of six hun-ired marks. The money was delivered. The negotiation was conducted on the art of the Cid by his friend, Martin ntolinez, who received a handsome resent from the Jews; but the Cid, the oble-minded lofty cavalier, was the au-hor of this unknightly piece of craft; nd he consoled his conscience by the eflection that he acted more from ne-essity than inclination, and that in time ıe would redeem all. In order to avoid letection he made the Jews promise not o open the chests for a year, but retain hem only as a security.

One little trait of the Cid's coolness and cunning must be noticed. The Jews, in their joy at the excellence of the bar-gain, were disposed to generosity, and offered the Cid a red skin, Moorish and honourable. The Cid accepted it, tell-ing his friends he would consider it as a gift if they had bought it; otherwise they should add its value to the loan.*

The Cid then went to Cardina; and, after bidding farewell to his wife and children, he quitted gentle Castile, and went into the Moorish territory. He battled with the Moors and vanquished them, sparing, however, those who were the allies of Alfonso. In particular, he won a great victory over them in a sally which he made from the castle of Alco-cer, wherein he was besieged by them. The Cid of Bivar was known by his green pennon and gilt saddle. He charged his standard-bearer, Pero Ber-muez, not to venture forward before he commanded. The circumstances of the battle are described in the translation of the old poem of the Cid with astonishing spirit: —

"The gates were then thrown open, and forth at once they rush'd,
The outposts of the Moorish host back to the camp were pushed:
The camp was all in tumult; and there was such a thunder,
Of cymbals and of drums, as if earth would cleave in sunder.
There you might see the Moors arming them-selves in haste,
And the two main battles how they were forming fast,
Horsemen and footmen mixt, a countless troop, and vast.
The Moors are moving forward, the battle soon must join.
'My men stand here in order, rang'd upon a line!
Let not a man move from his rank before I give the sign.'
Pero Bermuez heard the word, but he could not refrain:
He held the banner in his hand, he gave his horse the reign:
'You see yon foremost squadron there, the thickest of the foes,
Noble Cid, God be your aid, for there your banner goes!
Let him that serves and honours it show the duty that he owes.'
Earnestly the Cid call'd out, 'For heaven's sake be still!'
Bermuez cried, 'I cannot hold;' so eager was his will.
He spurr'd his horse, and drove him on amidst the Moorish rout;
They strove to win the banner, and compast him about.
Had not his armour been so true, he had lost either life or limb;
The Cid called out again, 'For heaven's sake, succour him!'
Their shields before their breasts, forth at once they go;
Their lances in the rest, levell'd fair and low;
Their banners and their crests waving in a row;
Their heads all stooping down towards the saddle-bow.
The Cid was in the midst, his shout was heard afar,
'I am Rui Diaz, the champion of Bivar:
Strike among them gentlemen for sweet mercy's sake.'
There where Bermuez fought amidst the foe, they brake
Three hundred banner'd knights: it was a gallant show.
Three hundred Moors they kill'd—a man with every blow:

* Chronicle, iii., 17--22. Müller, in his Dissertation on the Cid, speaks as positively that the money was repaid, as if the receipt in full for all demands, authenticated by the city of Burgos, were lying on his table. There is no evidence of the repayment in the ancient writers; and when we consider that the Jews were always treated in Spain far worse than the Musulmans, we cannot conclude that the Cid would consider men whom he had cheated as entitled to justice.

swear and promise to you, never to fight against you nor against your son, but to aid you against all the world. The oath which I formerly made was forced from me, and therefore not obligatory on my conscience and conduct; but I cannot violate the present oath, for I make it now that you are in my hands, and I can treat you as I please." The alliance was then settled on a firmer basis than ever; and Alfonso, after making the King of Cordova feel the might of his power, took his course to Castile.*

Return we now to our Cid. His wife Ximena was dead; and Alfonso, in order to attach him to his person, married him to his own niece, also a Ximena. The marriage was celebrated on the 19th of July, in the year 1074. For some years the achievements of the Cid were confined to the duties which were imposed on him as King's champion. Questions of territory between Alfonso and the Moors were generally decided by single combat, and the Cid was always victorious. These circumstances should have cemented the friendship of the King and his campeador: but the courtiers, by their well-weaved plots, succeeded in driving into banishment their most formidable rival in the affections of their sovereign. The Cid took refuge with the Moorish King of Saragossa, and continued in that part of Spain for some years the subject and soldier of the Moors, fighting their battles against the Christians; but always showing mercy to the vanquished. Mercy, indeed, to those whom he conquered in the field was a prevailing feature of his character, which he displayed without regard to religious peculiarities: for in his previous battles in the cause of Alfonso he had often released his prisoners unransomed.

The Moors from Africa invaded Spain. In the extremity of his distress, Alfonso recalled the Cid, who soon drove back the enemy. For a considerable time that leader enjoyed the gratitude of his sovereign, and was the soul of the Christian army; and then circumstances arose which his enemies ingeniously perverted to his injury. Alfonso was gone into Andalusia against the Moors, unaccompanied by the Cid, whom sickness detained at home. He recovered, however, in time to meet and repel a Moorish invasion on the other side; and he retaliated on them as far as Toledo, whose king complained to Alfonso of the campeador's violation of the oath and covenant between them. Alfonso was astonished and displeased; and suffering his mind to be influenced by the suggestions of the Ricos-omes, all his hatred of the Cid returned in its pristine force. He saw nothing in him now but the avenger of Don Sancho's death. He summoned him to Burgos; but the Cid replied he would meet him between that town and Bivar. They accordingly met, and the campeador would have kissed his hand in homage; but the king repulsed him, angrily saying, "Ruydiez, quit my land." The Cid instantly pricked his mule to another piece of ground, and replied, "I am now, sir, upon my own land, and not upon yours." The King then commanded him to depart from his states forthwith, not even allowing him thirty days' time, the usual license of the hidalgos.

The moment of his banishment was not an unhappy one, for it was then that he discovered his strength; many knights and other valiant men-of-arms resolving, with his cousin-german, Alvar Fanez, to accompany him through desert and peopled country, and spend their wealth, and garments, and horses in his service. But the joyous exultation of this consciousness of power was soon checked by the grief of quitting his own home: — the deserted hall, the perches without hawks upon them, the porch without its seats, no cloaks hanging down the walls: — all these signs of desolation brought tears into his eyes, and he exclaimed, "My enemies have done this:" but soon recovering his Christian resignation, he cried, "God be praised for all things." He passed through Burgos, where the people could not receive him, for the King had prohibited them to do so; and he whose sword had been girt on in a happy hour, was condemned to pitch his tents upon the sands.

The chivalric history of the Cid is now varied by a circumstance which has not its parallel in the life of any other cavalier on record. He was deeply dis-

* Chronicle, iii., 13—16.

essed for present money, and he ob-ained some by means not recommended n any code of knighthood. He filled wo chests with sand, and persuaded two ews, who had confidence in his honour, hat their contents were gold. He had een accustomed to sell to these men is Moorish spoils, and he demanded on he present security the sum of six hun-red marks. The money was delivered. The negotiation was conducted on the part of the Cid by his friend, Martin Antolinez, who received a handsome present from the Jews; but the Cid, the noble-minded lofty cavalier, was the au-hor of this unknightly piece of craft; nd he consoled his conscience by the eflection that he acted more from ne-essity than inclination, and that in time e would redeem all. In order to avoid letection he made the Jews promise not o open the chests for a year, but retain hem only as a security.

One little trait of the Cid's coolness and cunning must be noticed. The Jews, in their joy at the excellence of the bar-gain, were disposed to generosity, and offered the Cid a red skin, Moorish and honourable. The Cid accepted it, tell-ing his friends he would consider it as a gift if they had bought it; otherwise they should add its value to the loan.*

The Cid then went to Cardina; and, after bidding farewell to his wife and children, he quitted gentle Castile, and went into the Moorish territory. He battled with the Moors and vanquished them, sparing, however, those who were the allies of Alfonso. In particular, he won a great victory over them in a sally which he made from the castle of Alco-cer, wherein he was besieged by them. The Cid of Bivar was known by his green pennon and gilt saddle. He charged his standard-bearer, Pero Ber-muez, not to venture forward before he commanded. The circumstances of the battle are described in the translation of the old poem of the Cid with astonishing spirit: —

"The gates were then thrown open, and forth at once they rush'd,
The outposts of the Moorish host back to the camp were pushed:
The camp was all in tumult; and there was such a thunder,
Of cymbals and of drums, as if earth would cleave in sunder.
There you might see the Moors arming them-selves in haste,
And the two main battles how they were forming fast,
Horsemen and footmen mixt, a countless troop, and vast.
The Moors are moving forward, the battle soon must join.
'My men stand here in order, rang'd upon a line!
Let not a man move from his rank before I give the sign.'
Pero Bermuez heard the word, but he could not refrain:
He held the banner in his hand, he gave his horse the reign:
'You see yon foremost squadron there, the thickest of the foes,
Noble Cid, God be your aid, for there your banner goes!
Let him that serves and honours it show the duty that he owes.'
Earnestly the Cid call'd out, 'For heaven's sake be still!'
Bermuez cried, 'I cannot hold;' so eager was his will.
He spurr'd his horse, and drove him on amidst the Moorish rout;
They strove to win the banner, and compast him about.
Had not his armour been so true, he had lost either life or limb;
The Cid called out again, 'For heaven's sake, succour him!'
Their shields before their breasts, forth at once they go;
Their lances in the rest, levell'd fair and low;
Their banners and their crests waving in a row;
Their heads all stooping down towards the saddle-bow.
The Cid was in the midst, his shout was heard afar,
'I am Rui Diaz, the champion of Bivar:
Strike among them gentlemen for sweet mercy's sake.'
There where Bermuez fought amidst the foe, they brake
Three hundred banner'd knights: it was a gallant show.
Three hundred Moors they kill'd—a man with every blow:

* Chronicle, iii., 17--22. Müller, in his Dissertation on the Cid, speaks as positively that the money was repaid, as if the receipt in full for all demands, authenticated by the city of Burgos, were lying on his table. There is no evidence of the repayment in the ancient writers; and when we consider that the Jews were always treated in Spain far worse than the Musulmans, we cannot conclude that the Cid would consider men whom he had cheated as entitled to justice.

swear and promise to you, never to fight against you nor against your son, but to aid you against all the world. The oath which I formerly made was forced from me, and therefore not obligatory on my conscience and conduct; but I cannot violate the present oath, for I make it now that you are in my hands, and I can treat you as I please." The alliance was then settled on a firmer basis than ever; and Alfonso, after making the King of Cordova feel the might of his power, took his course to Castile.*

Return we now to our Cid. His wife Ximena was dead; and Alfonso, in order to attach him to his person, married him to his own niece, also a Ximena. The marriage was celebrated on the 19th of July, in the year 1074. For some years the achievements of the Cid were confined to the duties which were imposed on him as King's champion. Questions of territory between Alfonso and the Moors were generally decided by single combat, and the Cid was always victorious. These circumstances should have cemented the friendship of the King and his campeador: but the courtiers, by their well-weaved plots, succeeded in driving into banishment their most formidable rival in the affections of their sovereign. The Cid took refuge with the Moorish King of Saragossa, and continued in that part of Spain for some years the subject and soldier of the Moors, fighting their battles against the Christians; but always showing mercy to the vanquished. Mercy, indeed, to those whom he conquered in the field was a prevailing feature of his character, which he displayed without regard to religious peculiarities: for in his previous battles in the cause of Alfonso he had often released his prisoners unransomed.

The Moors from Africa invaded Spain. In the extremity of his distress, Alfonso recalled the Cid, who soon drove back the enemy. For a considerable time that leader enjoyed the gratitude of his sovereign, and was the soul of the Christian army; and then circumstances arose which his enemies ingeniously perverted to his injury. Alfonso was gone into Andalusia against the Moors, unaccompanied by the Cid, whom sickness detained at home. He recovered, however, in time to meet and repel a Moorish invasion on the other side; and he retaliated on them as far as Toledo, whose king complained to Alfonso of the campeador's violation of the oath and covenant between them. Alfonso was astonished and displeased; and suffering his mind to be influenced by the suggestions of the Ricos-omes, all his hatred of the Cid returned in its pristine force. He saw nothing in him now but the avenger of Don Sancho's death. He summoned him to Burgos; but the Cid replied he would meet him between that town and Bivar. They accordingly met, and the campeador would have kissed his hand in homage; but the king repulsed him, angrily saying, "Ruydiez, quit my land." The Cid instantly pricked his mule to another piece of ground, and replied, "I am now, sir, upon my own land, and not upon yours." The King then commanded him to depart from his states forthwith, not even allowing him thirty days' time, the usual license of the hidalgos.

The moment of his banishment was not an unhappy one, for it was then that he discovered his strength; many knights and other valiant men-of-arms resolving, with his cousin-german, Alvar Fanez, to accompany him through desert and peopled country, and spend their wealth, and garments, and horses in his service. But the joyous exultation of this consciousness of power was soon checked by the grief of quitting his own home; — the deserted hall, the perches without hawks upon them, the porch without its seats, no cloaks hanging down the walls: — all these signs of desolation brought tears into his eyes, and he exclaimed, "My enemies have done this:" but soon recovering his Christian resignation, he cried, "God be praised for all things." He passed through Burgos, where the people could not receive him, for the King had prohibited them to do so; and he whose sword had been girt on in a happy hour, was condemned to pitch his tents upon the sands.

The chivalric history of the Cid is now varied by a circumstance which has not its parallel in the life of any other cavalier on record. He was deeply dis-

* Chronicle, iii., 13—16.

tressed for present money, and he obtained some by means not recommended in any code of knighthood. He filled two chests with sand, and persuaded two Jews, who had confidence in his honour, that their contents were gold. He had been accustomed to sell to these men his Moorish spoils, and he demanded on the present security the sum of six hundred marks. The money was delivered. The negotiation was conducted on the part of the Cid by his friend, Martin Antolinez, who received a handsome present from the Jews; but the Cid, the noble-minded lofty cavalier, was the author of this unknightly piece of craft; and he consoled his conscience by the reflection that he acted more from necessity than inclination, and that in time he would redeem all. In order to avoid detection he made the Jews promise not to open the chests for a year, but retain them only as a security.

One little trait of the Cid's coolness and cunning must be noticed. The Jews, in their joy at the excellence of the bargain, were disposed to generosity, and offered the Cid a red skin, Moorish and honourable. The Cid accepted it, telling his friends he would consider it as a gift if they had bought it; otherwise they should add its value to the loan.*

The Cid then went to Cardina; and, after bidding farewell to his wife and children, he quitted gentle Castile, and went into the Moorish territory. He battled with the Moors and vanquished them, sparing, however, those who were the allies of Alfonso. In particular, he won a great victory over them in a sally which he made from the castle of Alcocer, wherein he was besieged by them. The Cid of Bivar was known by his green pennon and gilt saddle. He charged his standard-bearer, Pero Bermuez, not to venture forward before he commanded. The circumstances of the battle are described in the translation of the old poem of the Cid with astonishing spirit: —

"The gates were then thrown open, and forth at once they rush'd,
The outposts of the Moorish host back to the camp were pushed:
The camp was all in tumult; and there was such a thunder,
Of cymbals and of drums, as if earth would cleave in sunder.
There you might see the Moors arming themselves in haste,
And the two main battles how they were forming fast,
Horsemen and footmen mixt, a countless troop, and vast.
The Moors are moving forward, the battle soon must join.
'My men stand here in order, rang'd upon a line!
Let not a man move from his rank before I give the sign.'
Pero Bermuez heard the word, but he could not refrain:
He held the banner in his hand, he gave his horse the reign:
'You see yon foremost squadron there, the thickest of the foes,
Noble Cid, God be your aid, for there your banner goes!
Let him that serves and honours it show the duty that he owes.'
Earnestly the Cid call'd out, 'For heaven's sake be still!'
Bermuez cried, 'I cannot hold;' so eager was his will.
He spurr'd his horse, and drove him on amidst the Moorish rout;
They strove to win the banner, and compast him about.
Had not his armour been so true, he had lost either life or limb;
The Cid called out again, 'For heaven's sake, succour him!'
Their shields before their breasts, forth at once they go;
Their lances in the rest, levell'd fair and low;
Their banners and their crests waving in a row;
Their heads all stooping down towards the saddle-bow.
The Cid was in the midst, his shout was heard afar,
'I am Rui Diaz, the champion of Bivar:
Strike among them gentlemen for sweet mercy's sake.'
There where Bermuez fought amidst the foe, they brake
Three hundred banner'd knights: it was a gallant show.
Three hundred Moors they kill'd—a man with every blow:

* Chronicle, iii., 17--22. Müller, in his Dissertation on the Cid, speaks as positively that the money was repaid, as if the receipt in full for all demands, authenticated by the city of Burgos, were lying on his table. There is no evidence of the repayment in the ancient writers; and when we consider that the Jews were always treated in Spain far worse than the Musulmans, we cannot conclude that the Cid would consider men whom he had cheated as entitled to justice.

When they wheel'd and turn'd as many more lay slain,
You might see them raise their lances and level them again.
There you might see the breast plates, how they were cleft in twain,
And many a moorish shield lie shatter'd on the plain;
The pennons that were white, mark'd with a crimson stain;
The horses running wild whose riders had been slain.
The Christians call upon Saint James, the Moors upon Mahound.
There were thirteen hundred of them slain on a little spot of ground."*

His victory over the Moors presented the Cid with a fair occasion of propitiating Alfonso. He accordingly despatched Alvar Fanez into Castile with a gift to the King of thirty Moorish horses, which was accepted. Alfonso did not show present honour to the Cid, but he expressed his joy at the victory; and relieved from all penalties those who had joined him, and those who should be induced to follow his fortunes.† These were joyful news to the Cid and his host; and the faithful messenger brought also such tidings of their families, that, as men as well as Castilians, they were right joyful.

On every occasion the Cid showed a generous indifference to his own share of the spoil; and whatever country he left, both men and women wept, and the prayers of the people went before him, so high was his reputation for acts of individual clemency. Once he invaded a Moorish territory with which Raymond Berenger, Count of Barcelona, was in alliance. The Count and his Frenchmen harnessed themselves in their gay attire, resolved to recover the spoil of the Cid. But he who was born in a happy hour smiled at the vain splendour of the French cavaliers; and while his men were placing their plain Gallician saddles on their horses, he assured them, that for one of their enemy whom they should slay, three would leap from their horses in terror. Berenger's force was defeated: he himself was taken prisoner; and of the spoil the most precious part was his good sword, Colada.

The subsequent circumstances will recall to the reader's mind the chivalric bearing of the Black Prince and Henry V. Berenger was conducted to the tent of his vanquisher, and a repast was set before them; but he refused all refreshment, though my Cid courteously invited him. The next day a very splendid entertainment was set forth; but the Count preserved his pride and sullenness, or only broke forth into expressions of contempt and self-reproach that he had been beaten by a set of ragged fellows. My Cid did not reply to this uncourtesy, but continued to urge him to partake of the repast, and not lament the chance of war. But Berenger abandoned himself to unmanly despondency, and desired to be left alone to die. For three days he continued in this abject state; and he was only roused from it by the noble offer of the Cid to give liberty to him and any two of his knights. The Cid, however, was good-humouredly resolved not to part from him, unless he partook of his hospitality. "If you do not eat heartily, Count, you and I shall not part yet." They then cemented their kindness and gratitude by good cheer, and the Count was permitted to take his leave: but as he rode away he frequently reverted his eyes to know if the Cid were pursuing him, for his own ignoble soul could not credit the generosity of his vanquisher.*

Increased admiration of the Cid's military talents, and the death by treachery of one of his bravest officers, induced Alfonso to wish for a reconciliation with his faithful campeador. It was effected; but not till the Cid had induced the King to stipulate that no hidalgo should be banished in future without a lawful hearing of his cause, and the old license of thirty days. On another great matter he was also the friend of the public good; for he induced the King to consent to preserve the privileges of towns, and not to impose taxes on them contrary to their customs. Alfonso even conceded the liberty of armed resistance to his acts, if ever they should contradict his solemn engagements.

The Cid's happiness was soon alloyed by the death of his son Rodrigo; a young man whose military spirit was so

* I borrow from Mr. Frere's translation of part of the Cid.

† Chronicle, iv., 1—11.

* Chronicle, iv., 14—17.

fine and gallant, that the Christians regarded him as the hope of Spain. The Cid was speedily called from private cares and sorrows to a more important undertaking than any he had been ever engaged in. He headed the Christian troops against Toledo; and those troops embraced not only the flower of Spanish chivalry, but many knights from France, Italy, and Germany; so important to the general fate of religion and arms was the capture of Toledo considered. We may lament, with many an admirer of Spanish chivalry, that the memory of their gallant deeds has not been handed down to us, and censure the ancient chroniclers for wronging such worthy knights. We only know that Toledo was captured by the Cid on the 25th of May, in the year 1085.

Among many subsequent military achievements of the campeador I shall select only his engagement with his old foe, Raymond Beringer, Count of Barcelona, who had hastily taken up arms to assist a Moorish prince, also an enemy of the Cid. If the Cid had dreaded numbers he would have yielded: if he had regarded the established reputation of knights, he would have partaken of the general terror, for the French were esteemed the best knights in the world, and the best appointed; and fame proceeded to ascribe to Berenger's the chivalric virtues of courage and skill in no ordinary degree. But the exhortations of the Cid and his very presence animated the troops to heroism; and when the moment of battle, fixed by his own admirable skill, arrived, the event, as usual, proved that he had been born in a happy hour. Berenger and his chief officers fell into his hands; he showed them great courtesy; and released them on their ransom, and their promise on their knighthood never to appear in arms against him again.*

The capture of Valentia was the next and most important circumstance in the Cid's career. The fame of his exploits had drawn to his standard a thousand knights of lineage, five hundred and fifty other horsemen, and of foot soldiers a thousand. I shall not detail the events of the nine months' siege of Valentia; for the picture does not vary in any of its colours and shades from the scenes of blood, and horror, and desolation, in other wars.

There is one circumstance, however, of a different character, and pleasingly illustrative of ancient manners. Among the hosts of the Cid was an Austrian hidalgo, named Martin Paleaz, who was better known for his personal strength than his chivalric courage. The Cid resolved to shame him into bravery; and he seized as a fitting occasion a day when Martin had concealed himself while his brother-knights were tourneying with the Moors. When the dinner-hour arrived, Martin Paleaz, not suspecting that the Cid had discovered his baseness, washed his hands with the other knights, and would have taken his place at the common table; but the Cid grasped his hand, and telling him that neither of them was worthy to sit with such valorous knights as those who were now before them, he led them to his own high table where it was his general custom to sit and dine alone; Alvar Fanez, Pero Bermuez, and knights of equal renown, sitting at other high tables, while the rest of the knights reclined upon estrados with tables before them. There was no equality of knighthood, therefore, among the cavaliers of Spain as in the Celtic nations. There was no Round Table, generously dispensing with the inequalities of rank. It was a subject of honourable ambition with the knights of the Cid to be pronounced worthy of sitting at the table with Alvar Fanez and his companions; and the simple Martin Paleaz plumed himself on his superior honours.

The next day the Christian knights held a joust to the utterance with the Moors; and the Cid was pleased by observing that Martin Paleaz was so much elated that he did not, as usual, quit the field when the lances met in rude shock. The Cid, on returning to his lodging, not only placed his gallant friend by his side, but invited him to eat out of his own dish; adding, that he had deserved better that day than yesterday. This expression revealed the whole matter to Paleaz: he now saw that the Cid had discovered all the artifices of his cowardice, and that he had placed him by his side at table to disgrace, and not to

* Chronicle, v., 17—20.

honour him; thinking that such a recreant was not fit to sit with other knights. These reflections of shame kindled in him a spark of courage; and he now resolved to deport himself like a gallant cavalier. In several subsequent battles with the Moors he fought so bravely that they marvelled, and inquired whence that devil had come. The Cid rewarded him with his friendship, and also the distinction of setting at the table with Alvar Fanez and other true knights.*

The Cid became lord of Valencia, reserving, however, the feudal and absolute sovereignty to King Alfonso. He made many arrangements with the Moors, to the credit of his ingenuity, rather than of his honour; for he violated them all as soon as his purposes were accomplished. Finally, he permitted the conquered to live in the adjoining town and suburb of Alcudia; to have their own law administered by their own cadis and alguazils; to enjoy two mosques, one in the city, and the other in the suburb, the Moors paying to the Cid a tenth part of their produce, as the price of his concessions. The Campeador was a banished man from gentle Castile, when he took Valencia, the malignity of his enemies having again wrought upon the jealous temper of Alfonso: but his victories once more reconciled him to the King, who accepted from him a noble present of horses, saddled and bridled, each with a bright sword hanging from the saddle-bow. His wife and daughters now joined him at Valencia; and it is curious to notice, as a point in his character, that his first expression of joy was to run a career on his good horse Bavieca, who performed his exercises so beautifully, that the people marvelled, and he became famous over all Spain.

The Cid mistook the character of his wife and daughters; for he thought that the martial spirit of chivalry animated them as well as himself: howbeit, in truth, they were attached to the gentler duties of life. A Moorish host came from Africa to contest with him his right to Valencia; and, in order to entertain Ximena and her damsels, he placed them in a lofty tower, whence they might view, without danger, the bloody strife. But, unlike the women in other chivalric countries, they turned pale, and trembled at the scene; and the Cid removed them, though their presence was important; for the courage of his troops was animated to fury when they thought that ladies were witnessing their feats of arms.*

New presents were made to Alfonso of the spoils taken on this occasion; and the king and his campeador were formally and publicly reconciled. The Cid humbled himself with oriental prostrations; for many parts of Moorish manners were copied by the Spaniards. They had not met for some years; and time had laid his wrinkled hand on the brow of the Cid. But Alfonso was more particularly struck with the appearance of his beard, which had grown to a marvellous length.†

The Cid was now at a height of power never reached by any subject; and his wealth attracted the admiration of men of nobler birth. The Infantes of Carrion solicited the hands of his daughters: the alliance was favoured by the king; and the Cid and Ximena, though they liked not the character of the young nobles, yielded to his importunities, and the marriages were solemnized. These marriages were an abundant source of infelicity; and he whose good fortune had generally warranted his popular title, — that he was born in a happy hour, — repented of having yielded to the king's suggestions. The Infantes were men of base and cowardly minds, and totally unable to maintain a noble port in the house of the Cid, where courage and martial exercises gave the tone to manners. Mortified personal pride took refuge in the pride of birth; and the Infantes chose to imagine that they had sullied their nobility by allying themselves with the family of the Cid; but they did not con-

* Chronicle, vi., 29. The old Spanish writers observe that the Cid knew how to make a good knight, as a good groom knows how to make a good horse.

* Chronicle, vii., 19. Ximena was like the famous Oriana in Amadis of Gaul, who was always affrayed at military preparations.

† He had let it grow out of respect to Alfonso; and he intended it should be a matter of admiration both with Moors and Christians. Poema del Cid, v., 1230, &c.

sider that they had violated the chivalry of their rank when they insulted, and even beat their wives, leaving them in a wood, apparently dead. The ladies were found by a relation, and the Cid became acquainted with the story. He appealed to the king, who appointed a cortez at Toledo, to judge the matter; and weighty indeed must it have been thought, for the present was but the third cortez which had been held during the reign of Alfonso.

To Toledo, accordingly, all parties repaired. The Cid had with him the best and bravest knights, a gallant array, whose tents on the hills round the city were so numerous that the Cid's attendants seemed like a host, rather than a common guard of honour. The hall of the palace of Galiana, the place of assemblage of the cortez, had its walls hung with cloths of gold, and estrados, with carpets, were placed on the ground. At the upper end was the king's chair, the ancient seat of the kings of Toledo; and round it were rich and noble estrados for the chief lords of the cortez. Near the chair of the king the Cid caused, the day before the meeting, an ivory seat to be placed, which he had won in Valencia, it having belonged to the kings of that city. A number of his esquires, with their swords hanging from their necks, guarded the seat, till their lord should come and take possession of it.

The next morning the king, after hearing mass, repaired to the palace of Galiana, with the Infantes of Carrion, and the counts and ricos-omes of the cortez. The ivory seat excited the envy of Count Garcia, the ancient rival of the Cid; and the chief esquire was ready by arms to repel his sneers and sarcasms, till the king prevented the progress of the contest, by declaring that his campeador had won the seat right honourably; that never had any vassal sent to his lord such gifts as he had done; and that if any one were envious, let him achieve equal feats of honour, and the king would seat him next the throne.

The Cid now entered the hall, accompanied by a hundred of his choicest knights. They were apparelled both for courtesy and war. To the eye of the court their garments were only fine skins of ermine, and the usual cloak of the nation; but underneath they wore hauberks of well-tempered mail, and swords sweet and sharp in the edge. The dress of the campeador himself would have surprised Raymond Berenger, Count of Barcelona, and his mocking Frenchmen. His hose was of fine cloth, his shoes were richly worked: his body was clad in the finest linen, and a red skin, all curiously worked with gold and silver. His coif was of scarlet and gold; but the beard, of which he was so conscious, was bound by a cord, in sign of mourning and wo.

Most of the assembly rose to greet him; and the king offered him a share of his own seat. But the Cid replied, that it would better become him to be at his feet, for he owed his fame and fortune to the goodness of the king and his brother and father; and it was not fit for him that received bounty to sit with him who dispensed it. The king then commanded him to place himself on the ivory seat, for that he had won it like a good man. This he did, and the hundred knights surrounded their lord.

The purpose of the cortez was declared by the king, and two noble counts were sworn alcaldes, to judge rightly and truly between the campeador and the Infantes of Carrion, according to the law of Castile and Leon. The Cid then demanded that his two good swords, Colada and Tizona, should be restored to him. He had given them into the keeping of the Infantes of Carrion, that they might honour his daughters with them, and serve their king. But when they left his daughters in the oak-forest of Corpes, they renounced his love, and as they were no longer his sons-in-law, they ought to render him back the swords. The alcaldes deliberated upon this demand, and decreed that the swords should be restored. The Infantes delivered them to the king, pleased with the moderation of the Cid's demand. Alfonso drew the swords; and the whole court shone with their brightness. Their hilts were made of solid gold, and all the knights present marvelled. The Cid received them from the king; and, smiling, even from the strongest of his heart's affections, he laid them upon his knees, and called them

the best swords in Spain, and grieved that the Infantes of Carrion had kept them hungry, and had not fed them with flesh as they had been wont to be fed with. He delivered them to the care of Alvar Fanez, and Pero Bermuez, who solicited the honourable charge.

The Cid then demanded a restoration of the treasure which he had given to the Infantes on occasion of his daughters' marriages. This demand was faintly resisted by the argument, that it had been spent in the King's service. The Cid judiciously took advantage of the admission, that the treasure had been received, and then fairly enough contended that it touched not him, if the Infantes had expended money for the King; and so Alfonso himself judged the matter; and the alcaldes decreed the restitution of the treasure.

To carry this ordinance into effect the court was adjourned; and when it reassembled the Cid rose from his ivory seat, and recapitulating the circumstances of the marriages, and not sparing the King for his share in them, he demanded of the Infantes the reasons of their conduct: he declared he would not let them depart without mortal defiance. He added, laying his hand upon his beard, (his usual sign of wrath,) that if the King and the cortez would not right him he would do justice to himself; he would follow them to Carrion; he would take them by the throat, and carry them prisoners to his daughters at Valencia, where they should do penance for their offences, and be fed with food which they deserved.

The King mildly remarked, that in promoting the marriages he had acted according to the request of the Infantes themselves, and he saw that much of the dishonour touched himself. To the storm of passion with which the Cid had concluded his address, the King firmly replied that the cause was before the cortex, and that the alcaldes would pass a righteous sentence.

The Cid recovered his serenity, and kissing the King's hand, returned to his ivory seat.

After a brief pause he rose, and thanking the King for his compassion for his and his daughters' dishonour, he defied the Infantes to mortal combat.

The King called upon them to reply; and they boldly excused their leaving their wives: for the daughters of Ruy Diaz of Bivar were not worthy of alliance with men who were the best hidalgos in all Castile. Regarding the acts of personal cruelty and unchivalric deportment, they said nothing. They denied the necessity of doing battle upon such a matter with any one. Count Don Garcia then began to lead the Infantes from the court, and exclaimed, as he passed the Cid, "Let us leave him, sitting like a bridegroom in his ivory chair, and thinking that his beard will frighten us."

The campeador stroked his chin, and sternly demanded what the Count had to do with his beard. "Thanks be to God," he added, "never son of woman hath taken me by it; never son of Moor or of Christian hath plucked it as I did yours in your castle of Cabra, Count, when I took your castle of Cabra, and took you by the beard: there was not a boy of the host who did not pull it."—"The hair which I plucked has not, methinks, grown again," he added with a look of bitterest scorn.

To this cruel sarcasm Garcia could only answer by the low scurrility of desiring the Cid to go back to his own country, and take toll for his mills as he used to do.

This insult was scarcely to be tolerated. The knights of the Cid grasped their swords, and looked at each other with fierce countenances; but their respect for the command of their lord not to act till he bade them, kept them silent. The Cid himself forgot his own injunctions, and reproached his former standard-bearer, Pero Bermuez, for not taking up his cause. That valiant knight, dashing aside some personal insults with which the Cid had mingled his censure, folded his cloak round his arm, and fiercely striding to the Count Garcia, felled him to the ground.

Immediately the court was a scene of wild uproar; swords were drawn, and no respect for the presence of the King could quell the fray. At length the passions exhausted themselves, and the court resumed its sittings. Alfonso declared that he would defend the rights of all parties, and advised Garcia and his friends to support their cause by courtesy and reason, and not to revile the Cid. The

cause was proceeded with; and the King with the alcaldes finally decreed that the Infantes, and their uncle Count Suero Gonzales, who had abetted them in their dishonour to the ladies, should do battle with three of the Cid's people, and acquit themselves if it were in their power.

The battle accordingly was fought, and the champions of the Cid were victors, agreeably to the decision of the twelve true men appointed as judges, and the consenting voice of the King and people. The Infantes of Carrion and their uncle were declared traitors. The family itself sunk into disgrace; a worthy punishment, as the Spanish writers declare, of them who dishonour and desert fair lady.*

These circumstances were considered of equal force with a canonical dissolution of marriage; and the daughters of the Cid were shortly afterwards united to the Infantes of Navarre and Arragon, men of far more power and rank than their former lords. Valencia witnessed the present, as it had the former nuptials. Bull-fights, throwing at the target, and throwing the cane, were some of the amusements of the Christians, and the joculars were right nobly rewarded. The Moors, also, were animated and sincere in their rejoicings; and the spectators were pleasingly distracted between the Christian and the Moorish games. For eight days the rejoicings lasted: each day the people were feasted, and each day they all ate out of silver.

These were the last circumstances of importance in the life of the Cid. Five years afterwards, on the 29th of May, 1099, he died at Valencia. Romance writers have endeavoured to adorn his closing scene; but I cannot select from their works any thing that is either beautiful or probable.

In one of those historical works which have done honour to the literature of our age, much praise is bestowed upon the Cid, Ruy Diaz, for his frankness, honour, and magnanimity.* But, in truth, to very little of this commendation is our hero's fame entitled. His conduct to the poor Jews of Burgos will not be urged as a proof of his free and noble dealing, of that frank sincerity which interests us in contemplating the worthies of chivalric times; and as for his honour, that sacred possession of a knight, he pledged it often to the Moors of Valencia, and violated it to gratify his objects as a conqueror. Look at him in the cortez: observe his coolness, his deliberation, his gradual statement of his demands. Here was the calculating man of vengeance, not the gay, the wild cavalier throwing down his gauntlet, and displaying his whole soul in one burst of generous passion. There is a sternness about the Cid which repels our gaze. His mind was not enriched by Arabic learning, and grateful to his teachers; nor was it softened by recollections of Arabian loves: and when I see him pitying his sword that it had not received the food it deserved, I can scarcely allow him a station among the heroes of chivalry, those brilliant spirits; for I recognise nothing but the barbarism of the Goth, infuriated by the vengeful spirit of the Moor. Let the Cid, however, have his due praise. Several instances of his generosity to prisoners have been given. His treatment of the Moors of Valencia, after he had once settled the government, was noble. He suffered no difference of religion to affect his paternal regards to his people; and thence it happened that Moors and Christians dwelt together under his mild sway with such accord that the union seemed the long result of ages. One of these Moors gave him the following praise, with which I shall conclude my remarks on his character: "The Cid, Ruy Diaz," said he, "was the man in the world who had the bravest heart, and he was the best knight at arms, and the man who best maintained his law; and in the word which he hath promised he

* Chronicle, books 9 and 10. Every reader of Spanish history knows how fiercely the story of the Infantes has been discussed. I shall not burden my pages with a statement of the arguments, but I think that the balance is very much in favour of the truth of the story. Mr. Southey's remark is judicious. "The conduct of the Infantes of Carrion is certainly improbable. There are instances enough of such cruelty, but none of such folly. Yet nothing can be so improbable as that such a story should be invented and related so soon after their death; of persons who had really existed, and were of such rank: and that it should be accredited and repeated by all the historians who had lived nearest the time."

* Hallam's Middle Ages, iii., 482, 2d edit.

never fails; and he is the man in the world who is the best friend to his friend, and to his enemy he is the mortalest foe among all Christians; and to the vanquished he is full of mercy and compassion; and full thoughtful and wise in whatever thing he doeth; and his countenance is such that no man seeth him for the first time without conceiving great fear."

As a horse was part and parcel of a knight, I cannot take leave of the Cid without saying a few words regarding his steed Bavieca. After the death of his master no one was permitted to bestride that good horse. Gil Diaz, a valiant knight, and companion of the Cid, took him in charge, feeding him and leading him to water with his own hand. Bavieca lived two years and a half after the death of his master the Cid; and when he died Gil Diaz buried him before the gate of the monastery at Valencia, in the public place, and planted two elms upon the grave, the one at his head, the other at his feet.

I have already alluded to the mighty influence of the Cid on the political history of Spain—his decision of the great question of Christian or Mohammedan superiority. After his death the impulse which he had given to the Spanish power was kept alive; the Moors never recovered themselves from the prowess of his knighthood, and, finally, they were driven from the Peninsula. It was only when the general Christian cause was the weakest, that the Spanish Government, and people, who were occasionally conquerors, extended the humanities of chivalry to the Moors. But when the Crescent waned, this mild aspect was changed; for revenge and all the baleful passions of victory swept away the gentle graces of the cavalier, and intolerance and cruelty rose with the increasing power of the Christians. Concessions of liberty of conscience were made to the Moors, but the treaties were broken, apparently, that mockery might embitter pain. The Moors and Christians did not deport themselves to each other with chivalric courtesy; and history gives no warrant to the romantic stories of any magnanimity or grandeur of soul illuminating the last years of the Arabs in Spain.* Among the Christians themselves, indeed, the chivalric character was sustained in all its vigour and gracefulness. Ecclesiastical history furnishes us with a very amusing instance of its influence. When Alphonso IX., about the year 1214, had expelled the Moors from Toledo, he endeavoured to establish the Roman missal in the place of St. Isidore's. But the people clung to their old ideas, and resisted the innovation. Those were not the days of theological argument; but the sword was the only means of deciding disputes, and of determining truth. Each party chose a doughty knight, and commended to his chivalry the cause of a missal. The two champions met in the lists; the two parties ranged themselves in the surrounding galleries, and to the joy of the Spaniards the champion of St. Isidore was victorious.*

But the gallantry of the Spaniards is the most interesting subject of regard. James II., King of Arragon, decreed that every man, whether a knight or another, who should be in company with a noble lady, might pass safe and unmolested, unless he were guilty of murder.† In the minds of Spanish knights, religion and love were ever blended; and he who, thinking of his mistress, took for his motto the words, "Sin vos, y sin Dios y mi," (without thee, I am without God and without myself,) was not thought guilty of impiety. In romantic gallantry the Spaniard was a very perfect knight. Garcia Perez de Vargas, who lived in the thirteenth century, was a splendid exemplar of Spanish chivalry. His valour excited the envy of men of nobler birth, who displayed the meanness of their spirit in questioning his title to bear arms. He once withstood the Moors, while those of more ancient heraldry quailed. When he had discomfited the foe, he returned

* The world has generally been acquainted with the fall of Grenada by the work of Genez Perez de Hita, which was translated into French, and acquired popularity when Florian made it the foundation of his Gonsalvo de Cordova. There is very little historical truth in the volume, and the value of the pictures of manners it contains has been much overrated: those pictures, moreover, are Moorish rather than chivalric, and therefore not of service to the present work.

* Warton on the Gesta Romanorum, in the first volume of his History of English Poetry.

† De Marca, Marca Hispanica, p. 1428.

to his host, and striking his battered shield, remarked to his envious rival, in a tone of justifiable sarcasm, "You are right in wishing to deprive me of my coat of arms, for I expose it to too great dangers. It would be far safer in your hands; for so prudent a knight as yourself would take very excellent care of it."* Garcia was such a doughty knight, that his very presence terrified the Moors. He and a companion were once suddenly met by a party of seven of their turbaned foes. His friend took flight, but Perez closed his vizor, and couched his lance. The Moors declined a battle. Perez reached the camp: his conduct met with its guerdon; but he had too much chivalric kindness warming his heart to answer the demand, who it was that had forsaken him in so perilous a moment. There was another circumstance in this affair which marks the gallantry of our knight. While his martial demeanour was keeping the Moors at bay, he found that his scarf had fallen from his shoulder. He calmly turned his horse's head, recovered his mistress's favour, and then pursued his course to the camp, the Moors being still afraid to attack him.†

On the first day of the year 1434, while the Spanish court was holding its festivities at Medina del Campo, a noble knight, named Sueno de Quinones, presented himself before the King (John II.) with a train of nine cavaliers gallantly arrayed, whose lofty demeanour and armorial ensigns showed that they prided themselves on the perfect purity of their Christian descent. The King smiled graciously on the strangers; and learning from his attendants that they had come to court in order to address his power, he waved his hand in sign of permission for them to speak. A herald whom they had brought with them stepped in front; and in the name of Sueno de Quinones spoke thus: "It is just and reasonable that any one who has been so long in imprisonment as I have been should desire his liberty; and, as your vassal and subject, I appear before you to state, that I have been long bound in service to a noble lady; and, as is well known, through heralds, not only in this country, but through foreign lands, every Thursday I am obliged to wear a chain of iron round my neck. But, with the aid of the Apostle James, I have discovered a means of liberation. I and my nine noble friends propose, during the fifteen days that precede and the fifteen days that follow the festival of that Saint, to break three hundred lances, with Milan points,* in the following manner: Three lances with every knight who shall pass this way on his road to the shrine of the Saint. Armour and weapons will be provided in ample store for such cavaliers as shall travel only in palmer's weeds. All noble ladies who shall be on their pilgrimage unattended by a

* Con razon (dize) nos quitais las armas del linage, pues las ponemos à tan graves peligros, y traucos: vos las mereceis mejor, que como mas recatado, les teneis mejor guardados. Mariana, Hist. de Espana, xiii., 7.

† Mariana, xiii., 7. This last story of Garcia Perez de Vargas is the subject of a beautiful ballad, which Mr. Lockhart has translated. The stanzas regarding the scarf are particularly pleasing.

"He look'd around, and saw the scarf, for still the moors were near,
And they had pick'd it from the sward, and loop'd it on a spear.
'These Moors,' quoth Garci Perez, 'uncourteous Moors they be —
Now, by my soul, the scarf they stole, yet durst not question me!
'Now reach once more my helmet.' The esquire said him nay,
'For a silken string why should you fling, perchance, your life away?'
—'I had it from my lady,' quoth Garci, 'long ago,
And never Moor that scarf, be sure, in proud Seville shall show.'—
But when the Moslems saw him, they stood in firm array.
—He rode among their armed throng, he rode right furiously.
—'Stand, stand, ye thieves and robbers, lay down my lady's pledge,'
He cried, and ever as he cried, they felt his faulchion's edge.
That day when the lord of Vargas came to the camp alone,
The scarf, his lady's largess, around his breast was thrown:
Bare was his head, his sword was red, and from his pommel strung
Seven turbans green, sore hack'd I ween, before Garci Perez hung."

Lockhart's Ancient Spanish Ballads, p. 75.

* This is another and singular proof of the generally acknowledged excellence of Italian armour.

chivalric escort, must be contented to lose their right-hand glove till a knight shall recover it by the valour of his arms."

When the herald concluded, the King and his council conferred together, and they soon agreed that the laws of chivalry obliged them to consent to the accomplishing of this emprise of arms. When the royal permission was proclaimed by the heralds, Sueno got a noble knight to take off his helmet, and thus, bareheaded, approached the throne, and humbly thanked the King. He afterwards retired with his nine friends; and having exchanged their heavy armour for silken dresses of festivity, they returned to the hall and joined the dance.

Six months were to elapse before the valiant and amorous Sueno de Quinones could be delivered from his shackle; and all that time was spent by him and his friends in exercising themselves to the use of the lance, and in providing stores of harness and lances for such knights as would joust with them. The place that was arranged for the contest was the bridge Orbigo, six hours' ride from Leon, and three from Astorga. The marble effigies of a herald was set up in the road; and by the label in its right hand travellers were acquainted that they had reached the passage of arms. The lists were erected in a beautiful plain formed by nature in a neighbouring wood. Tents for banquetting and repose were raised, and amply furnished by the liberality of Sueno. One tent was admirable for the beauty of its decorations, and more so for its purpose. It contained seven noble ladies, who, at the request of the mother of Sueno, devoted themselves to attend upon such of the knights as should be wounded in the joust. At the time appointed, Sueno de Quinones appeared in the lists with his nine companions, all arrayed in the most splendid tourneying harness, the enamoured knight himself bearing round his neck the chain of his mistress, with the motto, which his friends also wore on some part of their armour, "Il faut délibérer." Many stranger knights jousted with him, and his success was generally distinguished.

The fair penitents to the shrine of the saint were stopped; and such as were of noble birth were asked by the King's herald to deliver their gloves. The pride and prerogatives of the sex were offended at this demand: the ladies resisted, as much as words and looks of high disdain could resist, the representative of the King; but they yielded with grace and pleasure when they were asked to surrender their gloves in the name of the laws of chivalry, of those laws which had been made under their auspices, and for their benefit. There was no lack of knights to peril themselves for the recovery of these gloves in the listed plain; and if the champions of the dames were ever worsted by the hardier sons of chivalry, the gallantry of the judges of the tournament would not permit the ladies to suffer from any want of skill or good fortune in their chosen knights. When the thirty days had expired, it appeared that sixty-eight knights had entered the lists against Sueno de Quinones; and in seven hundred and twenty-seven encounters only sixty-six lances had been broken;—a chivalric phrase, expressive either of the actual shivering of lances, or of men being thrown out of their saddles. The judges of the tournament, however, declared, that although the number of lances broken was not equal to the undertaking, yet as such a partial performance of the conditions of the passage at arms had not been the fault of Sueno de Quinones, they commanded the king at arms to take the chain from his neck, and to declare that the emprise had been achieved: accordingly the chain was removed, and the delivered entered Leon in triumph.*

The knights of Spain were, indeed, on every occasion gallant as well as brave. When the heralds of France and England crossed the Pyrenees to proclaim the tournaments, which were to be held in honour of woman's beauty, there was no lack of Spanish cavaliers to obey the sound, and assert the charms of the dark-eyed maidens of their land. This was their wont during all the ages of chivalry; and so late as the fifteenth century one of them travelled so far as England by

* Libro del paso honroso, defendido por el excelente caballero Sueno de Quinones, copiado de un libro antiquo de mano, por Juan de Pineda. 1588. Reprinted, Madrid, 1783.

command of his mistress, and for her sake wished to run a course with sharp spears. His dress confirmed his challenge; for he wore round his arm a kerchief of pleasance, with which his lady-love had graced him before he set out on his perilous quest of honour.* This historical fact is very important, as proving that the writers of Spanish tales, in describing the deep devotion of Spanish love, the fidelity which no time nor absence could shake, drew their pictures from no imaginary originals. The romancers shadowed forth the manners of their nation, like the good-humoured Cervantes, who, while ridiculing the absurdities of knight-errantry, as displayed in works of fiction, never forgot the seriousness approaching to solemnity, the perfect courtesy, the loftiness, and the generosity of the Castilian gentleman.

While the knights of England were admiring the gallantry of the Spanish cavalier, who appeared among them to render himself worthy the smiles of his lady-love, another knight of Spain, named Sir John de Merlo, or Melo, left his native land to add new honours to his shield. He repaired to the court of Philip, Duke of Burgundy, which was then held at Arras, and proclaiming that he wished to joust, in order to win that high fame which was the guerdon of chivalry, he sounded his challenge for any noble knight to break three lances with him. It was not long before that proved and renowned cavalier, Peter de Bauffremont, Lord of Chargny, answered the challenge, prevailing, in return, on the Spaniard to consent to tourney with him on foot with battle-axes, swords and daggers. The two noble knights then appeared in the lists of the market-place at Arras, which had been fashioned into a tilting ground. The Duke of Burgundy sat as judge of the lists; and he was surrounded by the Dukes of Bourbon and of Gueldres, the Counts of Rochemont, of Vendome, D'Estampes, and, indeed, the chiefest nobility of his states. The Spanish knight entered then the lists, followed by four noble cavaliers of Burgundy, whom the Duke had appointed to do him honourable service. One of them bore on the end of a lance a small banner emblazoned with his arms. The other knights carried his lances, and thus, without more pomp, he courteously made his obeisance to the Duke of Burgundy, and retired from his presence by the way he had entered on the left hand of his Grace. After a pause extended beyond the wonted time, in order to raise the expectation of the spectators into anxiety, the Lord of Chargny pressed his bounding steed into the lists. He was grandly accompanied by three Burgundian lords, and the English Earl of Suffolk, all bearing his lances. Behind him were four coursers, richly caparisoned with his arms and devices, with pages covered with robes of wrought silver; and the procession was closed by the greater part of the knights and squires of the Duke of Burgundy's household. The Lord of Chargny gracefully bent his body while his proud steed was performing its caracoles, and he then retired through a gate opposite to that of the Spanish knight. At the signal of the Duke the trumpets sounded to horse, the knights pricked forth, the herald's cry resounded, "Faites vos devoirs, preux chevaliers;" and the career of the gallant warriors deserved the noblest meed; for they tilted with their lances with such admirable skill, that though their weapons shivered, neither cavalier was hurt. The second and the third courses were ran with similar chivalric bearing, and the morning's amusement closed.

On the next day the Duke of Burgundy, followed by all his chivalry, repaired to the market-place of Arras, in order to witness the second series of these martial games. The Lord of Chargny, as the challenger, appeared first; and it was full an hour before Sir John de Merlo entered the lists: for the Spaniard resolved to retort the delay which the Lord of Chargny had made on the preceding morning. The king-at-arms, called Golden Fleece, proclaimed, in three different parts of the lists, that all who had not been otherwise ordered should retire to the galleries, or without the rails; and that no one should give any hindrance to the two champions, under pain of being punished, by the Duke of Burgundy, with death. The knights then advanced from their respective pavilions, wielding their battle-

* Paston, Letters, vol. i., p. 6.

axes. They were armed in proof; but the Spanish knight, with more than the wonted boldness of chivalry, wore his vizor raised. They rushed upon each other with impetuous daring, and exchanged many mighty blows; but the Lord of Chargny was sore displeased that his adversary did not close his vizor. After they had well proved their valour, the Duke of Burgundy threw down his warder, and the jousting ceased. But the noble knights themselves exclaimed against so early a termination of their chivalric sports; particularly the Spaniard, who declared, as the reason for his anger, that he had travelled at a great expense, and with much fatigue by sea and land, from a far country, to acquire honour and renown. But the Duke remained firm, only soothing his denial by complimenting him on the honourable mode in which he had accomplished his challenge: and, afterwards, the Burgundian nobles vied with each other in praising a cavalier who had shown the unprecedented daring of fighting with his vizor raised. The Duke also entertained him in his palace; and, in admiration of his bravery, made him so many rich presents, that the expenses of his journey were amply reimbursed. He soon afterwards mounted his good steed, and left Arras on his return to his own country; and beguiled the long and lonely way by recollections of the past, and dreams of future glory.*

The remainder of the history of Spanish chivalry, namely, its decline, may be shortly told. All its martial forms were destroyed by the iron yoke of the house of Austria; and so perfectly, that in the state of things which succeeded the warfare of the shield and the lance, the Spanish infantry took the lead, and was the most skilful in Europe. At the battle of Ravenna, in the year 1512, they defeated the chivalry of France, and proved the excellence of the new system of warfare. Something, however, of that excellence must be attributed to the spirit of ancient knighthood; for it borrowed the principles of its discipline from ancient times.

In one respect the chivalry of Spain resembled the general chivalry of Europe in its decline; for, at the introduction of the art of printing into the Peninsula, the old romances were the first subjects of the press, as works most agreeable to national taste. Although Spanish poetry was now but a faint copy of the Italian muse, yet the spirit of the antique song occasionally breathed, in wild and fitful notes, the heroism and loves of other times. The point of honour was long preserved as the gem of the Spanish character; and chivalric gallantry continued intense and imaginative, for Arabian literature left impressions on the Spanish mind which the Inquisition could not efface; and thus, while in other countries of Europe woman was gradually despoiled of those divine perfections with which the fine and gallant spirit of chivalry had invested her, and moved among mortals as formed of mortal nature, yet, in the imagination of the grave, the musing Spaniard, she was preserved in her proud pre-eminence, and was still the object of his heart's idolatry.

* Monstrelet, vol. vii., c. 82.

CHAPTER XIV.

PROGRESS OF CHIVALRY IN GERMANY AND ITALY.

Chivalry did not affect the public History of Germany.—Its influence on Imperial Manners.—Intolerance and Cruelty of German Knights.—Their Harshness to their Squires.—Avarice of the Germans.—Little Influence of German Chivalry.—A remarkable Exception to this.—A Female Tournament.—Maximilian, the only chivalric Emperor of Germany.—Joust between him and the French Knight.—Edict of Frederic III. destroyed Chivalry.—CHIVALRY IN ITALY.—Lombards carried Chivalry thither.—Stories of chivalric Gallantry.—But little martial Chivalry in Italy.—Condottieri.—Chivalry in the North.—Italians excellent Armourers but bad Knights.—Chivalry in the South.—Curious Circumstances attending Knighthood at Naples.—Mode of creating Knights in Italy generally.—Political Use of Knighthood.—Chivalric literature.—Chivalric sports.

CHIVALRY may be considered either in a political or military aspect, either as influencing the destinies of nations, or affecting the mode and circumstances of war. In Germany it offers to us no circumstances of the former class. Germany was connected with Italy more

than with any other country of Europe during the middle ages. The wars of the emperors for the kingdom of Italy did not proceed from any principles or feelings that can be termed chivalric; nor can any ingenuity torture the fierce contests between the popes and the emperors into knightly encounters. The chivalry of Germany seldom appeared in generous rivalry with that of any other country; and in circumstances which leave no doubt of the issue, if the chivalry of England or France had been engaged, the Imperial knights quailed before partially-disciplined militia. In Italy the power of Milan was more dreaded than that of the emperor Frederick Barbarossa; and he subdued the northern states rather by drawing their cities to his side, which were jealous of the Milanese authority, than by the force of his chivalry. A few years afterwards the cities of Lombardy formed a league against him; and when the question of Italian independence was debated in arms, the militia of the cities triumphed over the flower of German chivalry in the battle of Legnano. Nor could Germany ever afterwards thoroughly re-establish her power. Many political circumstances and moral reasons prevented it; but the weakness of her military arm was the chief and prevailing cause.

The Germans invented nothing in chivalry, and borrowed nothing from the superior institutions of other countries. At the commencement of the fifteenth century the inferiority of their chivalry was plainly displayed. The German cuirassiers, with whom the Emperor Robert descended into Italy, could not cope with the condottieri of Jacopo Verme, who protected the states of Gian Galeazzo Visconti. It was found that the horses of the Germans were not so well trained as those of the Italians, and the armour of the knights was heavy and unwieldy; and thus the bigoted attachment of the Germans to ancient customs saved Italy from subjugation.* The cuirassiers of Germany were equally impotent against the hardy peasantry of Switzerland.

Though not in the public history, yet in what may be called the manners, of the empire, there was one great chivalric feature. The dignity of service was strikingly displayed. The proudest nobles were the servants of the Emperor, his butler, his falconer, his marshal, his chamberlain; and, insensibly, as every student of German history knows, the principal officers of state usurped from the other nobles the right of electing the Emperor.

Chivalry was chiefly known in Germany as the embodying of a ferocious spirit of religious persecution. The nation, therefore, embarked in the crusades to the Holy Land, with fierceness, unchecked by chivalric gallantry, and recklessly poured out its best blood in the chase of a phantom. Prussia, and other countries at the north of Germany, were tardy in embracing Christianity; and the sword became the instrument of conversion. The Teutonic knights were particularly active in this pious work, when the Mameluke Tartars had driven them from Palestine. In other countries, the defence of the church, and hostilities against infidels, though considered as knightly duties, were not protruded beyond other obligations; but in Germany, so prominently were they placed, that a cavalier used to hold himself bound, by his general oath of chivalry, to prepare for battle the moment of war being declared, either against infidels or heretics.*

The German knight differed in character from the knight of other countries, though his education was similar. The course of that education is detailed in one of the most interesting German poems, the Das Heldenbuch, or Book of Heroes.

* Sismondi, Hist. des Rep. Ital., vii., 439. The Germans were more observant of the forms than of the spirit of Chivalry. The reader remembers that the spur, the golden spur, was the great mark of knighthood; and every ancient church in this country, or a copy of its antique monumental effigies, will inform him of the custom of placing a spur over or upon a knight's tomb. This was also a custom among the Germans, who, besides, reposited spurs in churches, when age, infirmity, or other causes, unnerved the arm of the knight: moreover, they reposited spurs in churches as memorials of victory. In the fourteenth century five hundred pair of them, which had been taken in a victory over the French, were hung round the walls of the church at Gröningen. Ritterzeit und Ritterwesen, page 212.

* Olaus, Hist. Septent., lib. xiv., c. 7.

"The princes young, were taught to protect
all ladies fair,
Priests they bad them honour, and to the
mass repair;
All holy Christian lore were they tanght, I
plight;
Hugbdietrick and his noble queen caused
priests to guide them right.

"Bechtung taught them knightly games; on
the war horse firm to sit;
To leap, and to defend them; rightly the
mark to hit;
Cunningly to give the blow, and to throw
the lance afar:
Thence the victory they gain'd, in many a
bloody war.

"Right before their breasts to bear the weighty
shield,
In battle and in tournament quaintly the
sword to wield;
Strongly to lace the helmets on, when call'd
to wage the fight,
All to the royal brothers, Bechtung taught
aright.

"He taught them o'er the plain for to hurl the
weighty rock;
Mighty was their strength, and fearful was
the shock:
When o'er the plain resounded the heavy
stone aloud,
Six furlongs threw beyond the rest Wolf-
dieterick the Proud."*

Though the education of the squire in Germany resembled the education of the squire in other countries, yet his state was not equally happy. The duties of the German youth were painful; and, though menial, as, indeed, were many of the duties of all squires, yet they were ungraced by those softening circumstances of manners which distinguished chivalric nurture in France and England.† The squires, too, were more frequently persons of humble birth than of gentle condition; and knighthood, therefore, was not always the reward of their toils. The knights were cruel and severe to their young attendants. It happened once, and the circumstance illustrates the general state of manners, that when a knight was in the midst of a baronial revelling, three of his squires rushed into the hall, with the wild action of fear, and stood trembling before him. He coldly demanded where were the rest. As soon as their fear allowed them to speak, they said that their whole band had been fighting with his enemies, and that eight of them had fallen. Totally unmoved by the fate of his brave and devoted young friends, and thinking only of the rigidness of discipline, he answered, "You are rightly served: who bade you ride without my orders?"* Well, indeed, then, may we say, with the old German authority for this story, that the man who hath held the office of squire has learned what it is to feel the depths of pain and ignominy.

No country was more desolated by private war in the middle ages than Germany; and chivalry, instead of ameliorating the mode of warfare, acquired a character of wildness from the perpetual scene of horror.†

There was no Bertrand du Guesclin, no Black Prince, no Manny, no Chandos, in Germany: there was a rudeness about the knighthood of the Teutonic cavaliers different from its state in other nations. The humanities, which it was the principle of Christian chivalry to throw over the rugged front of war, were but little felt in Germany, though Germany was the very cradle of chivalry. I need not repeat the cruelties which were inflicted upon Richard Cœur de Lion, during his return from the Holy Land. Two centuries afterwards, when chivalry was in its high and palmy state in other countries, the Germans continued uncourteous knights. They were a high and proud people, never admitting foreign cavaliers to companionship and brotherhood. But avarice was their most detestable quality, and effectually extinguished all sentiments of honour. "When a German hath taken a prisoner," says Froissart, "he putteth him into irons, and into hard prison, without any pity, to make him pay the greater finance and ransom."‡ On the probability arising of a war between Germany and France, the French counsellors dissuaded their King, Charles V., from thinking of engaging in it in person, on account of the character of the enemy. It was said, if the King went into Germany, there would be but little chance of his returning. "When they (the Germans) shall

* Illustrations of Northern Antiquities, from the Teutonic and Scandinavian Romances, p. 76.

† Ritterzeit und Ritterwesen, vol. i., p. 59.

* Ibid., p. 60.

† Ibid., p. 71.

‡ Froissart, vol. i., c. 433.

know that the King and all the great nobles of France are entered into their country, they will then assemble all together; and, by their better knowledge of the land, they may do us great damage; for they are a covetous people above all other. They have no pity if they have the upper hand; and they demean themselves with cruelty to their prisoners: they put them to sundry pains, to compel them to make their ransoms the greater; and if they have a lord, or a great man, for their captive, they make great joy thereof, and will convey him into Bohemia, Austria, or Saxony, and keep in some uninhabitable castle. They are people worse than Saracens or Paynims; for their excessive covetousness quencheth the knowledge of honour."*

As the corrective of the violences of feudal licentiousness, no where was chivalry more required, and no where was it less known than in Germany. It is not possible to exaggerate the enormities of the nobility, and, I fear, of the clergy, during all that long tract of time which is called the age of chivalry. Each castle was a den of thieves; and an archbishop thought he had a fair revenue before him, when he built his fortress on the junction of four roads.† To preserve the people from the rapaciousness and cruelty of these noble and clerical robbers, knights-errant sometimes scoured the plain; but this mode of corrective was very imperfectly applied. It was in the cities and towns, which were protected by the emperors, that the oppressed and injured people found refuge. While the German historians seldom mention the protecting influence of knight-errantry, they constantly represent the benefit of towns, and press the fact upon the readers, that it was the tyranny of the nobles which occasioned their growth. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries there were confederacies among towns, and confederacies among the nobility: the former associations were formed in order to repel the aggressions of the latter. This is a feature in German history totally unknown to other countries of the great republic of Europe, and distinct from all chivalric origin or chivalric effects.

Except in the occasional adventurousness of knights-errant, chivalry was but once concerned in repressing the evils of the time, and interwoven with the interesting circumstances of that occasion is one of the most amusing stories in all the long annals of knighthood. The citizens, in conveying their merchandizes from one place to another, suffered dreadfully from the rapine of the barons; and finding the weapons used by common people were an insufficient protection, they wisely and boldly armed themselves in the manner of their enemies. They wielded the lance and sword, rode the heavy war-horse, practised tournaments and other martial games, and even attended tournaments in castles and courts; assuming for the occasion the armorial distinctions of noble families who were distant from the scene. So much did this state of citizenship resemble that of knighthood, that all the castles on the Rhine were not inhabited by barons and knights only.

In the fourteenth century, a band of bold and wealthy burghers established themselves with their wives and children in one of the largest of these fortresses, as a barrier against the maraudings of the nobility. They became so powerful, and their deportment was so chivalric, that some of the neighbouring knights formed alliances with them. A potent baron harassed them in various ways; and after various battles, each party was willing that words, and not the sword, should terminate the war. They accordingly met on a spot of border-land, and, after arranging the immediate subject of dispute, they embraced as brothers in chivalry. While these citizen-knights were absent, the women, who remained behind, joyfully assembled on a sunny plain, which spread itself before the castle. They walked up and down, each lady praising the martial qualities of her lord. As the discourse proceeded, they became inspired with that heroic courage which they were commending, till at length they ordered the war-horses to be brought out with armour and weapons, resolving to hold a tournament. They

* Froissart, liv. ii., c. 125.

† Schmidt, iv., 492.

were soon mounted and armed, and they took the names of their husbands. There was a maiden among them, and as modesty forbad her to take the name of any man of her own station in life, she chose the title of a neighbouring duke. She performed the martial exercises with such strength and adroitness, that most of the married women were cast by her from their saddles, and paid dearly, by their wounds, for their temerity and adventurousness. They then left the plain, and such of them as were injured retired to their chambers, strictly charging the servants and pages to make no disclosure of what had passed. When the knights returned, and found the horses covered with foam and dust, and few ladies to greet them, they inquired the cause of this unwonted appearance. For a while no answer could be gained; but at length they terrified a boy into a detail of the story. They laughed right merrily at the folly of their wives; and when, soon afterwards, they met some of the Rhenish knights at a festival, they made the hall echo with the tale, and it was soon bruited over all Germany. The duke, under whose name the honours of the tournament had been won, was surprised and pleased with the heroism of the maiden. He sought her out, gave her rich presents, not only in money, but a war-steed and a gentle palfrey, and united her in honourable marriage to a wealthy burgher.*

In the character of the emperors of Germany, as seen in their public lives, little of the chivalric nature can be marked. The Fredericks and the Othos more nearly resemble our Norman Williams, than our Plantagenet Edwards. It is singular that the only chivalric emperor in Germany was the prince in whose reign German chivalry expired. Maximilian I. was educated in the strictest discipline of chivalry. All his youthful studies and occupations had relation to his chivalric deportment; and German writers have been fond of remarking, that while he was a mere child, he and another boy were wont to ride on men's backs, and fight with wooden swords in imitation of a joust.†

He was afterwards a very gallant cavalier. When in the year 1495, he was holding his states at Worms, a French knight, named Claude de Batre, arrived at the city, and proclaimed by his herald that he was ready to meet in combat any German knight who was willing to stake life, limb, or liberty, or contend for any knightly distinction in a personal encounter. Among the nobles and knights that were present, no one seemed willing to accept the challenge; for, besides the report of the Frenchman's gigantic strength, fame had armed him with supernatural and satanic powers. The courageous Maximilian could not endure to see the German chivalry braved and bearded by a stranger, and he sent a herald with his own shield, ornamented with the arms of Austria and Burgundy, to lay it along side that of the Frenchman. The emperor and the knight then agreed that on the morning of the tenth day from that time they would appear in public, armed, and fight to the utterance. The person of the conquered was to remain at the victor's disposal. The joust was regarded as a matter of more interest and importance than the public affairs which the Diet was assembled to arrange. On the appointed morning, all the brave and all the fair of Germany, met round the splendid lists which the emperor had erected for the purpose. The herald's trumpet centered the attention of the spectators, — its second flourish hushed every murmur, — and when its third and loudest blast sounded, Maximilian and Claude de Batre pricked forwards at speed through opposite gates into the lists, and opposed lance to lance. Their weapons splintered, and they drew their swords. The fight was long and obstinate; but the skill of the French knight only served to exalt the heroism of the emperor: for, finally, Maximilian disarmed his antagonist, and proved the excellence of the German chivalry.*

It was Frederick III., the father of Maximilian, who gave the first blow to the ancient chivalry of Germany. He passed an edict allowing citizens to receive knighthood; a permission which tarnished the splendour of the order, and disgusted the old cavaliers.† This mea-

* Ritterzeit und Ritterwesen, p. 108.
† Ibid., vol. i., p. 7.

* Ibid., vol. ii., p. 61.
† Ritterzeit und Ritterwesen, vol. ii., p. 272.

sure was a fatal one; for Germany above all other countries had been jealous of the pure nobility of its knighthood. Knighthood was more the adjunct of rank than the reward of merit; and the Germans were more solicitous to examine the quarters of a shield than the martial deserts of the bearer, more desirous to mark his ancestors' deeds than his own. The edict of Frederick destroyed the pride of chivalry. Knighthood was then conferred on boys who were scarcely able to perform the duties of squires, and on children at the baptismal font. But, in truth, the destruction of knighthood in Germany was no real evil. Chivalry had not been a perfect defence of the empire, as the Austrians and Swabians had found in their contests with the Hungarians.

On one occasion, in particular, during the thirteenth century, the knights and squires of Germany were sorely galled on the plains of Hungary by the arrows of the enemy, and vainly wished for a close and personal encounter. An Austrian archer advised the chivalry with whom he served to retreat, and draw the Hungarians far from their homes. This counsel the knights and squires, from pride and suspicion of the man's fidelity, rejected; but the danger pressed, the showers of arrows became thicker and more frequent, and the Austrian and Swabian horses being but partially barded, were either slain or rendered unmanageable. Each knight watched the countenance of his companion, to read in it hope or advice, till at length one of them exclaimed, "Let us send a messenger to these dastardly foes inviting them to peace, or to a manly and chivalric contest, for honour and love of ladies." A squire was despatched, but was shot by a Hungarian arrow. The Austrian leader then called to his side a well-experienced knight, and bade him ride to the Hungarian General, and invoke him by his chivalry to terminate this unknightly conflict. The old warrior replied, that if he were to carry such a message, the Hungarian would infallibly answer, that he was not such a fool as to place his unharnessed men in a level and equal line against the mail-clad chivalry of Austria; and that if the Austrians would doff their armour, the Hungarians would fight them hand to hand.

The danger became more and more imminent, and the Germans had no hope of escape; for they could not expect, as if they had been fighting with the chivalry of France, that a surrender of their horses and arms, and an honourable treaty for their own person's ransom, would satisfy the foe. Finally, they were compelled to yield at discretion; and it is interesting to observe, that the Austrian archer, whose counsel had been despised, and who it appears might have saved himself if he would, remained at his station, and nobly shared the fate of his lords. Instead of meeting with any knightly courtesy, the whole were led away into Hungary, and pined out their days in prison.*

Many other instances of the inefficacy of the German chivalry might be adduced, but the truth is so apparent on every page of the history of Germany, that no particular instances are necessary. Other circumstances contributed to its fall. The privileges of knighthood had been found inconvenient by the emperors. In the field of battle the cavaliers often claimed an independence which was detrimental to imperial authority. Maximilian I., therefore, introduced mercenaries into his army. Such of them as were natives of other countries brought with them every well-practised species of war, and raised the German military power to a level with that of the other nations of Europe. The inadequacy of the German chivalry to the present times was therefore so apparent, that no person wished to see the spirit of knighthood revived. Chivalry ceased to be a national characteristic, and its badges and honours passed into the court to become the signs of imperial favour.†

We will now cross the Alps into

ITALY.

We shall ascend sufficiently high into the antiquities of nations, if we observe that the system of manners from which

* Ottokar v. Hornek, c. 268, &c., in his Annals of Austria.

† Ritterzeit und Ritterwesen, vol. ii., last chapter.

chivalry sprang was brought by the Lombards from Germany into the north of Italy. With them in their new, as it had been in their original, seats, the title to bear arms was a distinction conferred by the state, and not a subject of private will and choice. A son did not presume to sit at the same table with his father. For the instruction of youth in military affairs there were public spectacles on Sundays, and on festivals, in imitation of a knightly mêlée. A town or city was divided into two parts, each having its defenders. The mock battles were either general or between small parties, the weapons were made of wood, the helmets were safely padded, and the young warriors displayed splendid banners adorned with fanciful cognisances.* The amusement of hawking, which distinguished the Gothic from the Latin and most southern tribes, was common with the Lombards:† but more than all the rest, a tone of chivalric gallantry was given to the Italians, even by these long-bearded barbarians.

Antharis, one of the Lombard kings, sought in marriage Theudelinda, a daughter of the King of Bavaria; and not wishing to judge through another's eyes, he disguised himself as a private man, and accompanied his ambassadors to the Bavarian court. After the conditions of the marriage had been discussed and the ceremonies arranged, the disguised prince stepped before the crowd, and, saluting the King, declared that he was the personal friend of Antharis, who wished to receive from him a description of the lady's charms. Theudelinda accordingly appeared, and the first glance assured Antharis of her being worthy of his love. He did not betray his rank to the assembly; but not altogether able to conceal his joy, he touched the hand of the royal damsel as she presented him a cup of wine; and the matrons about the court, excellent judges of signs of passion, whispered their assurance that such an act of bold familiarity could never have been committed by a mere public or personal representative of Antharis.‡

For several centuries chivalry shed but few and transient gleams of light over the gloomy waste of Italian history, and I can only select one event which paints in beautiful colours the spirit of romantic gallantry. The wife of Lothaire, King of Italy from the year 945 to 948, was Adelais, a princess of the house of Burgundy. Lothaire was deposed, perhaps murdered by his minister, Berenger; and the usurper persecuted, with the cruelty of fear, Adelais, who has been described by monkish chroniclers, and chivalry will not contradict the character, as being young and beautiful. He confined her in a subterraneous dungeon; and, as if personal insult was his best security, he deprived her of her jewels and her royal apparel. A female servant was her only companion during four months of confinement, wherein she was made to endure every mortification which a noble mind can be exposed to. Her wretched condition was at length discovered by a priest, named Martin, who had not in the retirement of a cloister lost the sympathies of humanity. He immediately employed himself to effect her rescue, and, unseen by her jealous keepers, he worked an aperture through the earth and walls sufficient to admit a slender female form to pass. He conveyed male habiliments into the dungeon, to deceive the eyes of her jailors, and, apparelled in them, Adelais and her attendant made their escape. They were met at the entrance of the aperture by their faithful monk, who fled with them to the most probable place of safety, a wood near the lake Benacus. The wants of nature were furnished to them by a poor man who gained a precarious livelihood by fishing in the lake. Recovered from their fatigue and alarm, Martin left the wood to provide for his fair friend some surer place of safety. He went to the Bishop of Reggio, who, though a humane and well-purposed man, was unable to oppose the might of Berenger. Still the matter was not hopeless, for he remembered that there was dwelling in the impregnable fortress of Canossa a virtuous and adventurous knight. To him, therefore, Martin addressed himself, and Azzo listened to his complaint. He and a chosen band of cavaliers donned their harness, and, repairing to the lake Benacus, conducted thence the persecuted Adelais to the fortress of Canossa. And this was well

* Muratori, Dissert. 29. † Ibid., 23.
‡ Giannone, lib. i.

and chivalrously achieved, for virtue was protected; and in affording this protection, Azzo defied the power of the King of Italy. The subsequent fate of Adelais it falls not within my province to detail. The student of Italian history knows that she married Otho the Great, Emperor of Germany, and that this marriage was a main cause of uniting the sovereignties of Germany and Italy.*

The growth and development of chivalry in subsequent times were checked by political circumstances. Of them the chief was the formation of the republics in the north of Italy during the twelfth century. The power of the feudal nobility was far less than in any other country, and the nobles were the humble allies of the towns.† The citizens trusted rather to the security of their fortifications than their own strength in the field, for their infantry could not resist the charges of the Italian cavalry; and, except such nobles as were in alliance with them, their force consisted of infantry. The superiority of the chivalric array of the various lords and feudal princes of Italy to the militia of the cities‡ was one great cause of that great political revolution—the change of the republics into tyrannies. The power of knights over armed burghers having been experienced, and the town not possessing in sufficient numbers a force of cavalry, the practice arose of hiring the service of bodies of lancers, who were commonly gentlemen of small fortune, but of great pretensions, and who found war the readiest way of gratifying their proud and luxurious desires. In the fourteenth century another great change occurred in the military affairs of Italy. I shall lay it before my readers in the lucid diction of the English historian of that country. "The successive expeditions of Henry VII., of Louis of Bavaria, and of John of Bohemia, had filled Italy with numerous bands of German cavalry, who, on the retirement of their sovereigns, were easily tempted to remain in a rich and beautiful country, where their services were eagerly demanded and extravagantly paid. The revolution in the military art, which in the preceding century established the resistless superiority of a mounted gens-d'armerie over the burgher infantry, had habituated every state to confide its security to bodies of mercenary cavalry; and the Lombard tyrants in particular, who founded their power upon these forces, were quick in discovering the advantage of employing foreign adventurers, who were connected with their disaffected subjects by no ties of country or community of language. Their example was soon universally followed, native cavalry fell into strange disrepute; and the Italians, without having been conquered in the field, unaccountably surrendered the decision of their quarrels, and the superiority in courage and military skill, to mercenaries of other countries. When this custom of employing foreign troops was once introduced, new swarms of adventurers were continually attracted from beyond the Alps to reap the rich harvest of pay and booty which were spread before them. In a country so perpetually agitated by wars among its numerous states, they found constant occupation, and, what they loved more, unbridled license. Ranging themselves under the standards of chosen leaders—the condottieri, or captains of mercenary bands—they passed in bodies of various strength from one service to another, as their terms of engagement expired, or the temptation of higher pay invited; their chieftains and themselves alike indifferent to the cause which they supported; alike faithless, rapacious, and insolent. Upon every trifling disgust they were ready to go over to the enemy: their avarice and treachery were rarely proof against seduction; and, though their regular pay was five or six times greater

* Muratori, Annali d'Italia, vol. v., part 2, p. 171, &c. Even the Modenese librarian throws aside his dust and parchments, and warms himself into a humanised being at this story; while Sismondi passes it over with frigid indifference.

† Muratori, Dissert. 49.

‡ See in the twenty-seventh Dissertation of Muratori (Della Milizia de secoli rozzi in Italia) for a minute account of the armour of these different classes. I observe that Mr. Perceval, in his History of Italy, vol. i., p. 197, holds a different opinion from which I have expressed in the text. Instead of thinking that the change in the military art formed one of the causes which hastened the overthrow of the Lombard liberties, he contends that, perhaps, it might be more correctly numbered among the circumstances which, after that overthrow had been accomplished, perpetuated the work of slavery.

in the money of the age than that of modern armies, they exacted a large gratuity for every success. As they were usually opposed by troops of the same description, whom they regarded rather as comrades than enemies, they fought with little earnestness, and designedly protracted their languid operations to ensure the continuance of their emoluments. But while they occasioned each other little loss, they afflicted the country which was the theatre of contest with every horror of warfare: they pillaged, they burnt, they violated, and massacred with devilish ferocity."*

Gradually these foreign condottieri, when not engaged in the service of any particular power, levied war like independent sovereigns; and Italy had fresh reason to repent the jealousy which had made her distrust her own sons. They fought with tenfold more fury now that the contest was no longer carried on by one troop of condottieri against another, but against the Italians themselves, to whom no tie of nature bound them; and so far was any cavaleresque generosity from mitigating the horrors of their wars, that one adventurer, Werner was his name, and Germany his country, declared, by an inscription which was blazoned on his corslet, that he was "the enemy of God, of pity, and of mercy." But the power of these foreign condottieri was not perpetual. Nature rose to vindicate her rights; and there were many daring spirits among the Italians, who, if not emulous of the fame, were jealous of the dominion, of strangers. The company of Saint George, founded by Alberico de Barbiano, a marauding chief of Romagna, was the school of Italian generals. In the fifteenth century, the force of every state was led by an Italian, if not a native citizen; and when the Emperor Robert crossed the Alps with the gens-d'armerie of Germany, the Milanese, headed by Jacopo del Verme, encountered him near Brescia, and overthrew all his chivalry.

In northern Italy no knightlike humanities softened the vindictiveness of the Italian mind. Warriors never admitted prisoners to ransom. The annals of their contests are destitute of those graceful courtesies which shed such a beautiful lustre over the contests of England and France. No cavalier ever thought of combating for his lady's sake, and a lady's favour was never blended with his heraldic insignia. There were no regular defiances to war as in other countries: honour, that animating principle of chivalry, was not known; the object of the conquest was regarded to the exclusion of fame and military distinction. Stratagems were as common as open and glorious battle; and private injuries were revenged by assassination, and not by the fair and manly joust à l'outrance: and yet when a man pledged his word for the performance of any act, and wished his sincerity to be believed, he always swore by the parola di cavaliere, e non di cortigiano; so general and forcible was the acknowledgment of chivalry's moral superiority. I know nothing in the history of the middle ages more dark with crime than the wars of the Italians—nothing that displays by contrast more beautifully the graces of chivalry; and yet the Italian condottieri were brave to the very height of valour. Before them the German chivalry quailed, as it had formerly done before the militia of the towns.

In the deep feelings and ardent and susceptible imaginations of the Italians, chivalry, it might seem, could have raised her fairest triumph; but chivalry had no fellowship with a mercenary spirit, and sordid gain was the only motive of the Italian soldiers. Their acute and intelligent minds preceded most other people in military inventions. To them, in particular, is to be attributed the introduction of the long and pointed sword, against which the hauberk, or coat of mail, was no protection. They took the lead in giving the tone to military costume: they were the most ingenious people of Europe during the middle ages: and their superior skill in the mechanical arts was every where acknowledged. The reader of English history may remember, that in the reign of Richard II. the Earl of Derby, afterwards Henry IV., sent to Milan for his armour, on account of his approaching combat with Thomas, Duke of Norfolk. Sir Galeas, Duke of Milan,

* Perceval's History of Italy, vol. i., chap. 5, part 1.

not only gave the messenger the best in his collection, but allowed four Milanese armourers to accompany him to England, in order that the Earl might be properly and completely accomplished. The Milanese armour preserved its reputation even in times when other countries had acquired some skill in the mechanical arts. In 1481 the Duke of Brittany purchased various cuirasses at Milan; and in the accounts of jousts and tournaments frequent mention is made of the superior temper and beauty of Italian harness.*

In the south of Italy chivalry had a longer and brighter reign. Some of its customs were introduced by the Lombards when they established their kingdom at Beneventum; and others were planted by the Normans, that people of chivalric adventurousness. Knighthood was an order of the state of high consideration, and much coveted; but its glories were sometimes tarnished by the admission of unworthy members; and, in the year 1252, the Emperor Frederick II. was obliged to issue a decree, at Naples, forbidding any one to receive it who was not of gentle birth.

The most complete impression, however, of the chivalric character, on the minds of the Italians, was made by the house of Anjou, when Charles and his Frenchmen conquered Naples in 1266. The south of Italy seems to have been far less advanced in civilization than the commercial towns of the north; but the Angevine monarchs made Naples one blaze of splendid luxury. Nothing had been seen in Italy so brilliant as the cavalcade of Charles. The golden collars of the French lords, — the surcoats and pennons, and plumed steeds of the knights, — the carriage of the Queen, covered with blue velvet, and ornamented with golden lilies, — surpassed in magnificence all former shows.† The entry of Charles was a festival; and on that occasion the honour of knighthood was conferred on all persons who solicited it. The kings of the house of Anjou pretended to revive the regulations of Frederick II.; but they soon relaxed them, and gave the military girdle to the commonalty who could not prove that their forefathers had been knights.

When a person was invested at Naples, the bishop, or other ecclesiastic who assisted at the inauguration, not only commanded the recipient to defend the church, and regard the usual obligations of chivalry, but he exhorted him not to rise in arms against the King from any motive, or under any circumstances. This curious clause was added to the exhortation: "If you should be disloyal to your sovereign, to him who is going to make you a knight, you ought first to return him the girdle with which you are immediately to be honoured; and then you may make war against him, and none will reproach you with treachery; otherwise, you will be reputed infamous, and worthy of death." An instance of the fear of this imputation of treachery occurred when the Princes of Besignano and Melfi, the Duke of Atri, and the Count of Maddolini, returned to Louis XII., King of France, the collar of St. Michael (with which he had honoured them), when Ferdinand the Catholic took possession of the kingdom.*

Knighthood was much solicited on account of its privileges, as well as of its titular distinction. It exempted the fortunate wearer from the payment of taxes, and gave him the power of enjoying the royal and noble amusement of the chase. But the Angevine monarchs were so prodigal in granting the honour of knighthood, that it ceased to be a distinction; and in the reign of the last princes of that house the order had degenerated into a vain and empty title.

Such was the general state of chivalry in northern and southern Italy; but there were some circumstances common to every part of the peninsula. The nobility invested each other with festive and religious ceremonies, with the bath,† the watching of arms, and the sacred and

* Monstrelet, vol. xi., p. 328.

† Muratori, Dissert. 23. Muratori describes from a contemporary chronicle the entrance of Charles. The carriage of the Queen seems to have excited great astonishment, as carriages were in those days seldom used by ladies, and seldomer by men.

* Giannone, Istoria Civile di Napoli, lib. xx., c. 3, s. 1.

† When that political coxcomb, Cola de Rienzi, thought fit to be knighted, he would not bathe in the ordinary way, but made use of the vase wherein, according to the tradition, Constantine had been baptized. Vita di Cola Rienzi, c. 25.

military shows, or with a simple stroke of a sword, and the exhortation, "Sii un valoroso cavaliere," two ancient knights buckling on his golden spurs. In the year 1294, Azzo, Marquis of Este, was knighted by Gerard, Lord of Camino, at a public solemnity held at Ferrara. Cane, Lord of Verona, in 1328, gave the honour of knighthood to thirty-eight young nobles, and presented them with golden belts, and beautiful war-horses.* In Italy there was the usual array of knights and squires, of cavalieri and scudieri; but I can find no mention of pages distinct from the squires, and attending their lords; except, indeed, they were the domicelli, or donzelli, who, however, are supposed by Muratori to have been the squires of noble rank. All the armour-bearers of the knights were not noble or of gentle birth, or we should not very often meet, in the Italian annalists of the middle ages, the expression "honourable squires."

In the fourteenth century knights had four titles, agreeably to the various modes of their creation:— Cavalieri Bagnati, or Knights of the Bath, who were made with the grandest ceremonies, and supposed, from their immersion, to be freed from all vice and impurity; the Cavalieri di Corredo, or those who were invested with a deep green dress, and a golden garland; the Cavalieri di Scudo, or those who were created either by people or nobility; and the Cavalieri d'Arme were those who were made either before or during battle.†

Many orders of knighthood were known in Italy: some (but their history is not interesting) were peculiar to it; and others, such as the order of the knights of Saint John and of the Temple, had their preceptories and commanderies in that country. And, to enlarge upon a circumstance alluded to in another place, it is curious to notice the dexterity with which chivalry accommodated itself to the manners and usages of any particular society. The commercial cities in the north of Italy vied in power with, and were superior in wealth to, the feudal nobility. Chivalry was esteemed as a graceful decoration by every class of men, and by none with more ardour than by new families, whom opulence had raised into civic consideration. The strictness of the principles of knighthood opposed their investiture; but those principles were made to give way; and commercial pride was satisfied with the concession of aristocratical haughtiness, that the *sons* of men in trade might become brothers of the orders of chivalry.

The decoration of simple knighthood, however, was given indiscriminately without regard to birth or station. Every city assumed the power of bestowing it; and after a great battle it was showered with indiscriminate profusion upon those who had displayed their courage, whether they were armed burghers or condottieri. And this was a wise measure of the Italian cities: for there was always an obligation expressed or implied on the part of knights of fidelity to the person from whom they received the honour.* It is amusing to observe, that, in the year 1378, a Florentine mob paused in its work of murder and rapine to play with the graceful ensigns of chivalry: and, in imitation of the power of the city, they insisted on investing their favourites with knighthood.

Chivalry had, perhaps, greater influence on the literature and manners of the Italians than on their military usages. Wandering minstrels from France and Spain chanted in the streets of Italy tales of warriors' deeds and lady-love, particularly the stories of Roland and Oliver, the paladins of Charlemagne, who were also the subject of song and recitation, even by the stage players on the earliest theatre at Milan.† Much of the popular literature of Italy consisted of romances; and the chief topics of them were the exploits both in arms and amours of Charlemagne and his paladins: though on one occasion Buovo d'Antina, a hero of chivalry, who fought and loved prior to the time of those heroes, was the theme of Tuscan verse. The wars of Charlemagne and his paladins with the Saracens were afterwards sung by the nobler muse of Pulci and Boiardo, and

* Muratori, Dissert. 29, 53.

† Sacchetti, Novelle, c. 153.

* Muratori, Dissert. 53. Thus, when Hildebrand Guatasca, in 1260, was made a knight at the expense of the city of Arezzo, he swore fidelity to his lord, or, as grammarians would have it, his lady, the good city that had knighted him.

† Muratori, Dissert., vol. ii., c. 29, p. 16.

thea by Ariosto, who, not confining himself to the common stores of romantic fiction, has borrowed as freely from the tales regarding Arthur and the British and Armoric knights as from those relating to Charlemagne and the peers of France, and has thrown over the whole the graceful mantle of Oriental sorcery. The chivalric duties of converting the heathen, of adoring the ladies, of fighting in the cause of heaven and women, were thus presented to the minds of the Italians; and the Homer of Ferrara roused the courage, or softened into love or pity, the hearts of knights and ladies, by singing the wars and loves of days which his poetry rendered bright and golden.

These were the literary amusements of Italy; the subjects of recitation in the baronial hall, and of solitary perusal in the lady's bower; with these works the Italians nourished their imaginations; and a chivalric taste was diffused over the manners of public and private life. The amusement of hawking, which, as we have seen, the fathers of chivalric Italy had introduced, was indulged in at every court; and the Ferrarese princes were generally attended in the field by a hundred falconers, so proud and magnificent was their display. Every great event was celebrated by a tournament or a triumphal show. Dante speaks of the tournament as the familiar amusement of the fourteenth century.

——— "E vidi gir gualdane,
Ferir torniamenti, e correr giostra."
Inferno, c. 22.

So early as the year 1166, on occasion of the interview between Frederick Barbarossa and Pope Alexander at Venice, chivalric and civic pomp celebrated their friendship. Two centuries afterwards, the recovery of Cyprus presented a fair opportunity for military display. Knights flocked to Venice from England, France, and every country of the West, and manifested their prowess in the elegant, yet perilous, encounter of the tournament. There was a pageant, or grand triumphal show, of a splendid procession of knights cased in steel, and adorned with the favours of the ladies. The scene-painter and the machinist combined their talents to give an allegorical representation of the Christian's victory over Islamism: the knights moved amidst the scenic decorations, and by their gallant bearing swelled with noble pride the hearts of the spectators.

The sports of chivalry were so elegant and graceful that we might have supposed the refined Italians would have embraced them in all their circumstances. But the arena of the Coliseum, so admirably adapted for a tournament, was used for Moorish games. The matrons and virgins of Rome, arrayed in all their bravery, were seated in its ample galleries, and beheld, not a gallant and hurtless encounter between two parties of knights with lances of courtesy, but a succession of sanguinary conflicts between cavaliers and bulls. Only one solitary circumstance gave an air of chivalry to the scene, and prevents us from mingling the bull-feast of the Coliseum on the 1st of September, 1332, with the horrid spectacles of classic times. Each knight wore a device, and fancied himself informed by the spirit of chivalry, and the presence of the ladies. "I burn under the ashes," was the motto of him who had never told his passion. "I adore Lavinia, or Lucretia," was written on the shield of the knight who wished to be thought the servant of love, and yet dared not avow the real name of his mistress.*

CHAPTER XV.

ON THE MERITS AND EFFECTS OF CHIVALRY.

We are now arrived at that part of our subject where we may say with the poet,

"The knights are dust,
And their good swords are rust:
Their souls are with the saints, we trust."

With Italy the historical tracing ceases of that system of principles which for so many centuries formed or influenced the character of Europe. Its rude beginnings may be marked in the patriarchal manners which preceded

* Muratori, Scriptores Rerum Italicarum, vol. xii., p. 535.

every known frame of artificial life, and have been shaped and modified by the legislator and moralist. The ties of fraternity or companionship in arms, respect to elders, devotion to women, military education and military investiture, were the few and simple elements of chivalry, and in other times would have formed the foundation of other systems of manners. But a new and mighty spirit was now influencing the world, and bending to its purposes every principle and affection. Christianity, with its sanctities and humanities, gave a form and character to chivalry. He who was invested with the military belt, was no longer the mere soldier of ambition and rapine, but he was taught to couch his lance for objects of defence and protection, rather than for those of hostility. He was the friend of the distressed, of widows and orphans, and of all who suffered from tyranny and oppression. The doctrine of Christian benevolence, that all who name the name of Christ are brothers, gave beauty and grace to the principles of fraternity, which were the Gothic inheritance of knights, and therefore the wars of the middle ages were distinguished for their humanities. A cavalier was kind and courteous to his prisoner, because he saw in him a brother; and while the system of ancient manners would have limited this feeling to people of one nation, a knight did not bound his humanity by country or soil, for Christian chivalry was spread over most parts of Europe, and formed mankind into one band, one order of men. From the same principle all the courtesies of private life were communicated to strangers; and gentleness of manners, and readiness of service, expanded from a private distinction into a universal character. Since, by the Christian religion, women was restored to the rank in the moral world which nature had originally assigned her, the feelings of respect for the sex, which were entertained in the early and unsophisticated state of Europe, were heightened by the new sanctions of piety. It was a principle as well as a feeling and a love, to guard and cherish woman; and many of the amenities of chivalry proceeded from her mild influence and example.

The patriarchal system of manners, shaped and sanctioned by Christianity, formed the fabric of chivalry; and romance, with its many-coloured hues, gave it light and beauty. The early ages of Europe gaily moved in all the wildness and vigour of youth; imagination freshened and heightened every pleasure; the world was a vision, and life a dream. The common and palpable value of an object was never looked at, but every thing was viewed in its connexion with fancy and sentiment. Prudence and calculation were not suffered to check noble aspirations: army after army traversed countries, and crossed the sea to the Holy Land, reckless of pain or danger: duties were not cautiously regarded with a view to limit the performance of them; for every principle was not only practised with zeal, but the same fervid wish to do well lent it new obligations. From these feelings proceeded all the graceful refinements, all the romance of chivalry; knighthood itself became a pledge for virtue; and as into the proud and lofty imagination of a true cavalier nothing base could enter, he did not hesitate to confide in the word of his brother of chivalry, on his pledging his honour to the performance of any particular action. There was no legal or other positive punishment consequent on the violation of his word; and, therefore, the matter being left to imagination and feeling, the contempt of his fellow-knights could be the only result of recreancy. The knight looked to fame as one of the guerdons of his toils: this value of the opinions of others taught him to dread shame and disgrace; and thus that fine sense of morality, that voluntary submission to its maxims which we call honour, became a part of knighthood.

The genius of chivalry was personal, inasmuch as each knight, when not following the banner of his sovereign, was in himself an independent being, acting from his own sense of virtue, and not deriving counsel from, or sharing opprobrium with, others. This independence of action exalted his character; and, nourished by that pride and energy of soul which belong to man in an early state of society, all the higher and sterner qualities of the mind, — dignity, uncom-

promising fidelity to obligations, self-denial, and generousness, both of sentiment and conduct, — became the virtues of chivalry.

All the religious devotion of a cavalier to woman existed in his mind, independently of, or superadded to, his oath of knighthood. She was not merely the object of his protection, but of his respect and idolatry. His love was the noble homage of strength to beauty. Something supernaturally powerful had been ascribed to her by the fathers of modern Europe; and this appeal to the imagination was not lost. In some ages and countries it reigned in all its religious force; in others it was refined into gentleness and courtesy: but every where, and at every time, the firmest confidence in woman's truth accompanied it, or supplied its stead; and the opinion of her virtue, which this feeling implied, had a corresponding influence on his own manners.

The triumph of chivalry over all preceding systems of opinions was complete, when imagination refined the fierceness of passion into generous and gentle affection, — a refinement so perfect and beautiful, that subsequent times, with all their vaunted improvements in letters and civilization, are obliged to revert their eyes to the by-gone days of the shield and the lance for the most pleasing and graceful pictures of lady-love.

From these elements, and by means of these principles, sprang the fair and goodly system of chivalry, which extended itself, as we have seen, over most of the states of Europe, blending with the strongest passions and dearest affections of the heart, influencing the manners of private life, and often determining the character of political events. In England and France its power was most marked and decided; in Spain it was curiously blended with Oriental feelings; Germany was not much softened by its impressions; and in Italy the bitterness of private war admitted but few of its graces. It is difficult to define the precise period of its duration, for it rose in the mists and gloom of barbarism; and the moment of its setting was not regarded, for other lights were then playing on the moral horizon, and fixing the attention of the world. In the part, entirely historical, of the present work, the reader must have remarked, that sometimes the decay of chivalry was gradual, and not apparently occasioned by external means; while in other countries its extinction was manifestly hastened by causes which sprang not from any seeds of weakness in itself. But, viewing the subject in its great and leading bearings, it may be observed, that chivalry was co-eval with the middle ages of Europe, and that its power ceased when new systems of warfare were matured, when the revival of letters was complete and general, and the reformation of religion gave a new subject for the passions and imagination.

This attempt to describe a history of chivalry has proved, at least, that chivalry was no dream of poets and romancers, and that the feudal system was not the only form of real life during the middle ages. Sismondi, in his work on the Literature of the South, contends that chivalry was an ideal world. He then admits, that sometimes the virtues of chivalry were not entirely poetical fictions, but that they existed in the minds of the people, without, however, producing any effect on their lives. His reasons for his opinions are, that it is impossible to distinguish the countries where chivalry prevailed; that it is represented to us as remote both in time and place; and while one class of authors give accounts of the general corruption of their age, writers of after times refer to those very days, and adorn them with every virtue and grace.

Now, much of this reasoning is erroneous. That past ages should be praised at the expense of the present is no uncommon a circumstance, whether in morals or poetry. We have proved that the countries where chivalry prevailed are clearly distinguishable, and the degree of its influence can likewise be marked. M. Sismondi does not argue if he had been aware that there ever had existed such a writer as Froissart; who does not refer to old times for his pictures of arms and amours, but describes the chivalric character of his own age.

Notwithstanding the light and beauty which chivalry cast over the world, the system has been more frequently con-

demned than praised. The objectors have rested their opinion on a sentence, said to be witty, of an old English author, that errant knights were arrant knaves, or on a few passages of reprehension which are scattered through the works of middle-age literature. Sainte Palaye has founded his condemnation of chivalry upon the remark of Pierre de Blois, a writer of the twelfth century, that the horses of knights groan under the burden, not of weapons, but of wine; not with lances, but cheeses; not with swords, but with bottles; not with spears, but with spits.* Not many years afterwards, John of Salisbury also says, that some knights appear to think that martial glory consists in shining in elegant dress, and attaching their silken garments so tightly to their body, that they may seem part of their flesh. When they ride on their ambling palfreys they think themselves so many Apollos. If they should unite for a martial chevisance, their camp will resemble that of Thais, rather than that of Hannibal. Every one is most courageous in the banqueting hall, but in the battle he desires to be last. They would rather shoot their arrows at an enemy than meet him hand to hand. If they return home unwounded, they sing triumphantly of their battles, and declare that a thousand deaths hovered over them. The first places at supper are awarded to them. Their feasts are splendid, and engrossed by self-indulgence; they avoid labour and exercise like a dog or a snake. All the dangers and difficulties of chivalry they resign to those who serve them, and in the mean time they so richly gild their shields, and adorn their camps, that every one of them looks not a scholar but a chieftain of war.†

All this splenetic declamation involves charges of coxcombry, luxury, and cowardice. That knights were often guilty of the first offence is probable enough, for all their minute attention to the form and fashion of armour could not but attach their minds too strongly to the effect of their personal appearance. Graced also with the scarf of his sove reign mistress, the knight well might caracole his gallant steed with an air of self-complacency: but a censure on such matters comes with little propriety from monks, who, according to Chaucer, were wont to tie their hoods under their chin with a true lover's knot.

The personal indulgence of the knights was not the luxury of the cloister, — idle, gross, and selfish, — but it was the high and rich joviality of gay and ardent souls. They were boon or good companions in the hall, as well as in the battle field. If their potations were deep, they surely were not dull; for the wine-cup was crowned and quaffed to the honour of beauty; and minstrelsy, with its sweetest melodies, threw an air of sentiment over the scene. How long their repasts lasted history has not related: but we have seen, in the life of that great and mighty English knight, Sir Walter Manny, that when the trumpet sounded to horse, cavaliers overthrew, in gay disorder, every festival-appliance, in their impatience to don their harness, and mount their war-steeds; and we also saw that a cup of rich Gascon wine softened the pride and anger of Sir John Chandos, and, awakening in him the feelings of chivalric generosity, impelled him to succour the Earl of Pembroke. In sooth, at the festivals of cavaliers all the noble feelings of chivalry were displayed. In those hours of dilatation of the heart, no appeal was made in vain to the principles of knighthood.

Even so late as the year 1462, when the sun of chivalry was nearly set, at a high festival which the Duke of Burgundy gave, at Brussels, to the lords and ladies of the country, two heralds entered the hall, introducing a stranger, who declared that he brought with him letters of credence from the noble lady his mistress. The letters were then delivered by him to the officer of the Duke, who read them aloud. Their purport was, that the lady complained of a certain powerful neighbour, who had threatened to dispossess her of her lands, unless she could find some knight that, within a year, would successfully defend her against him in single combat. The stranger then demanded a boon of the

* Non ferro sed vino; non lanceis sed caseis; non ensibus sed utribus; non hastibus sed verubus onerantur.

† Polycraticus, p. 181.

Duke ; and his grace, like a true son of chivalry, accorded it, without previously requiring its nature. The request was, that he should procure for the lady three knights, to be immediately trained to arms ; that out of these three the lady should be permitted to choose her champion. Then, and not before, she would disclose her name. As soon as the stranger concluded, a burst of joyful approval rang through the hall. Three knights (and the famous Bastard of Burgundy was of the number) immediately declared themselves candidates for the honour of defending the unknown fair. Their prowess was acknowledged by all the cavaliers present, and they affixed their seals to the articles.*

Except the knights were actually engaged in foreign countries, or martial chevisance, all the festivals, particularly those which succeeded the graceful pastime of the tournament, were frequented by dames and damsels, whose presence calling on the knights to discharge the offices of high courtesy, chased away the God of wine. The games of chess and tables, or the dance, succeeded; while the worthy monks, Pierre of Blois, and John of Salisbury, having no such rich delights in their refectory, were compelled to continue their carousals.

How gay and imaginative were the scenes of life when chivalry threw over them her magic robe ! At a ball in Naples, Signor Galeazzo of Mantua was honoured with the hand of the Queen Joanna. The dance being concluded, and the Queen reseated on her throne, the gallant knight knelt before her, and, confessing his inability with language adequately to thank her for the honour she had done him, he vowed that he would wander through the world, and perform chivalric duties, till he had conquered two cavaliers, whom he would conduct into her presence, and leave at her disposal. The Queen was pleased and flattered by this mark of homage, and assured him that she wished him joy in accomplishing a vow which was so agreeable to the customs of knighthood. The knight travelled, and the knight conquered; and, at the end of a year, he presented to the Queen two cavaliers. The Queen received them ; but, instead of exercising the power of a conqueror, she graciously gave them their liberty, recommending them, before their departure, to view the curiosities of the rich city of Naples. They did so ; and when they appeared before the Queen to thank her for her kindness, she made them many noble presents, and they then departed, seeking adventures, and publishing the munificence and courtesy of Joanna.*

But the charge of cowardice which the monks brought against the knights is the most vain and foolish of all their accusations, and throws a strong shade of contempt and suspicion on the rest. If they had said that chivalric daring often ran wild into rashness, we could readily enough credit the possibility of the fact; but nothing could be more absurd than to charge with cowardice men who, from the dauntlessness of their minds, and the hardy firmness of their bodies, had been invested with the military belt.

The reason of all this vituperative declamation against chivalry may be gathered from a very curious passage in a writer during the reign of Stephen. " The bishops, the bishops themselves, I blush to affirm it, yet not all, but many, (and he particularises the bishops of Winchester, Lincoln, and Chester,) bound in iron, and completely furnished with arms, were accustomed to mount war-horses with the perverters of their country, to participate in their prey; to expose to bonds and torture the knights whom they took in the chance of war, or whom they met full of money ; and while they themselves were the head and cause of so much wickedness and enormity, they ascribed it to their knights."† Hence, then, it appears that many of the bishops were robbers, and that they charged their own offences on the head of the chivalry. The remark of the writer on the cruelty of the

* Lansdowne Manuscripts, British Museum, No. 285. Article 41. The manuscript breaks off here; but the result of the joust is of no importance to my argument.

* Brantome, Œuvres, les Vies des Dames illustres, vol. i., p. 410, &c. Brantome relates the story on the authority of an old Italian book on Duels, written by one Paris de Puteo.

† Gesta Stephan, p. 962, cited in Turner's England, vol. i., p. 461, 8vo.

bishops to their prisoners is extremely curious, considering it in opposition to the general demeanour of knights to those whom the fortune of war threw into their hand. But these wars and jealousies between the knighthood and the priesthood, while they account for all the accusations which one class were perpetually making against the other, compel us to despise their mutual criminations.

Nothing more, perhaps, need be said to deface the pictures of the knightly character as drawn by Pierre de Blois and John of Salisbury; and they should not have met with so much attention from me if they had not always formed the van of every attack upon chivalry. But there is one passage in Dr. Henry's History of England so closely applicable to the present part of my subject, that I cannot forbear from inserting it. "It would not be safe," observes that judicious historian, "to form our notions of the national character of the people of England from the pictures which are drawn of it by some of the monkish historians. The monk of Malmsbury, in particular, who wrote the life of Edward II., paints his countrymen and contemporaries in the blackest colours. 'What advantage,' says he, 'do we reap from all our modern pride and insolence? In our days the lowest, poorest wretch, who is not worth a halfpenny, despises his superiors, and is not afraid to return them curse for curse. But this, you say, is owing to their rusticity. Let us see, then, the behaviour of those who think themselves polite and learned. Where do you meet with more abuse and insolence than at court? There, every one, swelling with pride and rancour, scorns to cast a look on his inferiors, disdains his equals, and proudly rivals his superiors. The squire endeavours to outshine the knight, the knight the baron, the baron the earl, the earl the king, in dress and magnificence. Their estates being insufficient to support this extravagance, they have recourse to the most oppressive acts, plundering their neighbours and stripping their dependents almost naked, without sparing even the priests of God. I may be censured for my too great boldness, if I give an ill character of my own countrymen and kindred; but if I may be permitted to speak the truth, the English exceed all other nations in three vices of pride, perjury, and dishonesty. You will find great numbers of this nation in all the countries washed by the Greek sea; and it is commonly reported that they are infamous over all these countries for their deceitful callings.' But we must remember, (as Dr. Henry comments on this passage,) that this picture was drawn by a *peevish monk*, in very unhappy times, when faction raged with the greatest fury, both in the court and country."

It would not alter the nature of chivalry, or detract any thing from its merits, if many instances were to be adduced of the recreancy of knights, of their want of liberality, courtesy, or any other chivalric qualities; for nothing is more unjust than to condemn any system for actions which are hostile to its very spirit and principles. One fair way of judging it, is to examine its natural tendencies. A character of mildness must have been formed wherever the principles of chivalry were acknowledged. A great object of the order was protection; and therefore a kind and gentle regard to the afflictions and misfortunes of others tempered the fierceness of the warrior. In many points chivalry was only a copy of the Christian religion; and as that religion is divine, and admirably adapted to improve and perfect our moral nature, so the same merit cannot in fairness be denied to any of its forms and modifications. Chivalry embraced much of the beautiful morality of Christianity—its spirit of kindness and gentleness; and men were called upon to practise the laws of mercy and humanity by all the ties which can bind the heart and conscience; by the sanctions of religion, the love of fame, by a powerful and lofty sense of honour. On the other hand, the Christianity of the time was not the pure light of the Gospel, for it breathed war and homicide: and hence the page of history, faithful to its trust, has sometimes painted the knights amidst the gloomy horrors of the crusades, ruthlessly trampling on the enemies of the cross, and at other times generously sparing their prostrate

Christian foes, and gaily caracoling about the lists of the tournament.

But these are not the only means of showing the general beneficial nature of the institutions of chivalry. The character of modern Europe is the result of the slow and silent growth of ages informed with various and opposite elements. The impress of the Romans is not entirely effaced; and two thousand years have not destroyed all the superstitions of our Pagan ancestors. We must refer to past ages for the origin of many of those features of modern society which distinguish the character of Europe from that of the ancient world, and of the most polished states of Asia. We boast our generousness in battle, the bold display of our animosity, and our hatred of treachery and the secret meditations of revenge. To what cause can these qualities be assigned? Not to any opinions which for the last few hundred years have been infused into our character, for there is no resemblance between those qualities and any such opinions; but they can be traced back to those days of ancient Europe when the knight was quick to strike, and generous to forgive; and when he would present harness and arms to his foe rather than that the battle should be unfairly and unequally fought. This spirit, though not the form, of the chivalric times has survived to ours, and forms one of our graces and distinctions. The middle ages, as we have shown, were not entirely ages of feudal power; for the consequence of the personal nobility of chivalry was felt and acknowledged. The qualities of knighthood tempered and softened all classes of society, and worth was the passport to distinction. Thus chivalry effected more than letters could accomplish in the ancient world; for it gave rise to the personal merit which in the knight, and in his successor, the gentleman of the present day, checks the pride of birth and the presumption of wealth.

But it is in the polish of modern society that the graces of chivalry are most pleasingly displayed. The knight was charmed into courtesy by the gentle influence of woman, and the air of mildness which she diffused has never died away. While such things exist, can we altogether assent to the opinion of a celebrated author, that "the age of chivalry is gone?" Many of its forms and modes have disappeared; fixed governments and wise laws have removed the necessity for, and quenched the spirit of, knight-errantry and romance; and, happily for the world, the torch of religious persecution has long since sunk into the ashes. But chivalric imagination still waves its magic wand over us. We love to link our names with the heroic times of Europe; and our armorial shields and crests confess the pleasing illusions of chivalry. The modern orders of military merit (palpable copies of some of the forms of middle-age distinctions) constitute the cheap defence of nations, and keep alive the personal nobility of knighthood. We wage our wars not with the cruelty of Romans, but with the gallantry of cavaliers; for the same principle is in influence now which of old inspired courage while it mitigated ferocity. Courtesy of manners, that elegant drapery of chivalry, still robes our social life; and liberality of sentiment distinguishes the gentleman, as in days of yore it was wont to distinguish the knight.

INDEX.

Accolade, meaning of the, 28, note.
Adelais, tale of her imprisonment, rescue by an adventurous knight, and subsequent marriage, 228.
Albigenses, romance of, 27, note.
Alcantara, order of, its principles, and its comparative rank with other Spanish orders, 116.
Alfonso, story of his chivalric bearing, 209.
Allegories, fantastic, made on knights and their armour, 44, 45.
Amys and *Amylion*, romance of, 48.
Angle-Saxons, state of chivalry among, 14, 15, 16, 124.
Antharis, a Lombard king, story of his romantic gallantry, 228.
Arabian horses, their repute in chivalric times, 45.
Arabic, Spanish historians, account of, 204, note.
Archers, excellence of English, 136. Fine passages from Halidon Hill expressive of, 136, note. An English archer in the days of Edward III., 136. Importance of, at battles of Cressy and Poictiers, 136.
Argonautes, order of, purpose of its institution, 117.
Aristotle, lay of, 75.
Armorial bearings, historical and philosophical sketch of the principles of, 38, 39.
Armour, beauty of ancient, 32. Value of inquiries into the minutiæ of, 40. Uncertainty of the subject, 41. Its general features, 42, &c. Golden armour, 43.
Array, general nature of chivalric, 47.
Arthur, his knightly honour, 51, note. Discovery of his remains at Glastonbury, account of, 122. His court the school of chivalric virtue, 122. His generosity to his knights, 123, note. See *Round Table*.
Athenæus, his singular testimony to a state of chivalry, 14.
Auberoch, beleagured by the French, and chivalrously relieved by the English, 141.
Audley, Sir James, interesting story of his heroic achievements and of his generosity, 145.
Axe, the battle, 32. Description of King Richard's, 33, note.

Bachelor, various meanings of the word, 18, 26.
Bacinet, 39.
Baked meats, fondness of people for them in the olden time, 68, and note.
Ball, the, after a tournament, 95.
Band, Spanish order of the, objects of the order, 120. Interesting, as descriptive of the state of Spanish manners, 120. Its fine chivalry to woman, 120.
Banneret, qualification of a knight, 17. His privileges, 18. See *Chondos*.
Bannockburn, battle of, 132.
Barriers, description of, 49, note. Singular battles at the, 49, 50.
Bath, order of, ceremonies used at the ancient creation of knights of, 176, 159, &c. Modern ceremonies, 119. Absurdity of our heralds' dogmatic positiveness regarding the æra of the order's foundation, 159, note.
Batre, Claude de, a French knight. His joust with Maximilian of Germany, 226.
Bauldrick, description of the, 34.
Bayard, the chivalric, his early years, 196. Enters the service of the kings of France, 197. His valiancy, 197. His humanity, 197. His gallantry, 197. Holds a tournament in honour of the ladies, 198. His death, 198.
Beauty, knights fought to assert the superiority of their mistress' beauty, 73. The practice apparently absurd, but reason why it should not be too severely censured, 194.
Black Prince, his conduct at Limoges, 51. His courtesy, 135, 137. His liberality, 145. His deportment to Peter the Cruel, 187. Not a favourite with the nobility in the English possessions in France, 189. His cruelty to Du Guesclin, 189.
Blois, Charles of, his contention with Jane de Mountfort for the duchy of Brittany, 82.
Blue, the colour of constancy in days of chivalry, 92, note. *See Stocking*.
Bonaparte, his generousness to a descendant of Du Guesclin, 192.
Bonnelance, Sir John, his remarkable courtesy to the ladies, 70.
Boucmell, John, his joust with an English squire, 99.
Bourbon, a singular mode by which a Duke of, gained a fortress, 30.
Bourbon, order of, account of, 121.
Boucicant, Marshal, his outrageous reverence for women, 77, note. His joust at St. Ingelbertes, near Calais, 101, &c.
Bovines, importance of squires at the battle of, 27.
Break-acrese, to, meaning of the phrase, 93, note.

Britomart, the perfection of chivalric heroines, 86.
Brittany, revered for its chivalric fame, 183.
Bruce, Robert, his chivalric humanity, 152.
Burgundy, Bastard of, his joust with Lord Scales, 104. His skill in other jousts, 196.
Burgundy, court of, splendour of its tournaments, 195. The most chivalric country in Europe during middle of fifteenth century, 196. Chivalric circumstance at the court of, 236.

Calais, stories regarding, 137-138.
Calatrava, order of, its origin and history, 115.
Calaynos, the Moor, praised by the Spaniards, 202.
Carliele, Sir Anthony Harclay, Earl of, ceremonies of his degradation from knighthood, 31, 32.
Carpet-knights, meaning of the term, 178.
Carpio, Bernardo del, account of, 205.
Cavalry, the principal arm of military power during the middle ages, 13.
Caxton, his lamentation over the decline of chivalry, 162. His exaggeration of the evil, 162.
Celts, humility of Celtic youths, 15.
Cervantes, curious error made by, 19. Censures the chivalric custom of making vows, 51, note. Satirises chivalric contempt of bodily pain, 120, note. Ridicules the vigil of arms, 27, note; and the pride of knights, 127, note. Accuracy of his pictures, 221.
Cesena, noble defence of, by Marzia degl' Ubaldini, 85.
Chandos, Sir John, story with the Earl of Oxenford, 24. History of his heroism, 146. Gallantry, 146. Tenacious of his armorial bearings, 146. Exploits at Auray, 147. Tries to dissuade the Black Prince from the Spanish war, 147. Ceremonies on his becoming a knight-banneret, 147. His remarkable generousness, 147. His death before the bridge of Lusac, 150, &c. General grief thereat, 151.
Character, bluntness of the old English, shown at the creation of knights of the Bath, 181.
Charity, a great chivalric virtue, instance of, 59.
Charter-house, the, founded by Sir Walter Manny, 144, and 145, note.
Charlemagne, state of chivalry, in his time, 16. His expedition into Spain, 72.
Chargny, Lord of, a famous jouster, 221. His passage of arms near Dijon, 108.
Cherbury, Edward Herbert, Lord of, memoir of him, 173. Chivalric fame of his family, 173. His vanity 174-175. Made a knight of the Bath, 174. His curious adventures in France, 175. The disgusting vanity of his infidelity, 175. His general character, 176. His inferiority to the heroes of the reign of Edward III., 176.
Chess, the high favour of this game in days of chivalry, 60. A story of a knight's love of chess, 61.
Chivalry, general oath of, 27. Form used in Scotland, 153. Exhortations to perform chivalric obligations, 27, 28. Beauty of chivalric costume, 32. First ages of, interesting to the reason, but not pleasing to the fancy, 13. Difference between the feudal and moral chivalry, 13. Origin of, 14. Nature of, 13. Modified by Christianity, 16, 17. Early ceremonies of inauguration, 16. Personal nobility of, not to be confounded with feudal territorial nobility, 17. Morals of chivalric times unjustly censured, 79. Real state of them, 79, &c. Peculiar fineness of chivalric feeling, 93, note. Declined in France before the common use of gunpowder, 196. Recapitulation of the circumstances which gave birth to, 233. Its general nature, 234. Exact time of its influence difficult to mark, 235. Its merits, 234. Its effects, 239. Application of chivalric honours to men in civil stations, 178. Connected with feudalism, 125. A compulsory honour in England, 125.
Christianity, its improvements on Gothic chivalry, 16.
Cid, the, his birth, 205. His early ferocious heroism, 205. His singular marriage, 205. Enters the service of King Ferdinand, 206. His chivalric gallantry, 206. Ceremony of his being knighted, 207. Death of the King, 207. Becomes the knight of Sancho, King of Castile, and his campeador, 207. Mixture of evil, and good in his character, 208. Supports the King in his injustice, 208. His romantic heroism, 208. His virtuous boldness, 208. His second marriage, 210. Is banished from the court of Alfonso, the brother of Sancho, 210; but recalled, 210. Is banished again, 210. Story of his unchivalric meanness, 211. His history in exile, 210. His nobleness and generosity, 213. Is recalled, 214. Captures Toledo, 215, and Valentia, 215. Unjust conduct to the Moors, 216. Marriage of his daughters, 217. His death, 217, and character, 217.
Claremont, the Lord of, his dispute with Sir John Chandos regarding armorial cognisances, 146.
Clary, the Lord of, singular story of the censure on him by the court of France for want of courtesy to Sir Peter Courtenay, 58-59.
Clergy, the weapons they used in battle, 32. A gallant fighting priest promoted to an archdeaconry, 156. Often turned knights, 115.
Clermont, council of, sanction chivalry, 16.
Clifford, Nicholas, his joust with John Boucmell, 98.
Cloth of gold, chivalric circumstances, at the field of, 165.
Cochetel, battle of, 185.
Cognisances, 38.
Coliseum, Moorish and chivalric sports in, 230. Inferiority of the old Roman games in, to those of chivalry, 88.
Colombe, Ernalton of Sainte, bravery of him and his esquire, 26.
Companions in arms, nature of such a union, 47-48.
Conde, D. José Antonio, value of his researches into Arabic Spanish historians, 204, note.
Constancy, a greater virtue in chivalric times

than in the present day, 72. Spenser's exhortation to, 73.
Constantine, fabulous order of, 122.
Conversation of knights, its subjects, 64.
Courage of the knight, 49-51.
Courtenay, Sir Peter, his adventures in France, 58, &c.
Courtesy, a knightly virtue, 59. Courtesy of a dragon, 60, note. At tournaments, 90.
Cousines, dame des belle, her reproof of a young page for his not being in love, 22.
Crawford, Sir David de Lindsay, Earl of, his joust with Lord Wells, 97.
Cross, every military order had its, 118. Wretched taste in concealing the cross of the order of the Bath by a star, 118.
Cyclas, 37.
Cyneheard, his story, 14.

Dagger of mercy, description of it, 39. Story of its use, 40.
Dambreticourt, Lord Eustace, his chivalry inspired by the lady Isabella, 72. His valour at the battle of Poictiers, 145.
Dames and *Damsels*. See *Lady*.
Degradation, ceremonies of, 30.
Derby, Earl of, the sort of death he desired, 55.
Devices, what they were, 36. Worn in tournaments, 91-92.
Discipline, chivalric array not inconsistent with feudal discipline, 54.
Douglas, story of the perilous castle of, 72. Generousness of the good Lord James of, 72, 130. His character, 130, note. The Douglas of the fourteenth century, 152. Wins the pennon of Hotspur, 155. His heroism and noble death, 156. Archibald, at Shrewsbury, 156.
Dress of ladies in chivalric times, 67. Importance of modesty of, 67.
Dub, meaning of the word, 28, note.
Dynadan, Sir, a merry knight of the Round Table, his pretended dislike of women, 69, note.

Edward I., his chivalric character, 128. A chivalric anecdote of, 54.
Edward II., state of chivalry in his reign, 130, 132.
Edward III., state of armour in his time, 41, 42. Chivalry in his reign, 132, &c.
Eliosa, the Lady, a heroine of chivalry, 80.
England, antiquity of the sarcasm of its not being the country of original invention, 146, note. The melancholy of its mirth curiously noticed, 146.
Errantry, facts relating to the knight-errantry of the middle ages, 53, 55. English knights-errant, 78. General facts and usages, 78, &c.

Falconry. See *Hawking*.
Falcons, placed on perches above knights at chivalric entertainments, 94.
Father in chivalry, the respect which a knight bore to the cavalier that knighted him, 29.
Festivals, description of chivalric, 64, 123. At tournaments, 94.
Fidelity to obligations, a great virtue in knights, 57.
Flodden, chivalric circumstances at battle of, 168.
Flowers, Romance of, remarks on, 104, note.
Forget-me-not, romance story of this flower: joust concerning it, 104.
France, state of, after the death of Du Guesclin, 192. Chivalry in baronial castles, 182. Knighthood given to improper persons, 195. Extinction of chivalry in, 200. Ridiculous imitation of chivalry by the profligate soldiers of a profligate king, 200.
Francis I., his chivalric qualities, 198. Circumstances which disgraced his chivalry, 199. Knighted by Bayard, 199.
Fraternity, origin and history of the spirit of, 14. Encouraged by the institutions of Arthur, 123.
Froissart, character of his history, *Preface*.
Frojuz, Don Rodrigo, a Spanish knight, chivalric mode of his death, 34.
Furs, fondness of people in the middle ages for them, 27, 38, notes.

Gallantry, its origin, 15. Absurdity of antiquarians respecting, 64, note.
Garter, order of the, objects of, 118. Its resemblance to a religious order, 119. Reasons of its being established, 118, 133. Commonly ascribed origin a vulgar fable, 134. Meaning of the motto 134. The collar, 134.
Gawain, Sir, a knight of Arthur's Round Table, character of, 123.
Generousness of Knights, high estimation of this quality, 57. Instances, 58, 59.
Gennet, order of the, 122.
George, Saint, the person that was understood by this name, 134.
Germans, superior virtue of German women owned by Tacitus, 15. Instances of this virtue, 15. Political chivalry had no influence in Germany, 222. German knights quailed before undisciplined troops, 223. When and where tournaments were held, 89. Heraldic pride of the, 89, note. Singular matter regarding the, 89, note. Inferiority of, to Italian condottieri, 101. Intolerance and cruelty of German knights, 101. Their education, 102. Cruelty to their squires, 102. Their avarice, 103. Little influence of German chivalry, 103. Singular exception, 103. Destruction of chivalry, 105.
Gonfanon, what it was, 32.
Gonsalez, Count Fernan de, a fabulous hero of Spanish chivalry, 205.
Gordon, Adam, his chivalry, 29.
Graville, Sir William, loses a fortress out of his love for chess-playing, 61.
Green-field, knights of the Fair Lady in the, story of their chevisance, 77.
Gueldres, Duke of, story of his regard for knightly honour, 53.
Guesclin, Bertrand du, his birth, 184. Became a cavalier in opposition to paternal wishes, 184. His knightly conduct at Rennes, 184. Amusing interview with the Duke of Lancaster, 184. His gallant bearing at Cochetel,

and the consequent recovery of the fame of the French arms, 185. Taken prisoner at Aurai, 185. Redeemed, 186. His chivalry in Spain, 186, &c. Taken prisoner again, 188. Treated with cruelty by the Black Prince, 189. Ransomed, 189. Made Constable of France, 190. Recovers the power of the French monarchy, 190. His companionship in arms with Olivier de Clisson, 190. His death before Randan, 191. Character, 192.

Harald, the valiant, account of, 15.
Hawking, a knowledge of, a necessary part of a knight's education, 21. A great chivalric amusement, 60.
Hawkwood, Sir John, story of his origin, and allusions to his battles, 20.
Helmets, 38. Various sorts of, 39.
Hennebon, noble defence of, by the Countess of Mountfort, 83-84.
Henry I. and II., state of chivalry in their respective reigns, 126, 127.
Henry II., of France, killed in a tournament, account of the circumstances, 199, and note.
Henry, Prince, son of James I., his love of chivalric exercises, 173.
Henry IV., chivalric parley between him and the Duke of Orleans, 157. His unchivalric deportment at Shrewsbury, 158.
Henry V., his love of chivalry, 157, 161. His chivalric modesty, 161.
Henry VIII., account of his tournaments, 161, &c.
Heroines, nature of female heroism in the days of chivalry, and stories of, 80, &c.
Hita, Genez Perez de, nature of his volume on the fall of Grenada, 218, note.
Homildon Hill, interesting knightly story regarding battle at, 29.
Honour, curious story of knightly, 53. The knights' pursuit of, 55. See, too, 93, note.
Horn, King, romance of, 21.
Horse of the knight, 45. What horses were preferred, 45. The famous horse of the Cid, 45, 218. Armour of the horse, 46. Always very splendidly adorned, 46.
Horsemanship, care with which knights were trained to, 26.
Hotspur fights with the Douglas, 155. His gallant deportment at Otterbourne, 155. And at Shrewsbury, 158.
Humanities of chivalric war, 50, 52.
Humanity, a knightly virtue, 59.
Hunting, young squires instructed in the art of, 21. A part of the amusements of chivalry, 60.
Huntingdon, Sir John Holland, Earl of, his skill in jousting, 102.

Inauguration, ceremony of, into knighthood, when and where performed, 27. Its circumstances, 27-28.
Inglebertes, Saint, joust at, 101-105.
Ipomydon, romance of, 21.
Isabella, the Lady, a heroine of chivalry, 81.
Italian armour, excellence of, 43, 222, note, 230.
Italy, but little martial chivalry in, 229. Chivalric education, 228. Changes of the military art in, 229. Chivalry in the north of, 230. Esteem in which the word of knighthood was held, 230. Chivalry in the south of, 231. Mode of creating knights in, 231. Religious and military orders in, 232. Political use of knighthood, 232. Folly of an Italian mob regarding knighthood, 232. School of Italian Generals, 229. Chivalric sports in, 232.
Ivanhoe, errors of the author of, regarding Anglo-Saxon and Norman chivalry, 124, note: and concerning the Knights Templars, 126, note; and also concerning the nature and names of chivalric sports, 108.

James, Saint, his popularity in Spain, 113, note; 197. Order of, 113.
James II., of Arragon, gallantry of one of his decrees, 221.
James IV., of Scotland, chivalric and romantic circumstances of his life, 167-169.
Jealousy, no part of chivalric love, 73.
Joanna of Naples, a chivalric anecdote regarding, 237.
Joust, nature of the, to the utterance, 97. For love of ladies, 97. Various à l'outrance, 97-98. A plaisance, 99, &c. Romance of, 107, 196. Use of jousts, 109.

Knights, their privileges, 18. Expensive equipment of, necessary to the dignity, 17. Preparations for knighthood, 27. His war-cry and escutcheon, 18. Qualifications, 18. Gentle birth not regarded when valour conspicuous, 19. By whom created, 19. (*For his education*, see *Squire and Page.*) Often turned priests, 17. Associations of, in defence of the ladies, 77-78. Stipendiary knights in England, 125. No resemblance between, and the equites of Rome, 17. Made in the battle-field, and in mines, 29-30. Knights of honour, description of, 90. English wore golden collars, 134. Anxiety to receive the order from great characters, 17, and 18, note. No knights made on compulsion, after the days of Charles I., 179. Degradation of, in the reign of James I., 179.
Knot, order of the, 117.
Knowles, Sir Robert, remarkable story of the heroism of one of his knights, 50.

Lady in chivalry, character of, 68, 87. Her courtesy, 87. Education, 66. Amusements, 68. Deportment, 66. What ladies could create knights, 86. Singular blending of the heroic and the tender feelings in her character, 86. Not made prisoner in war, 78. Judge in the tournament, 92, 94. Her favours worn by her knights, 92, and note.
Lahire, the singular prayer of this knight, 56.
Lance, the chief weapon of the knight, 32. The staff made from the ash-tree, 33.
Langurant, Lord of, bravery of, and of his squire, 26, and note. Another story, 40.
Largess distributed at ceremonial of inauguration, 29. At tournaments, 95.

Launcelot, generous modesty of this knight, 59. Singular proof of his high reputation, 28, note. Beautiful lamentation over his dead body, 123.
Lee, Sir Henry, his gallantry, 171.
Legnano, battle of, 223.
Liberality, a great virtue in chivalry, 59.
Liegois, their battle with the French chivalry, 193.
Lists, description of the, 90.
London, citizens of, their taste for chivalric amusements, 135.
Lords, House of, errors of its committees, 17, note.
Lorrys, Sir Launcelot de, a gallant knight, killed in a joust for love of his lady, 97.
Love, peculiarities of chivalric, 74, 75, 77, 69, &c. Perfection and purity of chivalric, 101. Quick-sightedness of country matrons regarding signs of, 228.
Louis, Saint, his barbarous intolerance, 56.
Loyes, Sir, of Spain, his cruelty, 57.

Mail-armour, various descriptions of, 35, 36. Mail and plate, 37. Mail worn in all ages of chivalry, 37.
Manny, Sir Walter, succours the Countess of Mountfort, 84. His bravery at Calais, 137. An amorous knight, 140. His kindness to two brother-knights, 141. His joyous adventurousness, 141. Other fears, 141, &c. His filial piety, 22. Gentleness of his disposition, 143. His rank in England, 144. His sageness, 144. His liberality, 144. Founds the Charter-house, 144.
March, Countess of, story of her chivalric heroism in defending the castle of Dunbar, 81.
Marche, Thomas de la, his duel with John de Visconti, 189.
Martel, nature of that weapon, 32.
Marzia degl' Ubaldini, story of her heroic deportment at Cesena, 85.
Maule, its qualities, 32. Not a perfectly chivalric weapon, 34.
Maximilian the only Emperor of Germany of a chivalrous character, 221. His joust with a French knight, 221.
Medicine, knowledge of, possessed by dames and damsels, 67. Faith of knights in medicines administered by women, 67.
Medici, Lorenzo de, won a prize at a tournament, 90.
Men-at-arms, manner of their fighting, and description of their armour, 44.
Mercenaries, their use in the French army, 194.
Mercy, order of our Lady of, reason of the establishing of the, 116.
Merlo, Sir John, a Spanish knight, account of his jousting in Burgundy, 221-222.
Meyrick, Dr., character of his critical inquiry into ancient armour, 36, note; 42, note; 46, note.
Michael of the Wing, purposes of the establishing of this order, 117.
Milan, Sir Galeas, Duke of, his courtesy to the Earl of Derby, 230.
Milanese armour, excellence of. See *Italian* armour.
Missals, the merits of, decided by battle, 218.
Minstrels, description of them and their art in connection with chivalry, 61, &c. Their chivalric importance in Italy, 229.
Molai, Jacques de, appoints a successor to his authority over the Templars, 113.
Montferrand, Regnaud de, the romantic excess of his love for chivalric honours, 30.
Montglaive, Guerin de, 22.
Montpensier, Henry de Bourbon, his death in a tournament, 200.
Mountfort, Jane de, tale of her heroism, 82.
Music, ladies in chivalry were taught, 66.

Naples, chivalry at, 231. Ceremonies of chivalric inauguration in, 231.
Navaret, battle of, 188.
Nobility, education of English, in the sixteenth century, 166.
Normans, nature of their chivalry, 124. Plant chivalry in Italy, 231.

Oak, in Navarre, order of, 122.
Obedience, dignity of, 14.
Olympic games, their inferiority to the games of chivalry, 88.
Orbigo, account of a singular passage of arms at, 218-220.
Orders, the religious, their general principles, 109. Qualifications for them, 110. Use of the religious, 111. Military orders, 111. Dormant orders, 120. Singular titles of, 121.
Ordonnance, companies of, established by Charles VII., their unchivalric nature, 194.
Orleans, Duke of, his satire on the heaviness of English armour, 39.
Orris, Michael de, the romantic and chivalrous nature of his love, 107.
Ostrich feathers, whether originally a crest or a device of the Black Prince, 42, &c.
Otterbourne, description of that chivalric battle, 155.
Oxenford, Earl of, amusing story of his absurd pride, 24.
Oxford, Edward Vere, Earl of, his coxcombry and romantic gallantry, 176.

Page, the first gradation in chivalry, 21. At what age a boy became one, 21. His duties, 22. Personal service, 22. Taught love, religion, and war, 22. His martial exercises, 23. (See *Saintré*.) Combats of pages, 194. State of English pages during the nineteenth century, 176.
Palaye, Sainte, character of his Memoirs of Ancient Chivalry, *Preface*.
Paleaz, Martin, a Spanish knight, his story, 213.
Passage of arms, what it was, 108. Error of the author of Ivanhoe concerning, 108, note. Description of one in Burgundy, 108; and at Orbigo, in Spain, 219.
Patriotism, not necessarily a knightly virtue, 53. But encouraged by the religious and military orders, 110.
Peacock, festival and vow of the, 64. Mode of dressing the, 64, note.
Pelayo, his history, 204.

Pembroke, Earl, stories of, 148-149.
Penitents of love, a singular set of fanatics in France, 74.
Pennon, the streamer at the end of a lance, 32.
Perceval, Mr. George, excellence of his history of Italy, *Preface*. Cited, 43, note; 197, 229, note; 229-230.
Percy. See *Hotspur*.
Perfumes, fondness of people in the middle ages for, 69, note.
Philippa, Queen, her heroism, 81.
Plate-armour, description of, 37. Its inconveniences, 37, 42, note.
Peter the Cruel, his history, 186, &c.
Politeness of knights in battle, 52.
Pride of knights ridiculed by Cervantes, 127.
Prisoners, when made by knights, delivered to the squires, 25. Curious pride of knights concerning, 53. Ladies were never made prisoners, 78.
Pursuivant of love, the favourite title of a knight, 71.
Pye, Lord Saint, his skill in jousting, 102, &c.

Quinones, Sueno de, account of his holding a passage of arms at Orbigo, in Spain, 119.
Quintain, nature of that amusement, 26.

Ramsey, William de, the chivalric nature of his death, 56.
Ransoming, the general principles of, in chivalric times, 52.
Rapier, an Italian weapon, 172. Fighting with it supersedes the sword and buckler, 117.
Religion, nature of the knight's, 55-56. Brevity of his devotions, 57. Curious instance of it, 56. The chivalric glory of a man being shriven in his helmet, 56. Intolerance of the knight, 56. His ferocity against Pagans and Saracens, 56. His idle impiety at a tournament, 90. Maintained opinions by the sword, 114.
Rienzi, Cola di, instance of his coxcombry, 231, note.
Richard I., description of his battle-axe, 33. His chivalric character, 127.
Rivers, mystery of, meaning of the phrase, 21.
Romance of chivalry displayed in the tournament, 89. Great estimation of romances in chivalric times, 63. Beneficial effects of, on chivalry, 182. Their popularity in England during the 16th century, 162. Effects on Italy, 233.
Roncesvalles, chivalric march through the valley of, by the soldiers of the Black Prince, 188. Question regarding battles in, at the time of Charlemagne, 206.
Round Table, when and where held in England, 133. Number of knights attached to the, fabulous, 122, note.
Roy, Raynolde du, a good jouster, chivalric reason for it, 103.
Rybamount, courtesy of Edward III. to Lord Eustace of, 137.

Sageness, meaning of this old word, 50.
Saintré, Jean de, curious account of the education in love of this knight, 22.
Scales, Anthony Woodville, Lord, his joust with the Bastard of Burgundy, 104.
Scarf, ladies', on the knight, 37, 38, 42.
Scotland, form of chivalric oath in, 153. Chivalric circumstances, 153. Frenchmen's opinions of Scotsmen's chivalry, 154. Reasons for Englishmen's dislike of wars in, 154. Courtesies between English and Scottish knights, 154. See *James IV*.
Shield, sentiments of honour connected with the, 35. Its various shapes, 35.
Sidney, Sir Philip, his chivalric character, 170. His Arcadia, 170. Circumstances of his life, 170. Remarkable grief at his death, 170. Uncommon kindness of the Sidney family, 170, and note. His description of the nature of chivalric courage, 51, note. His apology for ladies studying surgery, 67.
Sir, its title in chivalry, 17.
Skottowe, Mr., excellence of his work on Shakspeare, 73, note.
Smithfield, anciently the principal tilting ground in London, 91. Used for other purposes, note, 91. Its state in the sixteenth century evidence of the degeneracy of chivalry, 172, note.
Spain, religious orders in, account of, 113. General nature of Spanish chivalry, 200. Religion and heroism, 200. Gallantry, 201, 220. Curious blending of Spanish and Oriental manners, 201. Beneficial effects from the union of Moors and Spaniards, 201. Religious toleration in Spain, 202. Loves and friendships of Moors and Christians, 202. Peculiarities of Spanish Chivalry, 202. Forms of Knighthood, 202. Various classes of knights, 203. Spanish knights travel to distant countries, asserting the beauty of Spanish maidens, 220. Extinction of Spanish chivalry, 221. The knight's idolatry of women outlives this extinction, 222. Spanish poetry, 204. Story of Spanish manners, 213-215. State of Spanish chivalry after the death of the Cid, 219.
Spenser, his Fairy Queen supports chivalry, 170. Object of the poem, 170. Poem cited, passim.
Spices, fondness of knights for them, 62, note; 94.
Spurs, buckling them on, a part of chivalric inauguration ceremonies, 28. Suspended in churches as memorials of victory and honour, 223, note.
Squire, his personal and chivalric duties, 23, 24. Never sat at the same table with knights, 23. Story of a high-spirited squire, 24. His dress, 24. Various sorts of squires, 24. Spenser's picture of one, 24. His duties in battle, 25. Carried the pennon of a knight, 25. His gallantry, 25, 26. His martial exercises, 26. Undertook military expeditions, 26. His services in the battle-field, 25, 26. Nature of his armour, 44. Story of the boldness of a, 50. English squires wore silver collars, 134. See *Bovines*.
Squirehood, the third class of the general order of chivalry, 20. Of whom it was formed, 29.

Stephen, his courtesy to Matilda, 58. Important effects of chivalry in his reign, 126.
Stocking, order of the, 124. Origin of the phrase Blue Stocking, 124. This contemptuous expression no longer applicable to English women, 124.
Stothard, Mrs. Charles, her Tour in Normandy cited, 82, note.
Surcoats, their materials and purposes, 37. Of the military orders, 38.
Surgery, knowledge of, possessed by ladies in chivalric times, 67.
Surry, Earl of, incorrectness of the common tale regarding, 166.
Swinton, Sir John, his fine heroism, 29. Another story of the heroism of a, 50.
Sword, girding of it on the knight a part of the chivalric inauguration ceremonies, 16, 31. The favourite weapon of the knight, 33. Swords had names and mottoes; the cross hilt; the handle contained the knight's seal; Spanish swords, 633-35. Story of the Cid's favourite swords, 216.

Tabard, description of, 37.
Templars, Knights, extravagance of their asceticism, 107, note. Errors of the author of Waverley regarding, 111, note. The valiancy of the, 111. Succession of Grand Masters from the persecution to the present time, 112, &c. Present state of, 113. Their importance in Spain, 225.
Thistle, order of the, 118. Its absurd pretensions to antiquity, 118.
Thomson, Anthony Todd, value of his botanical lectures, 104, note.
Tournaments, superiority of, to Grecian games, 87. Origin of, 88. Objects, 88, and notes, Qualifications for tourneying, 89, 91. Who tourneyed, 89. Ceremonies of the, 89. Procession to the, 90. Nature of tourneying weapons, 91. The preparation, 92. The encounter, 92. English regulations concerning, 94, note. Opposed by the Popes, 96, note. Their frequency in the reign of Edward III., 132. Time of their death in England, 173. Female tournament in Germany, 221.
Tristrem, Romance of, 21.

Valet, the common title of the page, 23.
Vargas, Garcia Perez de, a splendid exemplar of Spanish chivalry. Story of his romantic gallantry, 219.
Vigil of arms, a necessary preliminary to knighthood, 27.
Vilain, Sir John, anecdote of his remarkable prowess, 33.
Virtue, degree of, expected in a knight, 56.
Visconti, John de, his duel with Thomas de la Marche, 139.
Vows, knightly, courage incited by, 50. Fantastic, 50, &c., 107.

Wallop, Sir John, his men break lances for ladies' love, 167.
Warwick, an earl of, a famous jouster, 100.
Wells, Lord, his joust with Sir David de Lindsay, first Earl of Crawford, 97.
Werner, fiend-like ferocity and impiety of, 230.
William Rufus, authors wrong, in calling him a chivalric king, 127. But he promoted the growth of chivalry in England, 125.
Wines, dislike entertained by the Englishmen of old for the wines of Spain, 54. Wines drank in chivalric times, 68, and note. Wines and spices, 62, note.
Woods, mystery of, 21.
Worcester, John, Earl of, Constable. His regulations regarding tournaments in England, 94, note.
Wordsworth, his beautiful description of the occupations and life of a minstrel, 63.

Ximena, a Spanish maiden, story of her voluntary marriage with her father's murderer, 206.

Zamora, story of that town and the Cid of Spain, 209.

THE END.







